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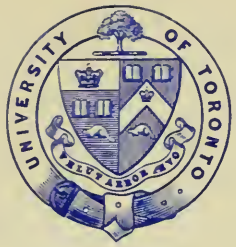

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

MDCCCXXXVII.

JANUARY——JUNE.

NEW SERIES.

VOL. I.

Φιλυσιφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρεῖων τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικήν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἑκάστη τῶν αἱρεσέων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν το ἘΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι.

CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* L. 1.

LONDON:—WILLIAM BALL,

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1837.

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PREFACE.

The Editor cannot permit the first volume of the New Series to go forth without expressing his most sincere gratitude to the public, for the large extension which has taken place in the sale of this journal. While he does this, however, he must intimate that nothing but the hope of a considerable further extension of its circulation can justify him in taking all those steps which are necessary to give it its highest degree of efficiency, and to combine upon it all that talent which it were folly to expect should be adequately exerted, without being fairly remunerated. That such an increased circulation may be obtained from a body so numerous and respectable as the Dissenters of Great Britain, he cannot for a moment doubt, and he pledges himself to use his utmost efforts to deserve it.

That Dissenters have been hitherto lamentably insensible to the advantages which the press confers—of its *power*, as an instrument of diffusing their opinions and of giving concentration to their efforts, is notorious; and it is as little to be denied that they never will be able to do justice to themselves, or to exert that influence to which their numbers, their respectability, their activity, their position, all entitle them—till they make the press a more efficient engine than it has hitherto been in their hands. Their adversaries, at all events, are fully alive to a sense of its importance.

The chief recommendations of the Eclectic to the support of that branch of the community to which it principally, though not exclusively appeals, are these: it is the only periodical exclusively devoted to the maintenance of those great principles, political and religious, in which all the denominations of orthodox Dissenters are agreed; it is the only journal which avowedly and systematically views general literature with a reference to its bearing on religion, and which, on purely religious grounds, advocates the great principle which is every day assuming a deeper importance—the purely *voluntary character* of all religion. On this last account, if on no other, it should be the object of Dissenters to give this journal the widest possible circulation, and the highest possible degree of efficiency, since nothing but discussion,—unintermitted, persevering, yet temperate discussion,—can bring about that happy consummation which Dissenters so devoutly desire—the dissolution of the disgraceful connexion between church and state. It has been, and it will be, the Editor's ambition to render this journal an able and efficient advocate of these principles, and all he asks of Dissenters is their energetic concurrence.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JANUARY, 1837.

Art. I. *Dissenting Meeting-Houses.* Return to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 22d March, 1836; for, A Return of the Number of the Registered Dissenting Meeting-Houses, and Roman Catholic Chapels, in England and Wales. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 14th July, 1836. pp. 44.

THIS return was made in pursuance of the motion of the Hon. Arthur Trevor, the Conservative Member for Durham. If it was his object to ascertain either the present number of Dissenting Meeting-houses and Roman Catholic Chapels, or the extent of the provision of religious instruction by them afforded, or the strength of the Dissenters, or the increase of their numbers,—in regard to any and all of these points of information, these Returns are absolutely useless. Some information, indeed, may be gleaned from them. They exhibit in a striking light the slovenly manner in which registration has been wont to be conducted, the total absence of uniformity in the system, and the ineffectiveness of the law in its present shape. The order of the House appears to have been very variously understood, and in most cases very perfunctorily complied with. Some excellent specimens of complete tabular statements occur among them; but these serve only to render more conspicuous the imperfect, careless, and delusive character of the greater part of the returns.

The law requiring the registration of Dissenting places of worship, had respect, originally, to their being exempted from the penal statutes against conventicles, and brought under the protection of the magistrate. The Toleration Act prescribed the registry and certification of all places of worship allowed by the provisions of that statute; and no congregation or assembly for religious worship, at which are present more than twenty persons besides the immediate family and household of the owner or oc-

cupant of the house or premises, is permitted or allowed by law, if not duly certified under some act or acts prior to the 52 Geo. III. c. 155; 'unless and until the place of meeting shall have been or shall be certified to the bishop of the diocese, to the archdeacon of the archdeaconry, or to the justices of the peace at the general or quarter sessions.' Of such places of worship so certified, it is directed, that reciprocal returns shall be made once in the year between the bishop's or archdeacon's court, and the quarter sessions; 'and all such places shall be registered in the bishop's or archdeacon's court respectively, and recorded at the general quarter sessions, by the registrar or clerk of the peace, who is required to register or record the same.'* Such is the law. How faithfully its directions have been complied with, will be seen from the following Returns from the Clerks of the Peace.

'Bucks. I have no record in my office of any licenses being granted within the county of Bucks, for any Dissenting Meeting-house or Roman Catholic Chapel.—Thomas Tindal.'

'Cumberland. None of either description have been licensed by the justices, or recorded in quarter sessions for this county.

'W. Hodgson.'

'Gloucestershire. The register in my office of the Dissenting places of worship commences in 1689, and ends in 1800; in and between those years the number of places of worship registered was 186, but *none since*, though I believe many have been certified to the Bishop's or Archdeacon's Court, *but I have no account of them.*

'Edward Bloxome, Deputy Clerk of the Peace.'

'Herefordshire. I have no means of ascertaining the number of Dissenting Meeting-houses in this county of Hereford, there being no entry of them in the clerk of the peace's office; there is one Roman Catholic Chapel at Hereford city, and another at Weobley, in this county.—John Cleave.'

'Hertfordshire. No Roman Catholic Chapel has been, to my knowledge, licensed within the county of Hertford. Dissenting Chapels are seldom registered with the clerk of the peace, and I do not find any document with the records to enable me to make, with any accuracy, the return you require.—J. S. Story.'

'Huntingdonshire. After having made a careful search among the papers of the late clerk of the peace, who died in September last, I have not been able to find any list of licenses granted in such cases. During the time I have held the office, none have been applied for. I believe there is not a Roman Catholic chapel within the county.

'Nevill Day.'

'Middlesex. No such houses or chapels have been licensed by the general or quarter sessions of the peace for Middlesex.

'Charles P. Allen.'

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* Beldam's Summary, p. 90.

'NOTTINGHAMSHIRE. There are twenty-six licensed Dissenting Meeting-houses registered with me as clerk of the peace for the county of Nottingham, but not any Roman Catholic Chapel. The number of registered Dissenting Meeting-houses above stated must be a small portion of the whole in the county, and probably the remainder may be registered in the Archbishop's or Archdeacon's Courts.—Edward Smith Godfrey.'

In these eight counties, including the metropolitan, no attention whatever seems to have been paid to the record which the law directs to be reciprocally made, on the part of the clerks of the peace; except in Gloucestershire, where the registry has been discontinued for seven and thirty years! Let us now see what information is to be obtained from the registrars' returns.

'ARCHDEACONRY COURT OF BUCKS.

'The total number of houses registered in the said Court as places for religious worship, by Protestant Dissenters from the Church of England, is 602. No places of worship for Roman Catholics have been registered.—Edward Prichett, Deputy Registrar.'

Now it will be observed that, of licensed places of worship within this county, according to the provisions of the 52 Geo. III. c. 155, the clerk of the peace has no record whatever; nor does the registrar's return take notice of any places certified to the justices of the peace; yet it is next to certain that many places of worship must have been certified at the general or quarter session. The total number returned must be understood as embracing a period of 158 years; but at what time registered, to what denomination the places belong, or how many are buildings set apart for public worship, the vague and general statement does not afford the slightest means of ascertaining. For the purposes of village teaching, Sunday School instruction, or prayer meetings, it is necessary, in order to secure exemption from disturbance or penalties, to license or register many dwelling-houses, cottages, or single rooms, which of course are abandoned on the erection or purchase of more convenient and separate buildings, if required, or on the change of the occupant. In the diocese of Norwich, the number of places registered in the Episcopal registry from the year 1751, exclusive of those in the Archdeacon's registries and in the offices of the several clerks of the peace, is no fewer than 3,355; but of these a very large proportion must be places of the above description, and a considerable number have doubtless been disused for religious purposes. Of the number registered from 1689 to 1750, the record would seem to have been destroyed; yet, of these, many must still exist. It is obvious, therefore, that, for statistical purposes, the returns are worthless, as they enable us to ascertain neither how many of the registered

places are now in existence, nor how many of them were ever exclusively appropriated to religious worship, nor even the total number actually certified and registered in the period specified.

We have given above the return from the registrar of the Archdeaconry of Bucks, in the diocese of Lincoln. A separate return from the Consistory Court of that diocese, exhibits the number of 'houses, &c.' registered as places of worship, from year to year, from 1800 to 1835; taking no notice of any prior registry, and specifying no other particulars. The places registered by the clerks of the peace do not appear to have been returned to the Bishop's court. A beautiful specimen, this, of ecclesiastical registration!

We shall now proceed to lay before our readers the actual number of places of worship within the county of Bucks, so far as ascertainable from other data. We must premise, that this is a small and poor county, chiefly agricultural, and in which both agriculture and education are in a backward state; the middle class is comparatively small; and the Dissenting congregations are proportionably less numerous and influential than in the manufacturing counties. There are, in this county, 202 parishes, comprising a population of less than 150,000. The churches and chapels of the Establishment amount to 214. The Dissenting Congregations are as under.

Independents or Congregationalists	22
Baptists	36
Calvinistic Methodists	1
Wesleyans	25
Quakers	8
	92
Home Missionary and other Village Stations	33
Roman Catholic	1
	126

The number of houses registered in the Archdeacon's court is 602, which may, or may not, include the whole of the above 126. Supposing it to be included, the difference between the two numbers, 476, would be made up of places of worship *extinct**, of barns and other buildings temporarily occupied for religious use, and of rooms and private houses in which religious meetings may have been held, during the lapse of 150 years. Whether the separate places of Dissenting worship were at any time more nu-

* The congregations of Quakers were, we believe, at one time, much more numerous in this county.

merous than at present, it is impossible to ascertain from the data before us. In a county so circumstanced as to the condition of the population, the number of rooms and private dwellings registered, would be likely to form a more than usually large proportion of the total number.

The Dissenting places of worship are, it will be seen, to those of the Establishment, as about 3 to 5. This includes indeed the Home Missionary stations; but many of the churches and chapels in rural districts do not comprise a larger number of worshippers than attend those stations. On analyzing the 202 parishes, we shall find that a full third of the population is concentrated in 20 parishes; leaving about 100,000 distributed over the 182 parishes, which would give only 550 to each parish. The average population of more than half the parishes of England, however, is only 120 souls, of whom it is computed that three tenths are under ten years of age*, and another tenth will not be too much to allow for the sick and aged. Were we to assume, then, that all the villagers go to church, a population of 120 would not furnish a congregation of more than 72; and one of 550, not more than 330. The actual congregations are very far below the numbers that might attend. On the other hand, 'there are scores of places in the rural districts,' remarks a competent authority, 'not included in our (the Dissenting) lists, 'where the Gospel is preached to more than 60 (or 70) persons 'weekly.'† These calculations are important in estimating the existing supply and distribution of the means of religious instruction. Some idea of the comparative size and respectability, or religious zeal, of the several denominations in this county, may be obtained from the following statement of the sums contributed for Missionary purposes in one year: (Cong. Mag. for 1835, p. 802.)

Episcopalians.	Gospel Prop. Soc. .	£76 10	
	Church Missionary .	571 0	
			£647 10
Nonconformists.	London Miss. Soc. .	339 12	
	Wesleyan	132 4	
	Baptist	135 16	
			£607 12

Judging from this statement, we should suppose the Independent congregations to be the largest and most respectably attended, and the Baptists, which are more numerous, to be the poorest. Adding these together, with the Wesleyans, and not reckoning the mere village out-stations, we find 84 congregations of non-

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* About one seventh of the population are scholars in Sunday Schools.

† Cong. Mag., Jan. 1836, p. 12.

conformists raising for the cause of propagating the Gospel in other countries, in one year, 607*l.*; being 7*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*, on the average, for each congregation; while they are also at the entire charge of supporting both their own places of worship and their own ministers, as well as their village stations and Sunday Schools. The 214 Churches and Chapels of the Establishment raise 647*l.*, which is not more than 3*l.* from each. And yet the Episcopalians are said to possess more than 39 fortieths of the wealth of the country!

We shall now give, as another specimen of these returns, those which relate to the metropolitan diocese.

'DIOCESE OF LONDON.

'The number of Dissenting meeting-houses registered in the Registry of the diocese of London, from the 1st of January 1832, to the 31st of December 1835, both inclusive, amounts to 140.

'The Dissenting meeting-houses registered in the Registries of the archdeaconries within the diocese and at the quarter sessions are not included herein, as the undersigned is unable to make an official return thereof.

'The undersigned begs also to state that he is not in possession of any record or document which would enable him to make a return of the number of registered Dissenting meeting-houses actually used as such at the present time, as the Act of Parliament relating thereto does not require the registration to be renewed when once made, nor any notice to be given in the Registry of the diocese of the disuse of any such Dissenting meeting-house.

'The undersigned is unable to make any return as to the number of Roman Catholic chapels within the diocese.—

'John Shepherd, Deputy Registrar.'

We have already given the return from the clerk of the peace for the county of Middlesex, which is—*Nil.* Among the returns from the Town Clerks of the Cities and Towns Corporate, we find the following:—

'LONDON AND SOUTHWARK.

'City of London: Dissenting meeting-houses, one; Roman Catholic chapels, one.

'Town and Borough of Southwark: Dissenting meeting-houses, one; Roman Catholic chapels, none.'

These are, indeed, extraordinary returns. No Roman Catholic chapels are registered either in the Diocesan Registry of London, or in that of Winchester, (which includes Surrey,) or in the records of the Middlesex sessions, or in those of the metropolis; and yet, in the Catholic Directory, we find enumerated no fewer than nineteen Roman Catholic places of worship in or near London*, *exclusive* of the six chapels connected with the Spanish,

* Viz.:—St. Mary's, Moorfields; St. Patrick's, Sutton-street, Soho;

French, Belgian, Bavarian, Austrian, and Sardinian embassies. These, with twelve of the nineteen others, are supported by subscriptions.

The best account we have seen of the number of Dissenting places of worship in the metropolis and its suburbs, is that which was given in the Supplement to the Congregational Magazine for 1832. As the metropolis now extends into four counties and three dioceses, the requisite data are to be gathered from widely scattered sources; and great credit is due to the Editor for the labour and pains bestowed upon that valuable document. Availing himself of the imaginary circle drawn in the admirable papers prefixed to the Population Returns for 1831, which includes all the parishes whose churches are situated within eight miles of St. Paul's cathedral, he proceeds to ascertain how many places of public worship of all Protestant denominations are contained within that circle. The result is as follows:—

Episcopal churches and chapels			262
Presbyterian chapels, Orthodox	12		
Unitarian	10		
		22	
Independent or Congregational		110	
Baptist		61	
Wesleyan or Arminian Methodist		75	
Calvinistic Methodist		24	
Quakers		6	
United Brethren or Moravian		1	
Foreign Protestant churches		13	
			312
Roman Catholic chapels			23
Synagogues			6
			603

Since then, several additional churches and Dissenting chapels have been opened; and omissions have been detected in the list. In the last list of Baptist churches published by the Baptist Union, the number within the above circuit amounts to seventy-five. Altogether, the chapels of Dissenting Protestants may be safely computed at 340: adding to this the Roman Catholic chapels,

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Trinity Church, Bermondsey; Virginia-street, Ratcliffe-highway; Poplar; Romney Terrace, Marsham-street; Cadogan Terrace, Sloane-st.; street; Holland-street, Kensington; King-street; Hammersmith; Brook Green House, Hammersmith; Clarendon-square, Somerstown; Holly Place, Hampstead; Chapel Place, Tottenham; Maize Hill, Greenwich; Woolwich; Stratford; Acton; Isleworth; Richmond.

and taking the Episcopal churches and chapels at 270, the number of places of worship provided by the Established Church will be, as compared with those supported by the people, only as 3 to 4.

In estimating, however, the extent of church accommodation thus provided, it is necessary to take into account the capacity of the buildings, and their local distribution. In respect to dimensions, the churches are for the most part fitted to contain much larger congregations than the Dissenting chapels. But this advantage is very greatly balanced by the circumstance, that the older churches are thickly planted in the city parishes, which have been decreasing in resident population, and very thinly scattered over the teeming suburban districts. We are indebted to the same valuable document for the following view of the churches and chapels arranged under the several grand divisions of the metropolis.

	Houses.	Popul.	Episc.	Three Den.	Method.	Miscel.	Total.
City of London . . .	14,564	122,395	66	26	4	6	102
Westminster .	21,893	202,460	30	14	3	0	47
Bor. of Finsbury . .	29,605	224,839	25	25	16	5	71
Marylebone .	27,888	234,294	25	15	10	1	51
Tower Hamlets	66,777	302,519	22	45	22	1	90
Lambeth . .	29,079	154,613	10	14	13	0	37
Southwark . .	22,482	134,117	11	20	8	1	40
Greenwich			5	9	6	0	20
			188	168	82	14	458

Thus, it will be seen that, in the poorest of the boroughs, the Tower Hamlets, in which only 23,187 houses out of the 66,777 it contains were assessed to the house-tax,—there are sixty-eight Dissenting chapels and but twenty-two churches; while, in the city of Westminster, the richest of the metropolitan districts, there are thirty Episcopal churches and chapels, and but seventeen Dissenting chapels. 'It will be tauntingly said,' remarks the Editor of the Congregational Magazine, after pointing out this fact, 'True, Dissenterism will not suit the refined and 'wealthy portions of the community, such as inhabit West-'minster. It may be so; but let us ask, what is the professed 'design of an ecclesiastical Establishment. Is it to provide stately 'temples for religious fashionables? Or rather, is it not to 'Christianize the bulk of the community? Here it utterly fails. 'Its costly temples are multiplied to meet the taste of the sons 'of rank and fashion, while those of the anvil and the loom are 'left to the teaching of the sectaries, teaching which they value, 'and which they support too, while their titled betters tax the 'community to uphold their favoured priesthood.'*

* Cong. Mag. 1832, p. 822.

In fact, upon the Establishment system, while the Dissenting teachers are found most numerous where there is the largest population to require their services, the parochial clergy are most numerous where the benefices are rich enough to support resident incumbents with their curates, or in the vicinity of collegiate and cathedral establishments. For instance, in the diocese of Winchester, while the Southwark parishes, which cover about 600,000 acres, with a dense population of 134,000, have only nine or ten parochial ministers; Lambeth, with 154,000, has only eleven; and Portsea, with 42,000 souls, only four: the average provision in other parts of the diocese is one clergyman to every 1000 of the population, or more than nine times the proportion found in the boroughs. Thus, while the Establishment has provided twenty-five ministers for 330,000 souls, for the remaining population of the diocese, amounting to about 500,000, it has provided upwards of 500 officiating clergy! Again, in Devonshire, containing a population of about half a million, the churches and chapels of the Establishment are 490 in number, those of the other denominations being only 247; but in Lancashire, the population of which amounts to nearly 1,400,000, the Establishment numbers only 292 churches and chapels, and the other denominations have 514. In Norfolk, the churches and chapels of the Establishment are 699, for a population under 180,000; the number of Dissenting congregations is 195. But in Northumberland, the population being 223,000, the Established churches and chapels are only 97, and those of other denominations are 137.

It is evident, then, that the extreme inequality of the parochial provision, based as it is, not on the wants of the population, but upon the revenues of the Church, renders it impossible to take any general average as a true representation of the working of the system. We shall now give, in further illustration of the comparative number of churches and chapels, and other places of worship, in our large towns, the ecclesiastical statistics of Liverpool and Nottingham, in contrast with Winchester and St. Albans. The return from the Town Clerk of Liverpool is as follows:—

'Licensed Dissenting meeting-houses . . .	39
Licensed Roman Catholic chapels. . . .	4
	43'

This return does not, however, include that part of the borough which was added to the ancient limits by the Municipal Corporation Act. The actual number of places of worship in the borough is as under:—

Episcopal churches and chapels . . .		29
Presbyterian places of worship . .	4	
Independent do.	10	
Baptist	7	
Calvinistic Methodist	3	
Wesleyan Methodist	9	
Roman Catholic	5	
Miscellaneous	8	
	—	46
		75

An estimate of the average attendance, which we may receive as an approximation to the fact, gives the following result:

Church of England . . .	45,000
Dissenting congregations . .	33,000
Roman Catholic	12,000 (communicants.)

This does not, we presume, include the children in the Sunday Schools; viz. 6000 in those of the Established Church, and upwards of 13,000 in those of other communions.

The return from the Town Clerk of Nottingham is as under:

'Nine licensed Dissenting meeting-houses, and one licensed Roman Catholic chapel.

'There are, also, not found to be licensed, thirteen other Dissenting meeting-houses.—H. Enfield.'

The actual number of places of worship of all denominations is thus stated in a Nottingham journal:—

Episcopal churches and chapels . . .		5
Independent	5	
Baptists	4	
Methodists	5	
Sandemanians, Huntingtonians, Swedenborgians, Unitarians . . .	4	
Quakers	1	
Roman Catholics	1	
	—	20

The five churches are supposed to contain 5800 people, of whom 330 are communicants. The Dissenting places of worship number 12,000 in congregations, and 4534 in actual membership. This is exclusive of 6726 Sunday-school scholars, of whom 1678 are in schools belonging to the Established Church, and 5048 in those belonging to the Dissenters. Divine worship is also conducted every Sunday in the chief parish work-house, which contained at the time of the estimate about 400 persons; also, in both the hospitals and in the prisons; so that the total number of those who attend public worship may amount to about 25,000 persons, or half the total population. Three-tenths, or 15,000,

may be allowed for infants, women confined by child-birth, the sick, the aged and infirm, nurses and others occupied in the care of them, and servants left in charge of the house. And one-fifth, or about 10,000 it is supposed, wilfully neglect Divine worship.

The return from the Town Clerk of Winchester is as under :—

'The number of licensed Dissenting chapels in this city are as under ; viz. an Independent meeting-house ; Wesleyan chapel ; Baptist meeting-house ; Roman Catholic chapel.'

Besides the cathedral, Winchester contains eight churches, the population being 8767.

St. Albans contains four parish churches for a population of less than 5000. There is an Independent place of worship, a Baptist, a Wesleyan chapel, and an old Presbyterian meeting-house, which, having fallen into the hands of the Unitarians, is without a congregation. We shall now throw the details relating to these four places into a tabular form, to enable our readers to see at a glance the vast disparity in the ecclesiastical provision.

	Population.	Estab. Church.		Dissen. Chapels.
Liverpool . .	165,200	29	1 to every 5700	46
Nottingham .	50,700	5	1 to every 10,100	20
Winchester .	8,800	9	1 to every 980	4
St. Albans . .	4,800	4	1 to every 1200	4

From this it will be seen, that it is not the want of church room that has led to the erection of Dissenting places of worship, the provision being as redundant in some towns and country parts, as it is deficient in others. We shall give one more proof of the extreme want of all due proportion between the means of public instruction furnished by the Establishment and the population ; taken from a recent work by the Rev. W. Thorn, on "The Union of Church and State," which we hope very shortly to notice. Of the 10,698 parishes in England and Wales, the Author remarks, there are 737 with a population not above fifty in each ; 1907 with a population under 100; 6681 with a population under 300 in each ; and 9000 with a population not exceeding 500. In the first class of parishes, the average population will be about forty ; in the second, about seventy-five ; in the third, about 200 ; in the fourth, about 400.

'Now if, in those parishes which contain less than 100 inhabitants each, we suppose one half to attend the church regularly ; and a third of the population in those where it ranges between that number and 500, we shall have the following results :—

Churches.	Average attendance.	Total.
737	20	14,740
1170	38	44,460
4774	67	319,858
2319	134	310,746
9000	77	689,804

We have now (left) 1698 parishes, containing 2800 churches and chapels of ease; and the question is, how many persons on an average attend them. To answer it, our data are limited. It appears that the religious city of Bristol has twenty-six churches, with an average attendance of 385 to each; and Colchester, fifteen churches, with about 148 each *. If, therefore, we estimate the whole at 400 each, it will be the full extent of the hearers in these 2800 places of worship. We have then to add 1,120,000 to the 689,804 who attend in the smaller parishes, making a total of 1,809,804.'—*Thorn*, p. 426.

Taking the total at two millions, this attendance would represent a population of nearly double that amount, allowing only for those unable to attend, for infants, and for children in the schools, not reckoned; but, as the actual attendance cannot be supposed to come at all near to what it ought to be, there is reason to suppose that an aggregate of two millions of hearers must be taken as representing at least five millions of souls. The data upon which Mr. Thorn builds his calculation of the number of attendants in Nonconformist places of worship, would seem to warrant the belief that they approach to three millions and a half †; representing a population of, say, six millions. We should be glad to believe that only a twelfth of the population are to be considered as belonging to no denomination, through their wilful and atheistic neglect of all religious observances. That more than one half of those who attend divine worship are indebted to the means of religious instruction provided and maintained by voluntary contributions, independently of the Establishment, is a conclusion which cannot, we think, be reasonably controverted.

We must now hasten to conclude this article with a few general observations.

In the first place, to advert to the Parliamentary document which has suggested these inquiries; it is a somewhat startling fact, that, of the registration of a very large proportion of Dissenting places of worship, no legal evidence would appear to be extant. The condition upon which the protection of the civil magistrate is guaranteed to them as lawful assemblies, has been, we presume, in general, complied with; but the courts to which the registry has been entrusted, having no motive to concern themselves in a matter affecting only the interests of sectaries and schismatics, have shewn a supreme contempt for the law which imposed upon them the duty of preserving the record; nor does

* Bristol has twenty-six churches for a population of 60,000; Colchester, fifteen for 16,000. In the former there are twenty-two Dissenting chapels, in the latter, sixteen.

† The total number of the Presbyterian, Independents, and Baptist congregations, we should suppose, cannot be less than 1,250,000; that of the Wesleyans and other Methodists must exceed 1,650,000. The Roman Catholics, we fear, are more than half a million.

there appear to be a single instance in which the ecclesiastical registrars and the clerks of the peace have complied with the enactment which directs reciprocal annual returns. Unless, therefore, the original certificate of registry shall have been preserved by the trustees or minister of the place of worship, it will be found next to impossible, in a great majority of cases, to ascertain the fact, that such place has been certified or licensed according to law. This may prove to be of serious inconvenience, since it is necessary to certify under the 1 Will. and Mary, s. 1. c. 18, and the 52 Geo. III. c. 155, *in order to indict or recover on the Riot Act*, which requires registration under the former statute. Moreover, all persons teaching or preaching in uncertified places, are still subject to penalties; and religious assemblies in such uncertified places are unlawful conventicles. In case of information being laid, it would be necessary to prove a compliance with the terms of the act exempting the party from such liability. This being the case, Protestant Dissenters have great reason to complain of the gross and wilful negligence on the part of the registrars and clerks of the peace which these returns have brought to light. Some legislative remedy would seem to be imperatively demanded in order to protect Dissenters against the consequences of this neglect. Either the penal statutes against conventicles, hitherto only conditionally repealed, should be absolutely and completely abrogated,—which we should certainly deem the best course, —or, a new system of certifying and registering Dissenting places of worship ought to be adopted. Nor do we see any objection to requiring that every place of worship now in use should be forthwith certified to the several clerks of the peace,—or to the superintendent registrars under the new Registration Act, to whom the ecclesiastical registrars would doubtless be glad to relinquish this somewhat unpalatable part of their official duty. We trust that this subject will be taken up in the next Session of Parliament.

Our next observation relates to the flagrant injustice of making that large portion of the community who attend upon and support the public worship of the Nonconformist denominations, contribute, directly or indirectly, to the maintenance of the public worship in the Episcopal churches and chapels. Such persons voluntarily bear much more than their share of the general expense of public religious instruction; and in whatever light the zealous exertions of the Dissenters may be viewed by the High-churchman who clings to the Divine right of Episcopacy, or by the stickler for the authority of the State in matters of religion, the Government and the nation at large are under incalculable obligations to the expansive energy and elasticity of those principles which have grappled with popular ignorance, formalism, and irreligion, and called into existence this vast moral apparatus; so simple, though apparently so complicated,—at once spontaneous and self-

sustained, adapting itself to all classes and conditions, yet having neither the dangerous and combustible character of fanaticism, nor the degrading influence of spiritual despotism and priestcraft. We say nothing here of the fundamental objection against an ecclesiastical Establishment, that it is the antagonist of these principles. Many persons imagine that the two systems might be rendered auxiliary to each other; and some advocates of Establishments go so far as to admit that Dissent has its use in keeping the church from utter stagnation. Without stopping to controvert these positions, we must contend, that Dissenters have set an example to the churchmen of the Establishment in supporting their own religious institutions, which the wealthier portion of the nation ought to be ashamed not to follow; and that they have also fairly and nobly earned an exemption from all charges on account of the churches and chapels of the State Church, by creating a supplementary provision, almost equal in extent, and superior in efficiency,—in fact, such as is preferred by, and suffices for, one half of the population. To exact from Dissenters a church-rate under these circumstances, is in the highest degree ungenerous, unequitable, and disgraceful to Episcopalians. It has justly been remarked, that they can shew eight thousand arguments against this grievance. Strange, that places of worship and religious institutions which cost the State nothing, should, on that very account, be deemed less entitled to its favour! —that it should be imputed as almost a crime, that the Dissenting instruction is, as regards the public burdens, cost-free!

The injustice of taxing the Dissenters for the support of the Establishment is, however, unspeakably aggravated by its being made a demand, on the part of the Church of England, of ecclesiastical homage. The Church Rate differs from all Government taxes in this respect; that it is levied, not by authority of Parliament, nor with consent of the Commons, nor by order of the civil magistrate, but by the fictitious and usurped authority of '*the Keys*,' under penalty of excommunication, the parish vestry acting as the mere instrument of the ecclesiastical court. The power delegated to vestries composed of bigoted and over-bearing churchmen, to impose a heavy rate upon their fellow parishioners of other communions, for the purpose of adorning the structure, raising a steeple, or purchasing 'church luxuries,'* is as odious

* The following case is mentioned in "The Patriot" of Nov. 7. 'In the parish of Saffron Walden, Essex, upwards of twenty years ago, the church having undergone repairs, 8000*l.* was borrowed by the parish, and paid off by Church-rates. Towards this, for twenty years, the Independent Minister paid his quota, in common with other Dissenting parishioners. This sum being paid off, an organ and organ-loft were provided at a very heavy charge: of this also

a sort of petty despotism as can well be imagined. And it is monstrous, that, after being delivered from the yoke and ban of their ecclesiastical enemy, Prelacy, by the repeal of every penal statute forbidding the free exercise of their religious rights and duties, Dissenters should yet be liable to the jurisdiction of its obsolete inquisitorial courts, and forced in any way to acknowledge demands and mandates issuing from an authority altogether foreign to the Constitution, and involving the most intolerant usurpation upon the rights of conscience.

But let us suppose the Church-rates abolished, and the Dissenters entirely relieved from any share in the cost of maintaining churches which their ministers are not allowed to occupy, and religious services of which they decline to avail themselves: will they be satisfied with the redress of this grievance? Our reply to this question shall be explicit. *They will be satisfied with nothing short of the recognition of those principles upon which, in resisting this ecclesiastical impost, they take their stand.*

Those principles resolve themselves into two main propositions,—one relating to their full and absolute equality as citizens, the other to the equal validity of their public ministry. With regard to the former, to acquiesce in any condition short of a complete equality with the members of the Establishment in the eye of the law, and in the favour of the State, would be, it has been remarked, 'to plead guilty to imputations which they indignantly 'disclaim, and to submit to a stigma such as can justly attach 'only to the character of political offenders.' In the eye of the law, Dissenters and Churchmen are now equal. There are still found partizans of Episcopacy, indeed, who contend, that Nonconformity, though no longer punishable by statute law, has not ceased to be criminal;—that the State, in tolerating Dissent, does not sanction it;—that Dissenters are, and can be, only half Englishmen. And, in the spirit of these intolerant assumptions, attempts have been made to perpetuate the vicious legislation which distinguished between Church of England men and Dissenting Protestants as two distinct castes. This was manifest in the debates upon the new Marriages Bill, and in the degrading alterations introduced into that valuable and important measure

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the Dissenting Minister was compelled to pay his share, which he did without murmuring. But now the same parochial authorities determined to erect a steeple at the cost of nearly 3000*l.* more. And the quota of the Independent Minister, to meet this new charge, was not less than *forty pounds*. On removing from the parish, he was compelled, owing entirely to the several heavy rates, to let the house he had occupied, for ten guineas less per annum than he had given for it; so that, in effect, though now residing in another county, he is still paying towards the steeple of Saffron Walden!'

by the Tory party in the House of Peers. In the same spirit, the admission of Dissenters to University honours, has been fiercely and arrogantly opposed by the same party. The opposition raised against the new Metropolitan University, and the volley of outrageous abuse with which the announcement of the appointments under the new Charter has been received by the myrmidons of the press in the Conservative interest, indicate too strongly to be mistaken, the rancorous jealousy which the Established Church still cherishes towards those who, in spite of her canons and anathemas, have advanced to their present position of legal equality and political influence. That jealousy has, in some instances, put on a form of open hostility towards all who frequent Dissenting worship; and, in the last Number of the Quarterly Review, the base and impotent threat is held out, in the name of the gentry and clergy of the Establishment, of having recourse to *exclusive dealing*. Now, can it be expected that Dissenters will patiently endure these proceedings? To what purpose has the Legislature repealed every penal enactment against the free exercise of their worship, and extended the protection of the State to their chapels, and recognised the functions of their pastors and teachers, and abrogated every disqualification for civil offices and municipal honours, which formerly attached to Nonconformists, if, after all, the Church is to have the power of treating them as culprits and offenders, or as citizens of an inferior caste? The injustice and oppression which had the form and sanction of Law, they, as subjects of the Government, submitted to without resistance, till they could obtain redress from the Sovereign Authority. But, if the Establishment is to be made a means of perpetuating *civil* distinctions which the Legislature has abolished,—an engine of intolerance towards those against whom neither the law of the land nor the law of God warrants any charge affecting their social obligations,—if the clergy are to make this pernicious use of their connexion with the State, to foment feuds in every parish, and make war upon popular rights and interests,—what wonder that all who wish well to the peace of society should desire to see the entire system swept away as a moral nuisance? Whatever benefits may be supposed to accrue from the Establishment, as a system of public instruction, are, under such circumstances, more than counterbalanced by the injury done to the cause of religion by the conduct of its professed Ministers.

In thus contending for a complete social equality, Dissenters are represented as being actuated by a spirit of ambition. If so, it is an honourable ambition, the absence of which would render them contemptible and unworthy of the privileges they enjoy. Better far that they should at once renounce their principles, than admit that they are such as a State ought barely to tolerate, and which

the Church does well to discountenance. The truth is, that too little of this proper public spirit, rather than an excess of it, has characterized the modern Dissenters, who, not being called to suffer directly for conscience sake, and having little to ask for at the hands of the Government, have relaxed in that stern opposition to sacerdotal intolerance which distinguished the conduct of their pious forefathers. Far be it from us to wish to see revived the bitterness of polemical animosity which characterized the struggle between prelacy and nonconformity in the days of the Stuarts. But the position taken by the High Church clergy at the present moment, the resuscitation of that mongrel Protestantism which calls itself Anglicanism, and avows its preference of Romanism to Dissent, the honours paid to the memory of the execrable Laud by this same party, call upon all who are concerned for the cause of Scriptural Christianity and Religious Liberty, to gird on their armour, and prepare for a last conflict with their dragon enemy.

Whether the civil equality for which Dissenters contend be compatible, or not, with the alliance between the Church and the State, it is not their concern to shew: they have only to establish their just claims; for nothing can be at variance with just claims, which is not based upon injustice. The worst of all possible arguments to urge upon a Dissenter in bar of his pretensions, is, that the theory of an Establishment is against them. The existing connexion between the Church and State, however, puts the Church only more completely in the wrong in acting upon principles of intolerance which the State has abjured. We put the question for serious consideration, whether, consistently with such connexion, the Church has any right to treat as an offence or delinquency, opinions or conduct which the law of the land recognizes as lawful, religious, and approvable. The Church of England has no authority save what she derives from the King and Parliament. Her canons, having never been ratified by Parliament, are without the force of law. Her XXIIId Article, as expounded by the Toleration Act, clearly establishes the lawfulness of the Dissenting Ministry; and if any doubt could be entertained on this head, it would be removed by the fact, that while, by the Toleration Act, Dissenting teachers were exempted from subscribing to three of the Thirty-nine Articles *, and to the interpolated clause of the XXth, to the Article above mentioned they subscribed without hesitation; which they could not have done, nor would have been required to do, had it condemned their own ministrations. Is it then competent for any ecclesiastical authorities to act in direct contravention of the provisions of the Toleration Act, and of the policy of the State, by treating either occasional Nonconformity or 'Dissenting pro-

* Viz. the XXXIVth, XXXVth, and XXXVIth.

pensities' on the part of the members of the Establishment, or avowed dissent in those who separate from its communion, as an offence and a wrong deserving of punishment? Ought the State to lend its countenance to any order of functionaries acting in a spirit so completely at variance with the beneficent and protective character of the Constitution?

But we have intimated, that Protestant Dissenters take their stand not only upon their claim, as citizens, to social equality, but upon their religious convictions, which forbid their conceding the invalidity or inferiority of the ministry exercised by Dissenting pastors. They owe it to Religion also, 'to seek the utter aboli-'tion of those sectarian distinctions among the members of the 'Church Catholic, which result from the injurious favouritism of 'the State, and which, while they degrade the Dissenter below 'his proper level, and foster in the Churchman the pride of caste, 'are hostile alike to the peace of society, the interests of morality, 'and the *unity of the Church of Christ*.'* The unity which consists in subjection to one ecclesiastical head, regal or papal, or in a compulsive uniformity of rites, the most fanatical Churchman can scarcely hope to see restored in this country. The utmost that penal laws could do to establish this false and unreal unity has been tried in vain. Every attempt to bring about a unity of conformity, by schemes of comprehension, has also entirely failed. The time for the success of such plans has long since past. 'The Church shut out the Dissenters when they 'were comparatively few: if she would admit them now, they 'are too many. She could not make room for them. They 'would embarrass her by their return; they would soon over-'whelm her with their support; and the notions and habits 'which these active sectaries would bring back with them, ac-'customed as they have been to the free use of their consciences 'and their bibles, would tend to revolutionize the Church. No; 'Dissenters have no wish to re-enter the Church; and the 'Church will find them more valuable as friendly allies, than she 'could do as subjects, were it even possible to constrain or to 'win their submission.'†

When we say, the Church, we mean the Establishment, for any definition of the Christian Church in England which would exclude the millions who worship in Dissenting places of worship, must be at once schismatical and absurd. Now let the most devoted champion of Episcopacy ask himself, whether he can imagine the possibility of absorbing within the Establishment, by any process of church-building, the multitudes who attend and support the 8000 Dissenting places of worship. Let him make

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* "Designs of the Dissenters," p. 34. † Ib. p. 19.

any deductions he may please from that estimate of their numbers, and, when he has reduced the various denominations to what he supposes to be their true dimensions, let him weigh the probability, that the Established Church will ever be able to extinguish that spirit which has not only covered the length and breadth of the land with places of worship, with Sunday-schools, with religious associations, but has planted Protestant missions on every shore, under every latitude. Well, then, if Dissent must exist—must exist at least so long as an Establishment exists, for Dissent is a relative term, having no meaning but in relation to an Establishment,—if, rather, the Church of Christ in England must continue to be divided into denominations, which no scheme of comprehension is likely to consolidate,—the only union that is possible, is that which consists in a mutual recognition of each other as different sections of the One Church, acknowledging one Rule, one Head, one faith, one baptism. Such a unity as this is *not* impossible:—it were impious to assert it. What stands in the way of realizing it, but those prejudices which hinder its being seen to be desirable? Those prejudices, however, are not invincible; and we rejoice to know that, in the minds of some zealous and right-minded ministers of the Established Church, they have yielded to a deep conviction of the sinfulness of refusing to acknowledge those as our brethren whom Christ has received. It is with the highest gratification that we refer our readers to a 'Tract for the Times,' which has just been put into our hands, entitled, "The Unity of the Church, addressed especially to members of the Establishment, by Baptist Wriothesley Noel, M.A." (12mo. 2*d.*); and we cannot better conclude this article than by extracting a few paragraphs.

'But, how, it may be asked, will you thus maintain the truth or secure the unity of the church? Dissent being an evil, and Episcopacy the most scriptural form of church government, this union of good men of all sects will sanction Dissent, and undermine Episcopacy. Can that be right? *By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another—that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.* That is answer enough. But, in fact, the establishment of minor truths and the unanimity of sentiment in the church of Christ, instead of being hindered by a previous cordiality between the different sections of the church, mainly depend upon it. The objector wants to see unity in the church; and therefore he would hold no brotherly communion with those who, after examination of the scriptures, with prayer and reflection, believe that it is the will of the great Head of the church, that they should, on various particulars, dissent from us, allowing us, at the same time, the liberty which they claim for themselves of determining our views of duty solely from the word of God. Their present conduct is determined by a religious regard to the will of God,

and can only be altered by showing them from scripture, that it is not agreeable to his will. They as much believe us to be in error, as they think themselves to be right. To deny them to be members of the body of Christ, to be alienated from them, and to treat them with coldness or with jealousy, while they bear on their character and conduct all the great scriptural marks which prove them to be the children of God, is to do them wrong, to sin against the plain directions of scripture, and to manifest a spiritual blindness, a want of power to discern Christian character, affording a fearful sign that we have never been taught of God ourselves. Will this recommend our opinions to them? If our spirit is so bad, or our judgement so perverse in this particular, it is the less probable that we have found the truth, in those points on which we differ from them. Our blindness respecting this one plain duty of brotherly kindness to all who believe in Christ, affords a strong presumption of our liability to mistake on subjects more obscure. This opposes one obstacle to their reception of our views. Then the weak among them cannot fail to be irritated by our injustice, and irritation is very unfavourable to an impartial examination of our arguments. By this mode, all union in the church of Christ seems for ever hopeless. Differences of opinion must arise among thoughtful men, when the evidence on both sides is so partial and obscure. Let them be candid, tolerant, and brotherly to each other. Let them allow each other the right of judging for themselves by the word of God. Let them respect each other's honest opinions thus formed; and then they may be ultimately agreed on minor truths, because united in the belief of the great clear truths of the gospel; and loving each other, each of them will examine with impartiality the evidence for every opinion contrary to his own. Now, on the contrary, alienated from each other, they strive to magnify the points on which they differ, exaggerate on both sides the evils which flow from the views opposite to their own, and controversy becomes bitter and interminable. An intolerant, imperious, and unbrotherly course, which, utterly contrary as it is to the spirit of the gospel, is yet dignified with the name of Churchmanship, is of all things the most calculated to exasperate dissension and to perpetuate error. From this a sectarian, jealous, and uncandid temper grows up on all sides. Arguments and declamation abound, not for *the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood*, but for "our church;" not for *Sion, the city of the living God*, but for "our Sion;" not for the diffusion of the saving name of Christ to the ends of the earth, but for "the dissenting cause," or for "our venerable establishment," that is, our venerable selves. All that is great is forgotten for all that is little, and grand truths, that should unite Christians together, lie buried under a mass of exaggerated and unfair imputations, which keep them asunder. *Truth is fallen in the street, and equity cannot enter.* Let me intreat you, my Christian reader, to do your utmost to arrest this growing evil. Of all spectacles which the world exhibits, not one would be more sublime and lovely than the church of Christ, if it was what he intended it to be. Rescued at an incalculable cost from inconceivable ruin, by Divine love, Christians are meant to represent, in the midst of the prevailing selfishness of the

world, the love of Christ. *By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye have love to one another.* Millions of persons, with every conceivable variety of opinions, tempers, habits, and interests, attached to every class of society, filling all sorts of situations, speaking different languages, and inhabiting widely separated countries, all united in brotherly love, living to promote the glory of God, in doing the greatest possible good to each other and to the world—that is what the church should be. Now what is it?

'Professed Christians are denying each other's right to the Christian name,—labouring to extort from the most scanty, or rather the most unfavourable evidence, proof that Christians are no Christians. They are contending about money. They are attributing to each other the basest motives where the motives are not apparent. They are widening those differences which have already, for gloomy and disgraceful centuries, made an impassable gulf between them. They come into close conjunction with the enemies of the Gospel to carry on hostilities against its friends. They publish to the world each other's faults: they exaggerate them. They accuse each other of invention and of falsehood. They term each other sectarians, rivals, and enemies. They speak, write, preach against each other. And those who are peaceable look on at the unholy strife, and do nothing. Christian reader, if you feel the love of Christ, if you respect the command of God, if you wish for the welfare of the church, if you desire not to be partakers of other men's sins, if you would regret that the progress of religion should be arrested in the world, set yourself, I intreat you, with all your influence of station, and with all your energies of mind, against this discreditable warfare. Separate from violent men of every party; and unite yourself cordially and openly with all who manifest the mind which was in Christ. Long ago has this course been enjoined. *I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them. One is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren. Love as brethren. Seeing you have purified your souls in obeying the truth, through the Spirit, unto unfeigned love of the brethren, see that ye love one another with a pure heart, fervently.*

'What, then, must we do? Must we forego the defence of truths because they are controverted? Must we surrender infant baptism, episcopacy, the principle of an establishment, and all other points which a dissenter may happen to deny? I advocate no such concealment of the truth. But, if we wish to maintain the peace of the church of Christ without compromise, let us act upon the following rules:—

'1. Let us maintain the sole authority of Scripture in all matters of religious truth and duty, otherwise there can be no end of discussions. The moment we substitute any other authority than God himself for the doctrines we hold, or the religious duties to which we are obliged, we come under our Lord's censure, *In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men;* we are in imminent danger of *making the commandments of God void by our traditions;* and there is no fixed standard to which we can appeal. God's word is the sole standard of revealed truth, and the entire rule

of Christian duty, and woe be to those who either add to it or take from it.

'2. The right of private judgement necessarily follows from the supremacy of God's word. For, as there is no authorized infallible interpreter, to follow any fallible authorities would be to dishonour the word of God, by making them supreme. Being fallible, their judgement may therefore, in some points, oppose the doctrine of Scripture; and if in those points we take their views instead of the Scripture for our guide, we should oppose it too. Thus, with us, the Scripture would cease to be supreme, because, instead of ascertaining its doctrine for ourselves, we should yield to an upstart authority which contradicts it. God has given to no man, and to no set of men, this right of supreme decision, so derogatory to the Bible. Each of us will be judged by that alone. And should we have lived in the denial of any of its truths, or the disregard of any of its precepts, it will be no justification that we followed venerable names. The Word of God ought to have been more venerable than they: why did we disregard it? Scripture is our only ultimate authority for faith and practice. *Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind, for whatsoever is not of faith is sin.*

'3. Let us bear in mind that God has, in his word, told us plainly who are his children and who are not. To deny, against the evidence of scripture, those to be his children who really are so, is to be guilty of the sin of schism. If a dissenter bears all the foregoing marks of a child of God, and I, overlooking them all, pronounce him to be no member of Christ, because he is no Episcopalian, I am, in the sight of God, a schismatic; I introduce an unscriptural test of Christian character, and am responsible for all the divisions and heart-burnings in the church of God which must follow from my bigotry. As Christians, they have a right to my esteem and brotherly love: they may demand that I honour them, aid them, vindicate them from unjust aspersions, and do all the kind offices which naturally flow from brotherly love. They are dear to the great Head of the Church, and if, instead of all the esteem and love which is their due, I treat them with unkindness, he who once said to an impetuous enemy of the Gospel, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" will not fail to notice a similar bigotry in one who has less excuse for it.

'4. Let us not condemn our brethren for a faithful obedience to what they believe to be the will of Christ, as revealed in scripture.

'If we see in others the marks of grace, we ought, in the absence of proof to the contrary, to believe that, in forming their opinions, they have examined Scripture with as much of care and candour, of humility and love of the truth, as we have ourselves, and consequently are no more criminal for their errors than we are for ours; perhaps not so much. And since whatsoever is not of faith is sin, they are bound to act according to their conviction of the meaning of Scripture; and instead of blaming them for differing from us, we ought to honour their fidelity. When the missionary Judson, after much examination and prayer, came to the conclusion, that infant baptism is contrary to the will of Christ; and therefore, to be faithful to Christ, hazarded the displeasure of all his

dearest friends, renounced the salary which was his only means of support, and threw himself on the care of God, by joining the Baptist body; he was surely entitled to the admiration and love of his Christian brethren, and instead of being cut off from the church on that account as a heretic, he ought to have been more esteemed as faithful, and beloved.

'5. We should never impute to our Christian brethren inferences which they disown. Sometimes a mischievous doctrine may arise necessarily out of an error into which a Christian has fallen, and yet, by a happy inconsistency, while he maintains the error, he may deny the inference. We should contend against the error, by shewing what mischievous inferences may fairly be drawn from it, but we must not conclude, because we see the connexion between the inference and the parent error, that he does. The infirmity may also be on our side; the inference which we think to be real, may be only apparent. In this case we should still more seriously offend in imputing them to him. A dissenter, for instance, of devoted piety, may entertain decided objections against the principle of an Establishment. To impute to him, on that account, a hatred to the Church of England, especially if he disclaims it, may be most unjust. He may wish to see the Episcopal Church flourishing in piety and numbers, and may yet hate its connexion with the State, because he believes the church to be vitiated, and religion dishonoured by that connexion.

'6. We should never impute to our Christian brethren corrupt motives, when they are not apparent. A pious dissenter wishes to see the connexion between the Church and State dissolved. What right have we to say, that this wish arises from envy or from cupidity? He is in other respects a consistent Christian. It is, therefore, much more likely that he wishes to destroy that connexion, because he believes it to interfere with the progress of religion, and to lead to jealousies among the different bodies of professed Christians. Under such circumstances, to impute to him the baser and less probable motive, is uncharitable and unchristian.'

We must extract no further, but earnestly commend this Tract to universal perusal. It is an irenical effort which does honour to the admirable individual from whose pen and heart it proceeds.

Art. II. Bridgewater Treatises, No. 6. *Geology and Mineralogy considered with reference to Natural Theology.* By the Rev. William Buckland, D.D. Two volumes 8vo, pp. xxiii, 727. Plates. Price £1 15*s*. London, 1836.

WE are not sure that the great question which these 'Treatises' are intended to illustrate, has been much advanced beyond the point where Paley left it. Little has been done, since his time, beyond extending the argument over a larger surface, and giving, in particular instances, somewhat more of simplicity to its application. Nor had Paley himself done more than take up an argument previously discussed with both skill

and eloquence. He exchanged old lamps for new; the light was the same, and the materials were not dissimilar, but the forms were at once more striking and more advantageous. The ancient manufacturers were forgotten, in admiration of the novel fashion: Boyle, Ray, Derham, reposed unheeded on the shelf, and the new fashioner succeeded to 'all the honours' which, however they might be merited by the improver, were somewhat ungratefully withdrawn from those by whose processes he had been so effectually aided. Even this, however, is not without beneficial results in the progress of knowledge: a fresh procedure is sometimes as efficient as a fresh discovery, in stirring up the drowsy senses of the world; and were it not for the danger of confounding one with the other, we might be disposed to accept the opening of a new path as a sometimes profitable equivalent for the establishment of a new principle.

Geology, in the modern acceptation of that comprehensive term, has every claim to be considered as a new science. The old writers on the subject seem not merely to have had no adequate notion of the proper objects of investigation, but to have mistaken altogether the nature and scope of the inquiry. They were eager to account for the phenomena, before they had acquired either the means of explanation, or a sufficient knowledge of the thing to be explained. Fantastic reveries, wild excursions, baseless systems, obtained slight and temporary popularity and passed away, to be succeeded by inventions as puerile, and guesses quite as wide of the mark, as those which had gone before. Every difficulty vanished before these summary processes: if the mountain would not come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain, and so that the approximation were effected, it little mattered how. If, in the midst of all this confusion, a wiser or happier suggestion rose for a moment above the surface, it excited no attention, but lay hidden in its obscurity, until some later and more fortunate inquirer might chance upon its *gite*, and produce it as an illustration of luckless genius struggling against dark times and counteracting circumstances. In this way the sagacious anticipations of Michell, which ought to have originated a new era in geological research, were thrown aside and forgotten, until reproduced in our own day, as things 'to marvel at.' More recently, matters took a different turn. The inconvenient and unprofitable character of the old methods produced something like a reaction, and the attention of observers became directed, almost too exclusively, to minutiæ and distinct parts, rather than to the combinations and great movements of the earth and its materials. 'During a long period,' observes one of the most eminent of living geologists*, 'positive

* Elie de Beaumont *Memoires pour servir à une description géologique de la France.* Vol. II. p. 223.

'geology was nothing more than an extension of mineralogy. 'Men studied the mineralogical elements, of which the union 'constitutes the mass of rocks, and were content to infer the 'igneous or aqueous origin of these masses, in strict accordance 'with the possibility of conceiving their formation by the dry 'process, the wet process, or the process of mechanical deposit. 'The uncertainties presented by this mode of speculation gave 'rise to the obstinate disputes of the Vulcanists and Neptunists. 'The subsequent progress of observation has led geologists to 'take a more comprehensive view of the structure of mountains. 'They have learned to read, in their exterior forms, and in the 'relative disposition of their different parts, the effects of the 'movements which, after a consolidation more or less complete, 'their constituent masses have undergone.' In like manner, all the departments of Geology have been treated on a great scale; and it might afford matter of interesting comment, to trace the gradually advancing superiority of the modes of investigating, both theoretical and practical, as marked in the papers of our 'Geological Transactions,' from its commencement to the present time. We can scarcely conceive of a greater intellectual interval than that which exists between some even of the leading articles in the earlier volumes, and Professor Sedgwick's admirable essay on cleavage and stratification, in a recent part.

It is not, however, our present intention to trace the history of geological science: our business is rather with its actual state, as exhibited in the volumes before us, which are, we think, much more valuable in this point of view, than considered as polemical or theological treatises. As a richly illustrated *exposé* of the more important facts and leading principles of geology, Dr. Buckland's book is of the greatest worth. His exhibition of the proofs which geological observation supplies, of unity of design and *excellence in working*, manifested in the long unbroken chain of created existence, does him the highest credit: it is, for correctness, above challenge, and, for cogency, beyond reply. Up to this point, he is clear, forcible, and convincing: beyond it he has made small advance. He has dealt either timidly or abruptly with the still greater questions which bring the facts of geology into contact with the statements of Holy Writ. A sounder discretion or stronger nerve would have given him, or at least enabled him to give his readers, a more distinct view, both of the state of the inquiry and of its probable solution. We admit that he has done this partially; we concede, moreover, that this extension of his task is not 'nominated in the bond;' but the first of these excuses destroys the second: the question should have been either avoided altogether or thoroughly discussed. Neither are we quite satisfied with even the very little that has been done in this way. Dr. Pusey's Hebrew philosophy seems to us circuitous and doubtful: the view taken by Dr. Lee is simpler, clearer, and much

more to the purpose. Respecting the *carnivora*, we cannot see that Dr. Buckland has met the real difficulty of the case: he appears to think it a positive luxury to be eaten alive; and if, on such a matter, we could be moved to merriment, there is ample scope afforded by his off-hand mode of meeting and settling a point of which the explanation lies deeper than he seems to be aware. We regard Geology as opening a new and most important source of evidence in proof and illustration of the Being and Attributes of an all-wise and omnipotent Maker; as deriving and devolving that evidence from and through a period before which all common calculations and conceptions fail; and as enabling us to put to the test all former systems of argument, by applying them to new and unexpected conditions of animal and material existence. This evidence bears, moreover, strongly upon our Scriptural notions concerning the special operations of the great Master-worker; and we are quite sure that the argument drawn from the entire harmony between the description authoritatively given and the example incidentally occurring, might be put in more clear and convincing demonstration than has yet been done. This is not, however, to be effected, either by the ultra-Hutchinsonianism that is put forward by one party, or by the convenient *laissez faire* of the *pococurante* school. There is a great lesson to be inculcated and made plain; there are, we feel convinced, ample materials even now in hand, for its adequate illustration; and, since we know of no one more competent to such a task than Dr. Buckland, we regret that he has not sternly grappled with the question, and pursued it, through all its ramifications, to a final adjustment.

Few general students are aware of the extent to which Geology connects itself with the circumstances of human life, and with the great objects, both intellectual and economical, of human inquiry. There is no position that man can occupy, no track that he can pursue, no science that he can cultivate, in which he may congratulate himself on his independence of geological instruction. Dr. Buckland has put this matter in a pleasant and striking light, with reference to some of the more obvious peculiarities of local, commercial, and political association.

'If a stranger, landing at the extremity of England, were to traverse the whole of Cornwall and the North of Devonshire, and crossing to St. David's, should make the tour of all North Wales; and passing thence through Cumberland, by the Isle of Man, to the south-western shore of Scotland, should proceed either through the hilly region of the Border Counties, or, along the Grampians, to the German Ocean; he would conclude from such a journey of many hundred miles, that Britain was a thinly peopled sterile region, whose principal inhabitants were miners and mountaineers.

'Another foreigner, arriving on the coast of Devon, and crossing the Midland Counties, from the mouth of the Exe, to that of the

Tyne, would find a continued succession of fertile hills and valleys, thickly overspread with towns and cities, and in many parts crowded with a manufacturing population, whose industry is maintained by the coal with which the strata of these districts are abundantly interspersed.

'A third foreigner might travel from the coast of Dorset to the coast of Yorkshire, over elevated plains of oolitic limestone, or of chalk; without a single mine, or mountain, or coal-pit, or any important manufactory, and occupied by a population almost exclusively agricultural.

'Let us suppose these three strangers to meet at the termination of their journeys, and to compare their respective observations; how different would be the results to which each would have arrived, respecting the actual condition of Great Britain. The first would represent it as a thinly peopled region of barren mountains; the second, as a land of rich pastures, crowded with a flourishing population of manufacturers; the third, as a great corn field, occupied by persons almost exclusively engaged in the pursuits of husbandry.

'These dissimilar conditions of three great divisions of our country, result from differences in the geological structure of the districts through which our three travellers have been conducted. The first will have seen only those north-western portions of Britain that are composed of rocks belonging to the primary and transition series: the second will have traversed these fertile portions of the new red sandstone formation which are made up of the detritus of the more ancient rocks, and have beneath and near them, inestimable treasures of mineral coal: the third will have confined his route to wolds of limestone, and downs of chalk, which are best adapted for sheep-walks and the production of corn.'

Thus, health, wealth, and morals, are, to a great degree, influenced by geological circumstances, and it follows, that their vestigation recommends itself most urgently to men of all classes and all pursuits. We might, with advantage, carry on this train of illustration, and shew the expediency of geological acquisition, by the disasters which have attended its neglect; but we have no license for thus deserting our Author, and other opportunities may occur of resuming the discussion without doing violence to our proper subject. We have before us, ably written, and rich in graphic exemplification, a work which professes to exhibit, compendiously but clearly, the actual state of geological discovery, in its bearing upon questions still more important than any which mere science can entertain. With what success this, the ultimate object, has been elaborated, we have already intimated: it remains for us to furnish such further indications as may display the general conduct of the investigation so far as its scientific character is concerned.

Dr. Buckland, of course, sets out with determining the extent and ascertaining the proper subjects of the inquiry; and having

disposed of these and other preliminaries, he passes on to the materials and structure of the globe. These are described with the skill and felicity of a master; they are moreover made obvious by a coloured diagram on a grand scale, exhibiting all their formations in their regular succession, and connecting with them figures of the more remarkable animal and vegetable productions which mark the respective periods. Too much can hardly be said in praise of this almost magnificent chart; but, on the other hand, there can be scarcely too much said about the very unaccommodating mode of its insertion in the book. It is made a bivalve, so that, when drawn out to the right and left, it becomes impossible, with any sort of convenience, to consult the references in the former part of the volume. Dr. Buckland might have adopted the excellent plan which was, we believe, first applied to these purposes in Phillips and Conybeare's Geology of England; the section is mounted upon cloth, and drawn out at one length: it is also of considerable importance that it be placed at the very end of the volume, so that while it lies open for constant reference, it may offer no obstruction to the manipulation of other plates. Were it not for the expense, it would be desirable that all works of reference should have their engraved illustrations, like those of engineering manuals, provided with a large margin, so that the plate, lying open clear of the page, might be examined side by side with the explanation. These observations may seem trivial: they will not, however, be so accounted by those who have had to make studies of this kind clear to the ignorant or half initiated. The statements and references connected with this expressive section, cannot fail to communicate, even to minds but slightly prepared for the reception of scientific knowledge, a clear notion of the general nature of geological phenomena, both individually and in their combination. We pass on, however, from this more beaten track, to other parts of the science less commonly cultivated, and in which Dr. Buckland occupies a high station as an original discoverer.

It was a happy day for geologists, when the clear and strong light of anatomical science was let in upon the wild confusion of bony fragments which accumulated round them from every quarter, immediately that their attention became directed to these invaluable indications of former states of animal existence. The illustrious Cuvier, whose knowledge of the laws and details of Comparative Anatomy, founded as it was on persevering application, had all the rapidity and definitiveness of intuition, devoted the latter portion of his life especially to this subject, and, in his '*Ossemens Fossiles*,' conferred on science an inestimable benefit, while he reared a glorious monument to his own immortal memory. He has left on record a striking description of the circumstances under which he found himself when surrounded by un-

classified heaps of fossil bones from the gypsum quarries of the Paris basin. 'I found myself at length,' he writes, 'as if placed 'in a charnel-house, surrounded with mutilated fragments of many 'hundred skeletons, of more than twenty kinds of animals, piled 'confusedly around me; the task assigned me was to restore them 'all to their original position. At the voice of Comparative Ana-'tomy, every bone, and fragment of a bone, resumed its place. I 'cannot find words to express the pleasure I experienced in seeing, 'as I discovered one character, how all the consequences I pre-'dicted from it, were successively confirmed; the feet were found 'in accordance with the characters announced by the teeth; the 'teeth in harmony with those indicated before-hand by the feet; 'the bones of the legs and thighs, and every connecting portion of 'the extremities, were found set together precisely as I had ar-'ranged them, before my conjectures were verified by the discovery 'of the parts entire: in short, each species was, as it were, recon-'structed from a single one of its component elements.'

In that part of the present Work which relates to the structure and changes of the globe, the subject of animal remains comes incidentally under notice, with reference to their importance in determining the course and order in which life was evolved through distinct gradations of existence. Of this opportunity Dr. Buckland avails himself to demolish the strange fancies of Lamarck touching the 'derivation of existing species from preceding 'species, by successive *transmutations* of one form of organization 'into another form,'—an hypothesis set up for the purpose of discarding the interference of a Creator,—and to give demonstration of that gradual advance of organic life and terrestrial conditions, by which the earth has become fitted for the habitancy of man. We have become familiarized with these things, else we should turn in terror from the contemplation of those dreadful forms —'Gorgons and chimæras dire'—which existed amid the wastes and oceans of the pre-adamite globe.

'The peculiar feature in the population of the whole series of secondary strata, was the prevalence of numerous and gigantic forms of Saurian reptiles. Many of these were exclusively marine; others amphibious; others were terrestrial, ranging in savannahs and jungles, clothed with a tropical vegetation, or basking on the margin of estuaries, lakes, and rivers. Even the air was tenanted by flying lizards, under the dragon form of Pterodactyles. The earth was probably at that time too much covered with water, and those fractions of land which had emerged above the surface, were too frequently agitated by earthquakes, inundations, and atmospheric irregularities, to be extensively occupied by any higher order of quadrupeds than reptiles.'

And well were these fearful forms fitted for the stormy periods in adaptation to which their powerful and gigantic frames were

built. Those forms are there, before our sight, in all the completeness of their strange and marvellous arrangement, or we should laugh to scorn the legend that told us of their existence. Imagine a creature, half fish, half lizard, thirty feet from tail to snout; jaws six feet in length, armed with nearly two hundred teeth; eyes glaring for prey from sockets fourteen inches wide;—fancy him rushing with this apparatus of destruction through the swamps and shallows of the ancient chaos, oared along by four powerful paddles, thus combining in one portentous shape, 'the 'snout of a porpoise, the teeth of a crocodile, the head of a lizard, 'with the vertebræ of a fish, and the sternum of an ornithorhynchus 'with the paddles of a whale.' Nor is yon congenerous monster a thing less fitted to excite 'our special wonder.' Fossilists call him the Plesiosaurus, because his head partakes more of the lizard form; but his neck, long, lithe, and serpent-like, is peculiarly his own. 'To the head of the lizard,' says Dr. Buckland, 'it united the teeth of a crocodile; a neck of enormous length, 'resembling the body of a serpent; a trunk and tail having the 'proportions of an ordinary quadruped; the ribs of a cameleon, and 'the paddles of a whale.' Of all the monsters of the ancient world, Cuvier accounts this the most monstrous: we apprehend, however, that this distinction belongs still more decidedly to the pterodactyles. So completely anomalous is the structure of this winged saurian, that, on its first discovery, it was by different naturalists qualified as a bird, a bat, a flying reptile; and this variety of opinion was, in each instance, adequately sustained by the presence of characters distinctly pertaining to those widely separated classes. Jaws long and large, like those of the crocodile, and armed with teeth; a neck lengthened out of all proportion conceivable in a flying animal; a body agreeing in all essential points with the lizard type; claws for creeping or suspension; 'wing of bat;' and eye of enormous size;—all these qualities combined in a single subject, go to the making up of something assuredly very different from any animal known as now existing on the earth, but whose strange yet admirably combined characters assign it to a state of things which was, as we learn from geological investigation, perfectly in adaptation to its peculiar structure. Cuvier was of opinion that these dragon-like inhabitants of air were insectivorous: it is, we think, more probable that, as suggested by Dr. Buckland, the size and strength of the jaw, in the larger species, indicate carnivorous habits; their length of neck would enable them to fish with advantage in shallow waters, and their strength would enable them to master the small marsupial mammalia which existed at those far distant periods.

By thus bringing first on the field of view this remarkable family, we have departed from the order observed by Dr. Buck-

land, who, following the systematic arrangement of *Vertebrata*, *Mollusca*, *Articulata*, and *Radiata*, commences, in his reference to the jaws, by analysing those gigantic forms among the fossil mammalia, which have obtained the distinctive names of Dinotherium and Megatherium. Nothing can be more skilful than the way in which he has compressed within brief space, a clear description of these extinct animals, so far as their structure is known, or may be inferred from the analogies supplied by the laws of comparative anatomy. We cannot, however, attend him through the particulars of his investigation; and all that we can do, in the remaining portion of this Article, will be to mark, without departing from his course, some of the more important illustrations of geological science, as derived by him from the four great orders of animated nature, and from the wide and widening field of vegetable oryctology. Passing by, then, that giant saurian, the iguanodon, an herbivorous reptile congenerous with the iguana, and probably attaining the enormous length of seventy feet; and dismissing the whole tribe of fossil crocodiles and tortoises; we come to a new and instructive feature of geological discovery, the distinct traces of footsteps impressed by marine animals of the tortoise kind, on the surface of sandstone. On this singular and striking phenomenon, Dr. Buckland makes the following impressive comment.

'The historian or the antiquary may have traversed the fields of ancient or of modern battles; and may have pursued the line of march of triumphant conquerors, whose armies trampled down the most mighty kingdoms of the world. The winds and storms have utterly obliterated the ephemeral impressions of their course. Not a track remains of a single foot, or a single hoof, of all the countless millions of men and beasts whose progress spread desolation over the earth. But the reptiles that crowded upon the half-finished surface of our infant planet, have left memorials of their passage, enduring and indelible. No history has recorded their creation or their destruction: their very bones are found no more among the fossil relics of a former world. Centuries and thousands of years may have rolled away, between the time in which these footsteps were impressed by tortoises upon the sands of their native Scotland, and the hour when they are again laid bare, and exposed to our curious admiring eyes. Yet we behold them, stamped upon the rock, distinct as the track of the passing animal upon the recent snow; as if to shew that thousands of years are but as nothing amidst eternity, and, as it were, in mockery of the fleeting perishable course of the mightiest potentates among mankind.'

Many circumstances have occurred to keep in obscurity, up to the present time, the history of fossil ichthyology. Even of several fishes, our knowledge is, from various and obvious causes, exceedingly deficient. Of late, however, great advances

have been made in this important department of science, and the skill of a single individual bids fair to make that which has hitherto been the most imperfectly cultivated division of geology, henceforward one of its most thoroughly explored branches. Not long before his death, Cuvier had entered upon the general subject, prepared for its investigation by the inspection of nearly eight thousand specimens of existing fishes. He left to his coadjutors and disciples the completion of his great work; but he had, during his life, absolutely resigned into the hands of Professor Agassiz, the materials which he had collected for the fossil section of his undertaking. The confidence of Cuvier was not misplaced. That which had baffled the ingenuity of previous inquirers has been effected; and an arrangement of universal application, derived from the scales, has already reduced to luminous order that which was previously confused. Proceeding from the fact, that the nature of the dermal covering determines the cognizable relation of the animal to its proper element, it was inferred that, as the 'form and conditions of the feathers and 'down shew the relation of birds to the air in which they fly, or 'the water in which they swim or dive;' and as 'the varied 'forms of fur and hair and bristles, on the skins of beasts, are 'adapted to their respective place and climate, and occupations 'upon the land;' in like manner the scales of fishes ought to shew 'a similar adaptation to their varied place and occupations be-'neath the waters.' On this basis Dr. Agassiz has established four distinct orders of fishes; and the results of his labours have already furnished most important illustrations of general geology, especially in the remarkable coincidences which present themselves in the phenomena of its distinct departments. The great mutations move on in a parallel direction: the more recent depositions exhibit the nearest approach to existing genera and species, while the greatest differences are in proportion to the receding antiquity of the strata. And these invaluable discoveries are sustained and elucidated by the fact, that 'all the great changes 'in the character of fossil fishes take place simultaneously with the 'most important alterations in the other classes of fossil animals, 'and in fossil vegetables; and also in the mineral condition of the 'strata.' An incidental reflection by Dr. Buckland, in connexion with this part of his general subject, is worth citation.

'The sterility and solitude which have sometimes been attributed to the depths of the ocean, exist only in the fictions of poetic fancy. The great mass of the water that covers nearly three-fourths of the globe, is crowded with life, perhaps more abundantly than the air and the surface of the earth; and the bottom of the sea, within a certain depth accessible to light, swarms with countless hosts of worms and creeping things, which represent the kindred families of

low degree which crawl upon the land. The common object of creation seems ever to have been, the infinite multiplication of life. As the basis of animal nutrition is laid in the vegetable kingdom, the bed of the ocean is not less beautifully clothed with sub-marine vegetation, than the surface of the dry land with verdant herbs and stately forests. In both cases, the undue increase of herbivorous tribes is controlled by the restraining influence of those which are carnivorous; and the common result is, and ever has been, the greatest possible amount of animal enjoyment to the greatest number of individuals.'

Perhaps the most interesting portion of the work, and that in which Dr. Buckland appears to best advantage as a skilful investigator of the economy of nature, is to be found in the section devoted to the molluscous remains which pervade so large an extent of the successive depositions that form the crust of our globe. Among the most curious of the discoveries made by the indefatigable explorers of the fossiliferous strata, may be fairly reckoned the detection of the ink-bag, with its entire contents, of the ancient cuttle-fish.

'So completely,' says Dr. Buckland, 'are the character and qualities of the ink retained in its fossil state, that when, in 1826, I submitted a portion of it to my friend Sir Francis Chantrey, requesting him to try its power as a pigment, and he had prepared a drawing with a triturated portion of this fossil substance; the drawing was shewn to a celebrated painter, without any information as to its origin, and he immediately pronounced it to be tinted with sepia of excellent quality, and begged to be informed by what colour-man it was prepared. The common sepia used in drawing is from the ink-bag of an oriental species of cuttle-fish. The ink of the cuttle-fishes, in its natural state, is said to be soluble only in water, through which it diffuses itself instantaneously, being thus remarkably adapted to its peculiar service in the only fluid wherein it is naturally employed.'

Cuvier made his drawings of the recent Sepia with its own ink; and Dr. Buckland has paid the same compliment to the extinct species: he has done better still, for he has supplied his reader with a series of excellently executed representations of this singular fossil. From this he passes to the subject of chambered or multilocular shells, and is successful in throwing much light on points previously obscure. The transition and secondary strata abound with specimens of great beauty and variety; and this abundance makes it necessary to simplify the inquiry by employing the comparative evidence of living examples. For this purpose Dr. B. refers to the Nautilus Pompilius, and the Spirula; and his exposition of the nature of these shells is the more important, since it leads to inferences decidedly at variance with those of Cuvier and Lamarck. Those distinguished naturalists had recognized in the Ammonite certain analogies which induced them

to suppose it an *internal* shell, such as the recent Spirula appears to be, though on evidence less complete than might be desired. Dr. Buckland has reviewed the subject with a completeness and precision that can, we apprehend, leave but little doubt of the correctness of his conclusion. He reverses the decision, and makes it clear that the Ammonite was an *exterior* shell, and that its outer chamber was tenanted by an animal belonging to the class of Cephalopodous Mollusks. He has, moreover, taken a novel and ingenious view of the apparatus by which these chambered shells were made to rise or sink in the water at the will of the inhabitant. That singular fossil, the Belemnite, is largely explained. Altogether, this section, with its numerous graphic illustrations, will be found one of the most valuable in the book.

The fourth grand division (still following Cuvier's arrangement) of the animal kingdom, the *Articulata*,—comprehending the Annelidans, or worms with red-blood—the Crustaceans, including the Crab and Lobster tribes—the Arachnidans, or Spiders—Insects—is distinctly traced, either in actual remains or in unquestionable vestiges, throughout the fossiliferous formation. That most ancient Crustacean, the Trilobite, is discussed with all particularity; a distinction due, not more to his ultra-antiquity, than to his very singular structure. No section of geological inquiry has called forth more patient and skilful research than the present; and, although recent discoveries have done much towards making it systematically complete, there still remains a large field for further examination. We shall cite Dr. Buckland's summary of results.

'We have seen . . . . . that all of the four existing great classes of the grand division of Articulated animals . . . . . and many of their orders, had entered on their respective functions in the natural world, at the early epoch of the Transition Formations. We find evidences of change in the families of these orders, at several periods of the Secondary and Tertiary series, very distant from one another; and we farther find each family variously represented during different intervals by genera, some of which are known only in a fossil state, whilst others (and those chiefly in the lower classes) have extended through all geological eras unto the present time. On these facts we may found conclusions which are of great importance in the investigation of the physical history of the earth. If the existing classes, orders, and families of marine and terrestrial Articulated animals have thus pervaded various geological epochs, since life began upon our planet, we may infer that the state of the land and waters, and also of the atmosphere, during all these epochs, was not so widely different from their actual condition as many geologists have supposed. We also learn, that throughout all these epochs and stages of change, the correlative functions of the successive representatives of the animal

and vegetable kingdoms have ever been the same as at the present moment; and thus we connect the entire series of past and present forms of organized beings, as parts of one stupendously grand, and consistent, and harmonious *whole.*'

The Radiated Animals offer an infinite variety of fossilized forms to the inspection of the geologist; all of them bearing the same impress of unity in design and adaptation. 'Volumes,' it is truly said, 'might be filled with descriptions of fossil species of 'those beautiful genera whose living representatives crowd the 'waters of our present seas'. In this embarrassing multitudinousness of subject, Dr. Buckland has been again placed under the necessity of selection, and he has judiciously chosen those singular Zoophytes, the Crinoïdea, on which to exercise his descriptive powers. Of this family, the 'living analogues' are of rare occurrence, but the extinct varieties extend in astonishing profusion over immense ranges of calcareous strata. The Derbyshire marbles are familiar examples of these beautiful petrifactions; and specimens from different quarters are of common exhibition, either as curiosities or as materials of ornamental structure. These fossils have been usually designated as Encrinites, and the animals of which they are the remains, were once attached either to floating bodies accidentally coming in their way, or to rocks and stones in the depths of the ocean. An interesting monograph of the Erinoïdea was sometime since published by Mr. Miller; and, although upon a more restricted scale, Dr. Buckland's anatomical analysis of the Encrinites Moniliformis and the Pentacrinus Briareus, gives a sufficient view of the construction and probable habits of these wondrous creations. The flower-like appearance of these animals has obtained for them their distinguishing name: their vertebral column, with its large and branching head, displays when in collapse, no small resemblance to a lily on its stem. This stalk or column is made up of a great number of small bones, the joints which gave it flexibility; and these have been made the subject of legendary lay.

'The name of Entrochi, or wheel-stones, has with much propriety been applied to these insulated vertebræ. The perforations in the centre of these joints affording a facility for stringing them as beads, has caused them, in ancient times, to be used as rosaries. In the northern parts of England they still retain the appellation of St. Cuthbert's beads.

"On a rock by Lindisfarn,
Saint Cuthbert sits, and toils to frame
The sea-born beads that bear his name."—*Marmion.*

'Each of these presents a similar series of articulations, varying as we ascend upwards through the body of the animal, every joint being exactly adjusted to give the requisite amount of flexibility and strength.

From one extremity of the vertebral column to the other, and throughout the hands and fingers, the surface of each bone articulates with that adjacent to it, with the most perfect regularity and nicety of adjustment. So exact and methodical is this arrangement, even to the extremity of its minutest tentacula, that it is just as improbable, that the metals which compose the wheels of a chronometer should for themselves have calculated and arranged the form and number of the teeth of each respective wheel, and that these wheels should have placed themselves in the precise position fitted to attain the end resulting from the combined action of them all, as for the successive hundreds and thousands of little bones that compose an Encrinite, to have arranged themselves in a position subordinate to the end produced by the combined effect of their united mechanism; each acting its peculiar part in harmonious subordination to the rest, and all conjointly producing a result which no single series of them acting separately, could possibly have effected. . . . . .

'We have seen that Parkinson calculates the number of bones in the Lily Encrinite to exceed twenty-six thousand. The number of bones in the fingers and tentacula of the Briarean Pentacrinite amounts at least to a hundred thousand; if to these we add fifty thousand more for the ossicula of the side arms, which is much too little, the total number of bones will exceed a hundred and fifty thousand. As each bone was furnished with at least two fasciculi of fibres, one for contraction, the other for expansion, we have a hundred and fifty thousand bones, and three hundred thousand fasciculi of fibres equivalent to muscles, in the body of a single pentacrinite—an amount of muscular apparatus concerned in regulating the ossicula of the skeleton, infinitely exceeding any that has been yet observed throughout the entire animal creation.

'When we consider the profusion of care and exquisite contrivance that pervades the frame of every individual in this species of Pentacrinite, forming but one of many members of the almost extinct family of Crinoïdeans—and when we add to this the amount of analogous mechanisms that characterise the other genera and species of this curious family—we are almost lost in astonishment, at the microscopic attention that has been paid to the welfare of creatures holding so low a place among the inhabitants of the ancient deep; and we feel a no less irresistible conviction of the universal presence and eternal agency of Creative care, in the lower regions of organic life, than is forced upon us by the contemplation of those highest combinations of animal mechanism, which occur in that paragon of animal organization, the corporeal frame of Man.'

We have now given a general view of the course taken by Dr. Buckland, in his illustrations of those wonderful relics of the ancient world, which exemplify, at once, the different conditions of that former state, and its minute agreement with the great principles which have obviously regulated the parts and proportions of the system under which we live. There still remains a department —that of Fossil Vegetables, on which the Professor has exhibited his usual ability in the selection of demonstrative facts. Here, how-

ever, we must decline following him: other opportunities will present themselves for a more complete and instructive view of this important section than we could now afford to give. For the same reason we must decline particularising the contents of the supplementary chapters: but we cannot lay aside the volume without again expressing our admiration of the skill and science which it displays, and of the discriminating liberality which has provided for the general student so rich and attractive a series of illustrations.

Art. III.—*Sacred Poetry of the Seventeenth Century:* including the whole of Giles Fletcher's Christ's Victory and Triumph, with copious Selections from Spenser, Davies, Sandys, &c., &c. With an Introductory Essay and Critical Remarks, by the Rev. R. Cattermole, B.D. In two Volumes. (Sacred Classics, Vol. xxi. and xxvi.) London, 1835, 1836.

THE Series of which these Volumes form a portion, closes with the thirtieth Volume. Although we cannot think the selection altogether judicious, the entire set will form a valuable portion of any theological library. We shall give in alphabetical order the names of the Authors whose works have furnished the contents*. Bates, 1 vol. "On Spiritual Perfection". Baxter, 1 vol. "Dying Thoughts". Beveridge, 2 vols. "Private Thoughts", &c. Boyle, 1 vol., three treatises. Butler, 2 vols. "Analogy of Religion", and Sermons. Cave, 4 vols. "Lives of the Apostles and Fathers", and "Primitive Christianity". Hall, 1 vol. Devotional and Practical Treatises. Horne, 3 vols. "Commentary on the Psalms". Howe, 1 vol. Select Treatises. Knox, 1 vol. "Christian Philosophy".† Locke, 1 vol. Reasonableness of Christianity. Leighton, 1 vol. Exposition of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, &c. Taylor, 5 vols. "Liberty of Prophecying", Sermons, Life of Christ. Watts, 1 vol. "Lyric Poems". Sermons from the works of Divines of the sixteenth and subsequent centuries, 3 vols. Sacred Poetry, 2 vols. We readily admit that we should not wish to be without any of these volumes; but we can discern no just or intelligent principle of selection in the list we have given. Several of the volumes are in every body's hands, editions in all sizes being continually issued from the press. There was no occasion, for instance, to reprint Horne's Popular Commentary, Beveridge's Private Thoughts, and Jeremy Taylor's Life of Christ; and still less, Watts's Lyrics. Bishop

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* See Ecl. Rev. 3d Ser. Vol. xii. pp. 243—248 for a notice of Vols. I. to VIII.

† See Ecl. Rev. 3d Ser. Vol. xiv. p. 241. (Sept. 1835).

Butler's "Analogy" can scarcely be reprinted too often, but his Sermons at the Rolls Chapel are lamentably deficient in a theological point of view, and by no means worthy of his fame. On the other hand, who that can appreciate the writings of Baxter, Howe, and Leighton, would be satisfied with a single volume of each? How came Barrow to be nearly overlooked, three sermons only being taken from his works? And why was not Hooker's masterly Discourse on Justification included in the XVth volume? A judicious and well arranged selection of the best Discourses in the English language, would form a most valuable portion of a compact library; but there are not many individuals to be found possessing all the qualifications for the task. Dibdin's Theological Library exhibits, as might have been expected, the entire absence of the requisite qualifications in the Editor. Mr. Cattermole's selection is, upon the whole, good. The 'Divines' are Donne, Ridley, Barrow, Taylor, South, Hall, Beveridge, Leighton, Howe, Secker, Clarke, Sherlock, Sanderson, Wilson, Atterbury, Tillotson, Farindon, Sharp, Hammond, Ogden, Horne, Horsley, Watts, and Wesley. In fact, these three volumes of Sermons are, in our opinion, nearly the most valuable of the series. Our present business, however, is to notice more particularly the two volumes of Sacred Poetry, selected chiefly from the writers of the seventeenth century, but including some of earlier date. For this inaccuracy in the title-page, the Editor apologizes. We find no fault with his plan, but why should he have adhered to his title? Spenser, Gascoigne, and Southwell belong entirely to the sixteenth century. Drayton, Davies, Donne, Drummond, Sandys, and the Fletchers all flourished partly in that century, and may be considered as connecting its literature with that of the seventeenth.

The first volume commences with Spenser's two 'Hymns,' 'of Heavenly Love' and 'on Heavenly Beauty', in which, Mr. Montgomery fancifully thinks, 'may be found the germ of Para-'dise Lost'. Without entirely subscribing to this remark, we may admit that Spenser was to Milton what Chaucer was to Spenser; and he, no doubt, drank the spirit of these hymns, the germ of which we might, perhaps, discover in the lines of the Poet's great patron and master, Sir Philip Sidney, entitled, a 'Farewell to 'Splendid Follies'.

> 'Then, farewell, world! thine uttermost I see.
> Eternal Love! maintain thy life in me'.

Both Sidney and Spenser were imitators of Petrarch; and, indeed, it was from the Italian Muse that the fathers of English poetry, sacred and secular, drew their inspiration. Were we to trace the stream still higher up, we should discover the sources of

some of our earliest sacred poetry in the old Latin Hymns of the Church, many of which possess very great beauty.

Drummond, of Hawthornden, for instance, has versified two or three of these. Among the specimens selected by Mr. Cattermole will be found, a 'Hymn for Whitsunday,' closely rendered from the ancient Hymn, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, which Dryden's more elegant version has familiarized to all classes of readers, it having now found its way into most of our popular Hymn-books. The preceding hymn, 'Dedication of a Church,' is also a close translation of a Latin hymn in the Romish service-books; a circumstance of which Mr. Cattermole does not seem to be aware. As the hymn is a remarkable one, and not much known, we shall give both the original and the English version.

'Cœlestis urbs Jerusalem,
Beata pacis visio,
Quæ celsa de viventibus
Saxis ad astra tolleris;
Sponsæque ritu cingeris
Milla Angelorum millibus.

'Jerusalem, that place divine,
The vision of sweet peace is named.
In heaven her glorious turrets shine;
Her walls of living stones are framed;
While angels guard her on each side,
Fit company for such a bride.

'O sorte nupta prospera,
Dotata Patris gloria!
Respersa Sponsi gratia,
Regina formosissima,
Christo jugata principi,
Cœli corusca civitas!

'She, deck'd in new attire, from heaven,
Her wedding chamber, now descends,
Prepared in marriage to be given
To Christ, on whom her joy depends.
Her walls, wherewith she is inclosed,
And streets are of pure gold composed.

'Hic margaritis emicant,
Patentque cunctis ostia.
Virtute namque prævia
Mortalis illuc ducitur,
Amore Christus percitus,
Tormenta quisquis sustinet.

'The gates, adorned with pearls most bright,
The way to hidden glory shew;
And thither, by the blessed might
Of faith in Jesu's merit, go
All those who are on earth distressed,
Because they have Christ's name professed.

'Scalpri salubris ictibus,
Et tunsione plurima,
Fabri polita malleo,
Hanc saxa molem construunt,
Aptisque juncta nexibus,
Locantur in fastigio.

'These stones the workmen dress and beat,
Before they throughly polished are:
Then each is in his proper seat
Established by the Builder's care;
In this fair frame to stand for ever
So joined that them no force can sever.

'Decus Parenti debitum
Sit usquequaque altissimo,
Natoque Patris Unico,
Et inclyto Paraclito;
Cui laus, potestas, gloria
Æterna sit per sæcula.

'To God who sits in highest seat
Glory and power given be;
To Father, Son, and Paraclete,
Who reign in equal dignity;
Whose boundless power we still adore,
And sing their praise for evermore.'

This hymn may have suggested (although the resemblance is not very close) the simple and touching stanzas by an unknown writer, beginning,

'Jerusalem, my happy home.'

The Easter Hymn, 'Christ, our Lord, is risen to-day,' is apparently founded upon one in the Roman service, of which the first verse is—

'O Filii et Filiæ !
Rex cœlestis, Rex gloriæ,
Morte surrexit hodie. Alleluia.
Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.'

One of the most striking of Crashaw's Poems is a version of the hymn sung at the Mass for the Dead, which Sir Walter Scott has rendered so familiar to modern readers;

'Dies iræ, dies illa
Solvet sæclum in favilla'.

Like all the poets of his age, he has indulged in conceits which are not to be found in the Latin. Our readers may like to compare a few of the stanzas with the original.

'Quantus tremor est futurus,
Quando judex est venturus,
Cuncta stricte discussurus.

'Oh, that fire, before whose face
Heaven and earth shall find no place!
Oh, those eyes, whose angry light
Must be the day of that dread night!

'Tuba mirum spargens sonum,
Per sepulchra regionum
Coget omnes ante Thronum.

'Oh, that trump, whose blast shall run
An even round with the circling sun,
And urge the murmuring graves to bring
Pale mankind forth to meet their King!

'Mors stupebit, et Natura,
Cum resurget creatura,
Judicanti responsura.

'Horror of Nature, Hell, and Death!
When a deep groan from beneath
Shall cry, We come, we come! and all
The caves of night answer one call.

'Liber scriptus proferetur,
In quo totum continetur,
Unde mundus judicetur.
'Judex ergo cum sedebit,
Quidquid latet, apparebit;
Nil inultum remanebit.

'Oh, that book, whose leaves so bright
Will set the world in severe light!
Oh, that Judge, whose hand, whose eye
None can endure, yet none can fly.

'Quid sum miser tunc dicturus?
Quem patronem rogaturus,
Cum vix justus sit secutus?

'Ah then, poor soul, what wilt thou say,
And to what patron choose to pray,
When stars themselves shall stagger, and
The most firm foot no more then stand?

* * * * * * * * *

‘ Juste Judex ultionis !	‘ Just Mercy, then, thy reckoning be
Donum fac remissionis,	With my price, and not with me.
Ante diem rationis.	’Twas paid at first with too much pain,
	To be paid twice, or once in vain.
* * * *	* * * * * *
‘ Inter Oves locum præsta,	‘ Oh when thy last frown shall proclaim
Et ab Hædis me sequestra,	The flocks of goats to folds of flame,
Statuens in parte dextra.	And all thy lost sheep found shall be,
	Let “Come ye blessed” then call me.
‘ Confutatis maledictis,	‘ When the dread “ *Ite*” shall divide
Flammis acribus addictis,	Those limbs of death from thy left side,
Voca me cum benedictis.’	Let those life-speaking lips command
	That I inherit thy right hand.’

In many instances, it will be seen, the version falls far short of the simple beauty and propriety of the Latin hymn. Spenser, if he has not directly imitated, in his two hymns, reminds us of the style of these ancient compositions. For example, the following devout apostrophe is much in the spirit of the best Latin hymns.

‘ O blessed Well of Love ! O Floure of Grace !
O Glorious Morning-Starre ! O Lampe of Light !
Most lively image of thy Father’s face !
Eternal King of Glorie, Lord of Might !
Meeke Lambe of God, before all worlds behight !
How can we thee requite for all this good ?
Or what can prize that thy most precious blood ? ’

The style of invocation in the following Hymns, will be seen to bear a close resemblance.

‘ Creator alme siderum,
Æterna lux credentium,
Jesu, Redemptor omnium,
Intende votis supplicum !

‘ Qui, dæmonis ne fraudibus
Periret orbis, impetu
Amoris actus, languidi
Mundi medela factus es.’

‘ Jesu, Redemptor omnium,
Quem lucis ante originem
Parem paternæ gloriæ,
Pater supremus edidit !

‘ Tu lumen et splendor Patris !
Tu spes perennis omnium !
Intende quas fundunt preces
Tui per orbem servuli.’

'Conditor alme siderum,
Æterna lux credentium,
Christe, Redemptor omnium,
Exaudi preces supplicum!

'Qui condolens interitu
Mortis perire sœculum,
Salvasti mundum languidum,
Donans reis remedium.

'Cujus forti potentiæ,
Genu curvantur omnia,
Cœlestia, terrestria,
Nutu fatentur subdita.

'Te deprecamur, Agne!
Venturi Judex sœculi!
Conserva nos in tempore
Hostis à telo perfidi.

'Laus, honor, virtus, gloria
Deo Patri, et Filio,
Sancto simul Paraclito,
In sempiterna sæcula?'

We have not the means of ascertaining the precise date of these hymns. The last is the most ancient; and the others would seem to be modelled upon it. In a history of Sacred Poetry, it would be unpardonable to overlook these Songs of the Church. 'The Christian poets, previously to the revival of 'learning,' Mr. Cattermole justly remarks, 'do not indeed appear 'to have been aware of the greatness and interest of the subjects 'which the religion of the Gospel had laid open to them.'

'Yet there is much in their remains, which taste, as well as piety, might suggest the wish to have better known. A sacred anthology, collected and translated from the works of Gregory, Ambrose, Prudentius, Prosper, Sedulius, Fortunatus, Cosmos, and many others, some of whose names are unknown, but whose fragments are preserved in the collections, would be no unworthy or undesirable addition to the poetic wreath of English literature.'—Introd. Essay, p. xix.

The Reformation, which swept away the Latin hymnology, gave us, in this country, nothing in its stead. In Germany, the case was widely different. As early as the year 1524, Luther began to publish hymns in the German language; and the sixty-three hymns of the Reformer of Wittenberg gave birth to an immense variety of sacred poems, especially in the eighteenth century. These the Lutherans accustomed themselves to sing, not only in their places of worship, but in their families, 'over the tombs of their fathers 'and the cradles of their children.' The best poets of Germany deemed it their duty and honour to compose hymns; and the

acred poetry of Germany became, both in quantity and in character, superior to that of any other Protestant nation. In France, a bad metrical translation of the Psalms was the only sacred poetry of the Reformed Churches; and there are, to this day, scarcely any popular hymns in the French language. In England, the effects of the Reformation upon general literature were far more evident: but our church poetry has long been proverbial for its poverty and utter want of merit, grace, or harmony. During the century and a half that followed the translation of the Scriptures, Mr. Cattermole remarks,

'In spite of the frivolity of courts, (in those times the only patrons of literature,) of the increasing study of Pagan authors, and of the fashions derived from Italy and Spain, the Muse of England still haunted Zion's Hill,—still loved the murmur of

"Siloa's brook, that flowed
Fast by the oracle of God."

Nearly all the best poets of that period were sacred poets. . . . . One of the most remarkable and decisive proofs of the tendency of the poetical genius of this century, and of the public taste, whether regarded as leading it or led by it, is the extraordinary number of metrical versions of the Psalms and lyrical compositions scattered throughout the Scriptures, which appeared between the Reformation and the close of the Stuart dynasty, and of which several, though little known to the modern reader, are works of great merit.'—pp. xxii, xxiii.

Sandys stands at the head of those who have attempted to give a metrical form to the inspired compositions of the Royal Psalmist; and it is remarkable, that no subsequent Translator has surpassed him in the combination of poetical spirit with terseness and fidelity. Yet his version has met with general neglect; and scarcely any use has been made of it for the purpose of Psalmody. The wretched doggrel of Sternhold and Hopkins was long upheld by authority, in the Anglican service, to the exclusion of any thing approaching to poetry. Psalm-singing, indeed, has, till of late, been regarded as a Puritanical rite; and it is not without reason that Dr. Watts is styled by Mr. Montgomery 'the inventor of 'Hymns' in our language, so greatly did he improve upon his forgotten predecessors*. Hence, in looking through the sacred poets of the seventeenth century, we find almost every description of religious poem except hymns suited for either the service of the Church or for popular use. This striking want of adaptation to the highest purpose of sacred verse, is particularly observable in the devout and elevated, but scholastic, and sometimes fantastic effusions of Herbert. Had there been any demand for hymns fit to be sung by either the choir or the congregation, we cannot doubt

* Among these, Burton, Patrick, and Mason are the best known.—See Ecl. Rev. 3rd Ser. Vol. xiii. pp. 404—406.

that many of the poets whose works are here presented to us, would have turned their attention to this species of composition. As it is, with the exception of Dr. Watts's productions, and those of much later writers, it must be confessed that we have no national hymns, nothing answering in either general popularity or interest to the German hymnology. The Morning and Evening Hymns of Bishop Ken, Dryden's *Veni Creator Spiritus*, and those attributed to Addison, are, so far as we recollect, the only ones transmitted to us from the seventeenth century, that are in general use. Of sacred poetry, these volumes shew that there is no deficiency in our literature; and Mr. Cattermole has not used too strong terms of eulogy in remarking, that, 'unequal, and even heterogeneous as 'the contents of some of these publications are, so nobly fraught 'are many of them with solemn Christian thoughts, expressed in 'numbers such as genuine poetic genius alone could have uttered, 'that they merit alike a place in the library of the man of piety, or 'of the man of taste.' Still, there is a prevailing deficiency of the genuine spirit of Christian devotion or experimental piety. We meet with no 'glorious and lofty hymns' in the spirit of the Psalms, no strains fit to employ the praises of Zion, no hymns to the Saviour, such as might express the penitence of the contrite, or the yearnings of faith. Mr. Cattermole cites the remark of Jerome, that, in his day, 'you could not go into the country, but you might 'hear the plowman at his hallelujahs, the mower at his hymns, and 'the vine-dresser singing David's Psalms.' But *this* sacred poetry never could have become the poetry of the people. And for this reason it has never taken hold upon the public, but has been so completely neglected, that the greater part of the contents of these volumes have been known only to 'the curious literary inquirer.'

It would lead us too far, to enter into an investigation of the circumstances to which the peculiar character of our sacred poetry is attributable. The false taste of the age, discernible in these productions, is in itself a circumstance requiring to be accounted for, and which therefore furnishes no explanation. The fact is, that, in that age, learning, recently escaped from the schools, had not outgrown its pedantry; Protestantism still wore the trammels, and was fettered by the prejudices of Romanism; the Scriptures, recently translated, were not yet naturalized; and a sort of twilight religion was still the creed of the learned, the courtly, and the polite. The mingling of these elements of light and darkness is most curiously displayed in the great poem of Giles Fletcher.

Mr. Montgomery has pronounced this to be 'one of the most 'interesting religious poems in our language;' and the specimens he has given of it in his "Christian Poet," must have excited a curiosity to see the whole. It is here printed entire, 'with the 'exception of a very few unimportant stanzas.' The title is, 'Christ's Victory and Triumph,' in Four Parts. Part the first

'Christ's Victory in Heaven,' is occupied with an allegorical combat between Justice and Mercy, very striking in parts, but tiresomely eked out with insipid ingenuities,—such as an elaborate description of the beauty of Mercy, of 'her garments, 'wrought by her own hands,' and her emblematic head-dress. Justice having made her accusation against man, Mercy replies in a 'deprecative speech,' in which, somewhat abruptly introduced, the satisfactory efficiency of Christ's mediation is thus intimated.

'What hath man done, that man shall not undo,
Since God to him is grown so near a-kin?
Did his foe slay him? He shall slay his foe.
Hath he lost all? he all again shall win.
Is sin his master? he shall master sin.
Too hardy soul, with sin the field to try.
The only way to conquer, was to fly.
But thus long death hath lived, and now death's self shall die.

'He is a path, if any be misled.
He is a robe, if any naked be.
If any chance to hunger, he is bread.
If any be a bondman, he is free.
If any be but weak, how strong is he!
To dead men life he is, to sick men health;
To blind men sight, and to the needy wealth;
A pleasure without loss, a treasure without stealth.'

The Part concludes with Mercy's celebration of the Nativity, and with a description of the effects of her speech upon the Almighty, in which the allegory assumes an unhallowed license, reminding us of Olympus more than of Sinai.

'With that the mighty thunder dropt away
From God's unwary arm.'—

Part II., 'Christ's Victory on Earth,' is occupied with an allegorical description of Our Lord's Temptation. The personal appearance of Christ is first portrayed in the language of the Canticles. The Adversary is then described as approaching him in the form of a devout Essene, who, after a flattering speech, conducts him to the 'baleful bower' of Desperation. Our Lord's answer to the Tempter is deprived of its Scriptural force by the figurative expression.

'But he upon ambrosia daily fed,
That grew in Eden:—thus he answered.
So both away were caught, and to the Temple fled.'

Upon its sacred pinnacles 'did Presumption her pavilion spread.' This allegorical personage next addresses Our Saviour; and, when she sees her speech prevails nought, tumbles herself head-

long. The third temptation affords occasion for a florid description of the bower of 'Vain-Delight': its issue is thus narrated.

'Thus sought the dire Enchantress in his mind
Her guileful bait to have embosomed;
But he her charms dispersed into wind,
And her of insolence admonished,
And all her optic glasses shattered.
So with her sire to hell she took her flight,
(The starting air flew from the damned spright,)
Where deeply both, aggrieved, plunged themselves in night.'

'Christ's Triumph over Death' is the subject of the third Part, which is by far the best. Though overloaded with the same tawdry finery of classic allusion and allegorical machinery, it contains some stanzas which in strength and harmony equal, if they do not surpass, any in Spenser. And it is remarkable that these passages are for the most part so distinct and complete in themselves, as to allow of the substantial texture being separated from the mere embroidery. This will be seen from the following extracts, which, though not immediately consecutive, require nothing to connect them.

'Christ suffers, and in this his tears begin;
Suffers for us—and our joys spring in this:
Suffers to death—here is his manhood seen;
Suffers to rise—and here his Godhead is,—
For man, that could not by himself have ris',
Out of the grave doth by the Godhead rise,
And God, that could not die, in manhood dies,
That we in both might live by that sweet sacrifice.

'What better friendship, than to cover shame?
What greater love, than for a friend to die?
Yet this is better, to asself the blame;
And this is greater, for an enemy:
But more than this, to die, not suddenly,
Not with some common death, or easy pain,
But slowly, and with torments to be slain:
O depth without a depth, far better seen than say'n!

'And yet the Son is humbled for the slave,
And yet the slave is proud before the Son!
Yet the Creator for his creature gave
Himself, and yet the creature hastes to run
From his Creator, and self-good doth shun;
And yet the Prince, and God himself doth cry
To man, his traitor, pardon not to fly:
Yet man his God, and traitor doth his Prince defy!

'A tree was first the instrument of strife,
Where Eve to sin her soul did prostitute;

A tree is now the instrument of life,
Though ill that trunk and this fair body suit.
Ah cursed tree, and yet O blessed fruit!
That death to Him, this life to us doth give:
Strange is the cure, when things past cure revive,
And the Physician dies to make the patient live.

'Sweet Eden was the arbour of delight,
Yet in his honey flowers our poison blew;
Sad Gethsemane the bower of baleful night,
Where Christ a health of poison for us drew,
Yet all our honey in that poison grew:
So we from sweetest flowers could suck our bane,
And Christ from bitter venom could again
Extract life out of death, and pleasure out of pain.

'A man was first the author of our fall:
A man is now the author of our rise.
A garden was the place we perished all:
A garden is the place he pays our price;
And the old serpent, with a new device,
Hath found a way himself for to beguile:
So he that all men tangled in his wile,
Is now by one man caught, beguiled with his own guile.

'The dewy night had with her frosty shade
Immantled all the world, and the stiff ground
Sparkled in ice; only the Lord, that made
All for himself, himself dissolved found—
Sweat without heat, and blood without a wound:
Of heav'n, and earth, and God, and man forlore,
Thrice begging help of those whose sins he bore,
And thrice denied of one, not to deny had swore.

'Thus Christ himself to watch and sorrow gives,
While, dew'd in easy sleep, dead Peter lies.
Thus man in his own grave securely lives,
While Christ alive, with thousand horrors dies,
Yet more for theirs, than his own pardon cries.
No sins he had, yet all our sins he bare.
So much doth God for others' evils care,
And yet so careless men for their own evils are.

'See drowsy Peter, see where Judas wakes,
Where Judas kisses him whom Peter flies.
O kiss more deadly than the sting of snakes!
False love more hurtful than true injuries!
Ah me! how dearly God his servant buys!
For God his man at his own blood doth hold,
And man his God for thirty pence hath sold:
So tin for silver goes, and dunghill dross for gold.

'Who ever saw honour before asham'd;
Afflicted majesty; debased height;
Innocence guilty; honesty defam'd;
Liberty bound; health sick; the sun in night?
But since such wrong was offer'd unto right,
Our night is day, our sickness health is grown,
Our shame is veil'd: this now remains alone
For us—since he was ours, that we be not our own.'

Part IV., 'Christ's Triumph after death,' contains some beautiful lines interspersed here and there: as, in describing the blessedness of heaven,—

'The infant wonders how he came so old;
The old man, how he came so young again;
Still resting, though from sleep they still refrain.'

But, upon the whole, the false taste so predominates in this Part as to destroy the beauty of the poetry and the propriety of the sentiments. Always powerful when he is natural, this Author, in essaying to be poetical, fails, and his towering sublimity borders on the ludicrous. For instance:—

'Out leap the antique Patriarchs, all in haste
To see the powers of hell in triumph led;
And with small stars a garland interchast
Of olive leaves they bore to crown his head,
That was before with thorns degloried.
After them flew the Prophets, brightly stoled
In shining lawn and wimpled manifold,
Striking their ivory harps, strung all in cords of gold.'

Such description as this reminds one of a raree-show, or of the palpable representations of the old Mysteries. If the style was suited to the times, it must have been because the giant strength of the newly awakened mind of the age was but feeling its way into daylight, retaining as yet the imperfect perceptions of childhood, vivid, but undiscriminating, the imagination being stronger than the judgement. How can we otherwise account for the confusion of allegory and sacred narrative, shadows and realities, childish fable and awful verities, in the otherwise beautiful productions of Fletcher and his contemporaries? The rich vein of precious ore which runs through their poetry, is, however, well worth the trouble of smelting.

We have dwelt so long upon this poem, to which Milton's Paradise Regained presents so strong a resemblance in subject, with so marked (perhaps studied) a contrariety of style, that we must very briefly notice the remaining contents of these volumes. We are glad to find the much wronged name of Francis Quarles duly honoured by the Editor. Of him, Mr. Montgomery remarks,

(and the observation will apply with equal justice to Giles Fletcher;) that 'his faults are so laboured, that they seem to have been committed on purpose; while his beauties are so spontaneous that 'they alone, amid his anomalous compositions, seem to be natural to him.' Of his wit, the following epigram affords a happy specimen:—

'On Alexander.

'No marvel thou, great monarch, didst complain,
And weep there were no other worlds to gain.
Thy griefs and thy complaints were not amiss:
He's grief enough, that finds no world but this.'

But higher qualities are discovered in Quarles's poetry;—'extensive learning, a lively fancy, and profound piety.' The poem entitled 'Delight in God only,' is one of the most elegant effusions in these volumes. His dialogue between 'Justice, 'Christ, and the Sinner,' which is not selected, is (we speak from recollection) one of the most powerful and original pieces in the whole compass of sacred poetry. But he wrote himself down. Had he confined himself to lyric poetry, his fame would probably not have suffered eclipse; but he attempted sacred narrative poetry—the History of Esther, of Job, and of Sampson; and though these heavy and almost unreadable compositions are by no means destitute of poetical merit, they have shared the fate of all similar poetical commentaries, and dragged down the other works with their weight. Of Herbert, Milton, and Crashaw, who follow Quarles in order, we need say nothing; except that the latter, to whose version of the Latin Hymns we have already referred, exhibits, in union with marks of high talent and piety, a taste more than ordinarily vitiated. Some further extracts from his works are introduced in the second volume, among which is an able translation from the Italian of Marino, and a poem which Mr. Coleridge is said to have considered as 'one of the greatest poems in the language;' a whimsical sally of critical extravagance.

Among the most illustrious names in the second volume, are those of Donne, Drummond, Habingdon, More, Cowley, Herrick, Vaughan, and Norris. We miss those of Ken, Jeremy Taylor, and Baxter—for what reason we cannot divine. Donne's 'holy sonnets' are truly noble and masculine compositions: witness the following:—

'Death! be not proud, though some have called thee
Mighty and dreadful, for thou art not so;
For those whom thou think'st thou dost overthrow,
Die not, poor Death; nor yet canst thou kill me.
From rest and sleep, which but thy pictures be,

Much pleasure, then from thee much more must flow ;
And soonest our best men with thee do go,
Rest of their bones, and soul's delivery.
Thou art slave to fate, chance, kings, and desperate men,
And dost with poison, war, and sickness dwell ;
And poppy or charms can make us sleep as well,
And better than thy stroke. Why swell'st thou then ?
One short sleep past, we wake eternally,
And death shall be no more. Death ! thou shalt die!'

Habingdon is distinguished by the chaste elegance and sweetness of his lyrical compositions. Herrick, the *Thomas Little* of a grosser age, has left behind him some very striking effusions of his better moments,—or rather of his penitential days. His 'Litany to the Holy Spirit' is exceedingly solemn, fervent, and pathetic, and makes us regret that his religious poems are so few. We must make room for the following very remarkable lines, not for any poetical merit, but for the sentiment.

'No coming to God without Christ.'

'Good and great God ! how should I fear
To come to thee, were Christ not there!
Could I but think, He would not be
Present to plead my cause for me,
To hell I'd rather run than I
Would see thy face, and He not by.'

In point of originality and richness of thought, as well as in earnestness and pathos, Vaughan excels most of his contemporaries. His poem, 'The Rainbow,' not only contains the germ of Campbell's exquisite stanzas, but, in the remarkable expression,

'The youthful world's grey fathers'—

we have the original of one of his most beautiful touches; nor do we reproach him with the plagiarism. 'Heaven in Prospect' is the title of one of the most elevated and touching effusions of sanctified genius in the whole collection: we could not pass it by, had it not already appeared in our pages. 'The Shower' is worthy of the author of 'the Rainbow:' the thought must be termed a conceit, but it is a beautiful one, and skilfully managed. We must only indulge our readers, however, with a single specimen, and we give the preference to—

'Christ's Nativity.

'Awake, glad heart! get up, and sing!
It is the birth-day of thy King ;
Awake ! awake !
The sun doth shake
Light from his locks, and all the way
Breathing perfumes, doth spice the day.

'Awake! awake! hark how th' wood rings;
Winds whisper, and the busy springs
A concert make.
Awake! awake!
Man is their high-priest, and should rise
To offer up the sacrifice.

'I would I were some bird or star
Fluttering in woods, or lifted far
Above this inn
And road of sin!
Then either star or bird should be
Shining or singing still to Thee.

'I would I had in my best part
Fit rooms for Thee! or that my heart
Were so clean as
Thy manger was!
But I am all filth and obscene.
Yet, if thou wilt, Thou canst make clean.

'Sweet Jesu! *will* then; let no more
This leper haunt and soil thy door;
Cure him, ease him;
Oh release him!
And let once more, by mystic birth,
The Lord of Life be born in earth!'

Of Norris, of Bemerton, a poet of no mean order, and of John Mason, the Author of "Songs of Zion," we need only here remark, that no Collection of Sacred Poetry could be complete in which their names were not found. Of the latter, we have recently had occasion to speak, as the greatest of our hymn-writers before Watts. One other name deserves mention, as hitherto almost lost,—that of John Quarles, the son of Francis. 'His 'writings,' Mr. Cattermole remarks, 'prove him to have been little, 'if at all inferior to his father in genius or piety, and unquestion-'ably his superior in taste.' This criticism is amply supported by the following

'Divine Ejaculation.

'Great God, whose sceptre rules the earth!
Distil thy fear into my heart,
That, being rapt with holy mirth,
I may proclaim how good thou art:
Open my lips, that I may sing
Full praises to my God, my King.

'Great God, thy garden is defac'd,
The weeds thrive there, thy flowers decay;
O call to mind thy promise past,
Restore thou them, cut these away:
Till then let not the weeds have power
To starve or stint the poorest flower.

'In all extremes, Lord, thou art still
The mount whereto my hopes do flee;
O make my soul detest all ill,
Because so much abhor'd by thee:
Lord, let thy gracious trials show
That I am just, or make me so.

'Shall mountain, desert, beast, and tree
Yield to that heavenly voice of thine,
And shall that voice not startle me,
Nor stir this stone—this heart of mine?
No, Lord, till thou new-bore mine ear,
Thy voice is lost, I cannot hear.

'Fountain of light and living breath,
Whose mercies never fail nor fade,
Fill me with life that hath no death,
Fill me with light that hath no shade;
Appoint the remnant of my days
To see thy power, and sing thy praise.

'Lord God of gods, before whose throne
Stand storms and fire, O what shall we
Return to heaven, that is our own,
When all the world belongs to thee?
We have no offering to impart,
But praises, and a wounded heart.

'O thou that sit'st in heaven, and see'st
My deeds without, my thoughts within,
Be thou my prince, be thou my priest—
Command my soul, and cure my sin:
How bitter my afflictions be
I care not, so I rise to thee.

'What I possess, or what I crave
Brings no content, great God, to me,
If what I would, or what I have
Be not possest and blest in thee:
What I enjoy, oh make it mine
In making me—that have it—thine.

'When winter-fortunes cloud the brows
Of summer-friends,—when eyes grow strange,—
When plighted faith forgets its vows,
When earth and all things in it change,—
O Lord, thy mercies fail me never—
Where once thou lov'st, thou lov'st for ever.

'Great God, whose kingdom hath no end,
Into whose secrets none can dive,
Whose mercy none can apprehend,
Whose justice none can feel—and live,
What my dull heart cannot aspire
To know, Lord, teach me to admire.'

John Quarles was born in 1624, when his father was 32; whom he survived, if the dates are correctly given, not more than a year, if so long; the death of Francis taking place in 1664, and that of John in 1665. The brief biographical and critical notices of each author, prefixed to the selected specimens, do credit to the Editor's diligence and judgement. The volumes are altogether praiseworthy; though some symptoms of haste in the preparation of them are discernible, and the collection requires a third volume to render it complete. Following in the path struck out by Mr. Montgomery in 'The Christian Poet,' the Editor has thrown additional light upon a highly interesting yet neglected portion of English literature, and has amply vindicated the character of our Sacred Poetry. It is scarcely worth while to advert again to Dr. Johnson's rash and shallow assertion relating to the alleged unfitness of religious subjects for poetical expression or embellishment; but we cannot refrain from remarking, how arbitrary was the selection (not Johnson's own) which ranked among the Poets of England a 'mob of gentlemen who write with ease,' the wits and courtiers of a licentious age, and excluded those masculine writers whose productions would have furnished the best refutation of the Critic's paradox.

Art. IV. *Four Years in Great Britain,* 1831—1835. By Calvin Colton. Two volumes. pp. xx., 628. New York, 1835.

WHAT is it which imparts so peculiar an interest to publications upon one's native country, especially the statements of foreign travellers? Many causes may be assigned, all of which have probably some influence in the matter. Self-love continually prompts us to identify ourselves with what is intimately connected with our interests, habits, and opinions; and thus the national character, which is perhaps invariably the principal point to which our anxiety or curiosity is directed in the perusal of a foreign work of this description, becomes in a manner our own personal character. Every man feels himself included in the judgement passed upon his country, and entitled, on the one hand, to his share of national glory, or, on the other, implicated in national disgrace. That this identification takes place upon

some imaginative principle, rather than on a conscious coincidence of national and individual peculiarities, it is hardly necessary to mention; since many are proud of the trophies of the Peninsula and Waterloo, whom no considerations could have induced to share their dangers: and many read with an aching heart, and with feelings nearly allied to, if not partaking of the character of conscious guilt, the heart-rending narratives of slavery and the slave-trade, or those of the sufferings of the Irish peasantry, as caused by British misgovernment, who are among the most uncompromising opponents of every species of oppression. Whether it be the same imaginative principle, or any other,—and what other,—which produces in thousands of those who are destitute of all religion, so great an earnestness in favour of a national religion, we do not presume to decide, leaving the individuals in question to discern their own motives: but many must have experienced the great convenience of having so broad an ægis wherewith to hide, if hide it will, their private impiety and immoralities. And if certain stubborn facts did not suggest the predominance of other motives, it would be agreeable to us to consider them as persons whose anxiety on this head is demonstrative of a real religious interest, although their obvious and decided preference of a sleeping partnership, invests their notions on this subject with the character of extreme peculiarity. But, however it may be in this last supposed case, the preceding instances are sufficient to prove the existence of an imaginative interest of the kind stated; and we need not remind our readers, that its being merely imaginative affords no argument whatever against its force. Few principles, indeed, act with any great force, into which some exercise of the imagination does not enter. We believe, therefore, that we may fairly ascribe to this imagined coincidence of national and individual character, under the proposed conditions, the greater part of the interest which is taken in the works we have referred to.

In those who are susceptible of this primary interest, one out of the two following accidental expressions of it may be looked for; expressions which receive their modification from a supposed superiority to the writer, in point of information on the subject, or the contrary. There will be those, for instance, who think that a native *must* know more of his own country than a foreigner, even though the former have never investigated any one elementary feature of its character, and the latter have made such investigation his special business for years. Where this idea prevails, the interest will resemble that which a cat takes in a mouse, —leaving out of consideration that, in this latter case, the superiority is real, while the other is only fictitious; and the reader will sport with and lacerate his author without mercy, setting

down every point of disagreement to his slender information or incompetent judgement, and not seldom seasoning his criticisms, on points where his national self-love is wounded, with angry imputations of partiality or jealousy; imputations not seldom suggested from his own consciousness. That there *is* also a certain degree and kind of superior knowledge, which is not only attainable, but frequently attained, by natives of average intelligence and education, we are ready to admit; but this superiority, in our opinion, refers, in by far the majority of instances, to their acquaintance with individual facts, habits, and customs, and seldom extends either to the general theory of the facts, or to the principle of any difference of customs; both which are by contrast, as we think, so far at least as they have not previously been brought into discussion, usually more obvious to an intelligent and educated foreigner than to ourselves. Draw the line of advantage, however, where we may, truly or untruly, the fact remains the same. A numerous class of readers will certainly feel, when taking up a foreign writer upon home affairs, all the luxury of being behind the scenes:—and *who* is not gratified, when thus called upon unexpectedly to enact the part of the Reviewer?

In these cases, however, as well as in those we have yet to specify, we must not overlook the gratification which is usually anticipated in such perusal, from the delineation of our national character and the acknowledgment of our national renown. Without entering into the question as regards other countries, we cannot forbear noticing the extreme strength of national prepossession in the case of our own countrymen; arising probably, in a very great measure, from that insular separation from others, which cuts off the means of an adequate comparison of preferences; a disadvantage which we cannot regard our flying summer migrations as tending in any degree whatever to obviate, since our characteristic exclusiveness of feeling and offensive independence of manner, operate rather as an additional impediment, in this respect, to our travellers abroad. Owing to this common prepossession, dazzled by the glory of our arms, *such glory as it is*, and puffed up with our commercial wealth and enterprise, our countrymen frequently expect in foreign writers little but the plaudits of unmingled admiration; forgetting, or not considering, that there are many other elements besides these, which must be taken into the account. Thus, if in the arts of industry we be superior to other nations, our achievements in learning and science—putting Spain, Italy, and parts of the Austrian and Russian dominions out of consideration—are in some respects below the continental average. Nor can we any longer assert, at least not on the old and universally admitted principle of an equal balance of power in the three branches of the legislature, the unrivalled excellence of our constitution; since the whole world is wit-

ness to the difficulties and impediments which now obstruct and endanger the working of our state machinery, and, with a few interested exceptions, looks with amazement and horror at the efficiency for evil, rather than for good, of our ecclesiastical polity. Our error as to the impressions made on foreigners, has, indeed, been in a measure disturbed by the publications of Prince Puckler Muskau, and Professor F. von Raumer. The dishonourable betrayal of confidence in the former instance, and the hasty and flippant arrogance in both, though largely sapping their credit, cannot of course destroy the force of any real evidence their volumes contain. Still, Old England remains to most persons the object, as a whole, of unmingled love and admiration. With or without her faults, we love her still; and the many will not only be angry enough with any foreign writer who presumes to depreciate her, but, perhaps, on taking a new work into their hands, will regard it as an *à priori* impossibility that aught should be said against her. Of such readers, some will take up the work in anticipation of a feast; their minds need no information; all they wish is, to delight in the contemplation of a beloved object; and he best fulfils their wishes, and, in their view, but demonstrates his ability and fairness, who represents this object to them in the most favourable light.

We mention but one class more; those who, partaking of the favourable prepossessions of the persons just mentioned, are yet conscious that they have something to learn respecting their country. These read, it is true, in the hope that their national partialities may be gratified; but they read for information and improvement too. They are aware that it is the property of all objects to present different appearances from different points of view. These readers are like the man who, observing in his mirror that the right and left sides of his face were not exactly counterparts to each other, and rightly inferring that the image must be reversed to give him a correct idea of the *tout ensemble*, called in the painter's art to aid his physiognomical studies, and, varying the point of view, had full, side, and three-quarter faces delineated, eyeing each other on the same canvas, like Vandyke's celebrated portraits of King Charles the First. He loved the object, and he *would* understand it. So is it withmany; so let it be with all our fellow countrymen. May they never peruse either a history or a description of their father-land without that interest in the object which love imparts! May their love to it be such as to secure their interest in any publication which honestly and ably represents either its excellencies or its defects!

Mr. Colton, the author of the volumes before us, will, of course, during his four years' residence in Great Britain, have become personally known to many of our readers, and secured the respect of not a few in this country. He also rendered some

service while here, by the volume which he published on American revivals, and the corrections which he furnished to some numerical and other mis-statements of the Bishop of London. His views are, possibly, more favourably coloured as regards this country, than they might have been, but for the friendships he has formed here. We merely conjecture this, not knowing him individually, but it is not unnatural, and to the extent to which it may be carried, conveys no reflection upon his perfect integrity. While, however, there is no overcharging of the faults of England, his statements are sufficiently American, to present several things which he observed, in a new point of view, and to render his work in general interesting and instructive both at home and abroad. He is, throughout, an entertaining, lively writer, with a spice of *bonhommie*, somewhat busy and curious we should imagine, but never pushing his curiosity to impertinence, and always under the influence of feelings kindly sociable, and evangelically religious. That he occasionally falls into exaggeration, we shall have occasion to shew, but they are the unconscious exaggerations which flow from excited interest, and are never in the smallest degree tinctured with unfairness or unkindness.

From the descriptive portions of his tour, which embrace some of the most remarkable objects of natural scenery and antiquities in Ireland as well as Great Britain, we must, owing to the greater interest of other matter, afford but a single specimen; there are others, perhaps, more graphically depicted, but the following, of Bolton Priory, will probably be the least familiar to our readers.

'As we pass up the vale of the Wharf, all the scenery, near and remote, gradually becomes more and more picturesque. These soft landscapes, at the mellow season of summer, lying among and upon so many hills, larger and smaller, partly wild and partly cultivated, every where bounded by the distant and bald mountain profile, and at every successive moment changing features, as the passenger is rolled along; the brisk wind bending every grove and tree, and turning up their foilage, making the whole region move in wave succeeding wave; the gentleman's mansion, the poor man's cottage, the busy making of hay, and all the rest, which cannot be named, are, reasonably, enough to interest and delight those, who happen to be in an agreeable mood.

'Still the scenery becomes more and more bewitching, as the traveller advances. He looks back, he looks forward, he looks upon either side, and upon the hills, regretting only, that he cannot look all ways all the time.

'All at once and unexpectedly the carriage stops, and a man presents himself with a string of keys, to be conductor. It is quite unnecessary to ask any questions. We have only to follow him. Besides, to be too curious might dissolve the charm. Ask not—where you are?—Ask not—if you have got there? But follow on.

'Here is an ancient, massive, high, and long stretching wall, which has stood for centuries, concealing every thing beyond, as you approach it. As you enter, and pass through the broken gateway, do it slowly and most solemnly, taking in the vision beyond gradually. For your whole breathing system will chance to suffer a sudden and painful hiatus—not because you stand between Niagara's cataract and the rock, which it hides from vulgar eyes—not because you meet with the rush of the tempest, or any disturbance of the physical elements around you—but for the very stillness, the perfect Sabbath aspect of the beauteous and majestic scene, which opens gradually on the eye, as you advance under this rude and broken hole in the wall. It must not be described. It would be rash and profane to try it. But as you drink it in, and breath it in, and stop, and gaze, and wonder, and are ready to exclaim:—What is this? And where are we?—a few steps farther introduce you to the majestic, most eloquent, and well kept ruins of Bolton Priory, on the bank of the Wharf, directly opposite a lofty cliff, down which plunges a small, but noisy and foaming cataract of more than a hundred feet. This ruin is in a state of the best preservation. The walls are nearly all perfect, and every window appears in its original form. It is gothic of the purest and chastest order—built in 1120—or rather begun then. The nave is now a church, and in use. An unfinished tower, half raised, was put to it in 1520—which, being open to the weather, wears the marks of decay.

'But the Priory is a small consideration in this enchanted ground. Here you have just entered the lower margin of a large estate of the Duke of Devonshire, running up the Wharf for several miles, stretching out over the hills, and far away on either side—and all kept as is proper for such wild scenery. Having turned from the Priory in some half dozen rods, we were lost under the cliffs on the shore of the river (brook), and began to penetrate the higher regions of this romantic world. A way is carefully dug, rising and falling over the rocks, and every footstep of the passenger made safe. But nothing else is touched except what is necessary for this purpose. By and by we rose and passed over a beautiful table of land, where cattle were grazing, and then plunged into the thicket again. Next we came to a handsome bridge across the Wharf, for the private purposes of the estate. Then leaving a carriage road upon the lower bank, we followed a dug way for donkeys and foot passengers, cut out of the precipitous sides of the mountain, and occasionally looking down sublimely over the crags into the deep chasm, and on the rushing waters below. At last we came to the *Stridd*, as it is called—where the river is compressed, like the Connecticut at Bellows Falls, and rushes down between the rocks, so straitened, that a man can jump across from one shore to the other. I was about to make the experiment, but stopping to hear the story of a man, who fell in and was drowned, in consequence of the same attempt, I began to calculate the chances, grew wise, and desisted.

'We ascended the river about five miles, till, coming to the ruins of an ancient tower, we crossed and came down the other side by a similar path, dug out of the hill sides, and often presenting most en-

chanting views of the river above and below, of the sides of opposite hills, and of mountain tops beyond. At last we came to the "*Valley of Desolation*," and ascended it, rising and rising, overlooking the tops of the trees and the precipitous cliffs of rock, into the dark waters of a small tributary to the Wharf, which tumbled down its rude channel below. We had now walked, since we left the Priory, not much less than ten miles. My friend being ahead, and myself beginning to tire, he left me out of sight. I sat down, wearied with too much of a good thing; and writing upon a card, which I laid in the path—*Tired and gone back*—I turned my face down the valley. The reason of the name of this valley is—that the lightning strikes here so often, as to scathe a great many of the trees, and give the forest the aspect of desolation.' Vol. II. pp. 167—170.

Our author has, besides this, given interesting descriptions of Kirkstall and Fountain Abbeys, in England; of Edinburgh and the Highlands, Staffa and Fingal's Cave, in Scotland; and Dunluer Castle, the Giant's-causeway, and Dublin, in Ireland. He does not appear to have travelled further south than Dublin, or at all in the west of the last mentioned country; and there are no traces of any visit to the south west of England. Among the castles which he visited, those at Windsor and Warwick appear to have impressed him most forcibly as relics of the feudal ages. Nor does he overlook the historical interest attached to the ruins of Kenilworth. On the whole his impression of English scenery may be gathered from the following extract. He has just before said, that 'The high cultivation of England is a gene-'ral feature which strikes the observation of an American, as 'he first begins to pass over its surface. The whole country is 'comparatively a garden. Agriculture and horticulture in Eng-'land are both done at an amazing waste of manual labour, espe-'cially the former, from want of ingenuity, but they are *well* done, 'they are done to a perfection perhaps unrivalled.' He then adds in the following page:

'England, notwithstanding, in all those parts of it which have been brought under cultivation, is a garden. All through the country, the estates and farms are divided into small, unequal, and multiform patches—parks and pleasure-grounds excepted—enclosed with hedges, that peculiar and beautiful feature of English landscape scenery, many of which exhibit ranges of full-grown trees. It is not so common in England as in America for landholders and farmers to divide their attention to all the various and appropriate productions of the earth; but one district is more especially devoted to grazing, another to corn, and another to the production of hay for large towns, &c., &c.; particularly is it necessary to appropriate considerable districts to the growth of hay, to supply the demands of the metropolis; plains, downs, and wolds are left open in some parts of the country expressly for sheep ranges. To be aware of these specific appropriations of the soil of England, one must have travelled somewhat ex-

tensively. To an American eye, however, a passage through England in almost any direction, for the first time, will leave the impression of a high degree of culture. This, indeed, is what he expected; but still the images which story has inscribed upon the brain are ordinarily effaced by a vision of the reality. The towns and the country of a foreign land, and the minor parts of each and all, have a deep interest in them on a first inspection. The minutest variations from accustomed features, and the nicest shades of difference, because they are different, attract attention, and leave an impress of their hues and forms.

'One thing will be especially evident to a stranger in England: that the artificial lines and figures of its geographical phasis were never projected and described by an engineer; and for its greatest beauty, and for the creation of its most enchanting scenes, it is well they were not. I never travelled on a road in England that ran in a straight line for any considerable distance; I have never seen any extended district, the divisions of which might seem to have been governed by mathematical rules. All seems the creation of hazard: even the plough, if its furrow corresponds with a border-line of the field in which it is drawn, is often forced to make a track like that of the serpent; and so mechanically bent is the whole public mind of those who till the earth, to irregularities of this kind, that the open and undivided plains and fields, when brought under the culture of the plough, are often wantonly made to exhibit this devious tracery. Well, perhaps, that the landholders are few, as otherwise they might never be able to determine the boundaries that lie between them. Certainly they are not often to be ascertained by observations of the compass.

'I have a friend in London, in whose company I once visited the palace and gardens of Versailles, and who is tempted, whenever he can get a new listener in my presence, to relate an anecdote apparently at my expense, and not very much in compliment to the English, so far as my own part in the affair was concerned, in his way of telling the story. He says, that while we were going over the English garden at the Petit Trianon, I expressed the greatest impatience, and frequently exclaimed, "Come, let us go to the Palace. This is nothing but an *English garden!*" The truth was, we did not go to France to see an English garden, although it is doubtless one of the most beautiful creations of the kind in the world; and although that portion of that little island which lies south of the Tweed be nothing but old England, yet there is no other spot on the globe, of equal dimensions, to be compared with its variegated scenery, as adorned by the hand of man. As much as English gardening exceeds that of any other nation in variety—so the general laying out of the country, the sinuous courses of its highways, its hedges, its parks and pleasure-grounds, its cultivated regions and wild wastes, present a scene of beautiful and enchanting disorder, which, if reduced to straight lines and right angles, would be stripped of their principal power to charm.'

Vol. I. pp. 82—84

Mr. Colton adverts in this extract, as will have been perceived to a difference between the English and American modes of culti-

vating the land. In a preceding page, he represents what he considers as a great anomaly in the English character; that 'every thing 'connected with commerce, manufactures, and politics develops 'the greatest activity and invention of mind; while the husbandry 'of the earth and all the domestic occupations of the "lower 'orders" look as if the spirit that presides over them, if spirit it be, 'were irrecoverably stultified.' He then adds:—

'The difference between America and Great Britain in these particulars is precisely that which a traveller on the Continent and in Great Britain must have observed between an English stage-coach and a French or Dutch diligence: the former lacks nothing, which human invention and skill could supply for convenience and despatch; while every appearance and symptom of the latter make one vexed at the dulness and stupidity of his race. A furrow which in America would be turned up with the greatest ease by two horses, and the service of one man with a light plough—which he who follows can throw about with one hand, while he guides his quick-stepping cattle with the other—employs in England from four to six lazy horses, and two to three men, dragging a machine so great and heavy, with tackle so abundant and complicated, as to remind one, not accustomed to such a needless expenditure, of a man-of-war with its various furniture. All the peasantry of England unconnected with the circle of manufacturing and commercial interests, one would imagine, are at work with the same instruments, and after the same modes, which were employed by their Saxon ancestors; and how much older they are even than that, it may be difficult to say. Strange that there is no more sympathy between the mind that drives the plough, shears the grass, dresses the hedge, and manages a donkey, and that spirit which has raised manufactures to the highest perfection that the world can boast of, and economized manual labour almost to a miracle; which spreads the wings of its commerce over all seas, and protects its trade by the sleeping thunders of its navy. It would not be true to deny, that agriculture is carried to the highest perfection in England. I only mean to speak of the great disadvantage and waste in the application of labour.'

Vol. I. pp. 50, 51.

On the comparative saving of labour in Britain and America, we are personally unable to offer any opinion, and must therefore take our Author's word upon the subject; a thing which we should be by no means unwilling to do, looking at the question merely as one of veracity, but this is not the only consideration in the case. Our Author's judgement must have been formed on very partial observation, since the usual team which we are accustomed to see at plough, is one or two horses, and such are doubtless in use over the whole kingdom, except in places where the land is very stiff and stony, or in particularly wet seasons. It is true, no doubt, that, in certain soils, four and even six horses are employed; and our Author has certainly seen it more than once, or he would not have mentioned it; nor have we any

doubt that, in the comparatively light and virgin soil of his native country, where lands are continually being brought into cultivation, which are but just reclaimed from forests, by whose decaying foliage their soil has been formed during a long course of years, two horses may be sufficient. The rich and fertile plains about Leipsic, which were once pointed out to us by an American, while loaded with the most luxurious burden we ever witnessed, as a fair representation of the bearing of the newly cultivated lands in the United States, and which are remarkably light of tillage, probably furnish an analogous instance. His general reference to the instruments and modes of tillage also appears to us to be rather tinctured with unconscious exaggeration. Had he visited the Adelaide Gallery in the Lowther Arcade, or even the Smithfield Christmas cattle-show, he would have seen that 'the spirit which has raised manufactures to the 'highest perfection,' has 'sympathized with the mind that drives 'the plough,' both in the improvements of implements in use, and in the invention of many which are entirely new. We agree with him, however, that the sympathy is not duly reciprocated by the agriculturist, and that in many places it has been found difficult to introduce improvements. But such difficulties do not arise from the agricultural labourer alone. The introduction of any new improvement in machinery, no matter what branch of manufacture it may apply to, occasioning a temporary reduction in the number of workmen, is sure for the moment to encounter opposition; though this reduction will, in after years, be richly compensated by reason of the increased demand accruing from the superior quality or cheapness of production. An error in the outset pervades all classes affected by machinery, that is, all the working classes; and that of the agricultural labourer is more deeply seated and more obstinate, only because he lives in greater seclusion from the large manufacturing towns, which are the great centres of mechanical impulse.

The comparison which Mr. Colton has drawn between British and American ships and steam vessels, is, in our judgement, perfectly fair, and accords with what we have before heard expressed by competent judges of our own nation. Both have their specific advantages. His estimate of stage travelling is, however, decidedly in our favour, as the following will shew.

'The state-coach most in use in the United States is swung on strong leather thorough-braces, as they are called, made of several thicknesses of the stoutest hide, capable of sustaining the entire weight of the coach-body, passengers, and luggage: no passengers go outside, except one or two on the box with the driver—as the coachman is always, and for aught I know appropriately, called.'

* * * * * * *

'The seats in an American coach are commonly nine; the luggage

(in America, baggage) is thrown into a boot behind; and all together, be the weight one, two, or three tons, swings on the two leathern braces by which they are supported. Near large towns, and for short trips on the best roads, coaches, nearly after the English model, are frequently found. From Baltimore, on the great western roads, and in other parts of the more southern States, some very large and unwieldy coaches are in use, carrying eighteen or twenty passengers. The best models and the most convenient modes of staging are in the Northern States, and on the great roads, which can afford competition. But the country is not old enough, and very few roads are sufficiently well made, to allow of that perfection in these travelling conveyances, or of that despatch, comfort, and certainty, which are to be found in England. In the inclement or wet seasons of the year, long journeys in America are very tedious: deep ruts are made by the wheels, and jolt the passengers unmercifully; in clayey soils the coach will sometimes stick fast in a mud-hole, or perhaps be left a wreck. I have been through England, Scotland, and Ireland, and travelled in all seasons of the year, but have never yet been interrupted or experienced any inconvenience from the badness of the roads. I must also in justice add to this, that I have never yet suffered the want of any needful comfort at an inn. It is true, my routes for the most part have been on the great thoroughfares of the country. My opinion is, that in no part of the world are the benefits of civilization, for facility and comfort in travelling, so apparent as in England. As to personal security, one never thinks of danger by day or by night, except from a possible accident to the coach.

'But English coaching, and travelling in Great Britain, appear to still greater advantage, compared with the same things on the Continent. A French or Dutch diligence, its horses and their tackle, the postillion and his boots, his eternal urging of the dull cattle by whip and voice, the long and ponderous machine, which rumbles reluctantly over the pavement, groaning beneath its tenants and mountainous pile of luggage, at the rate of four and five miles an hour, are indeed a striking contrast to that trim and polished vehicle, and those swift and fiery steeds, which dash along the smooth highways of England, a beauty to look at, skilfully guided and hardly kept back to eight, nine and ten miles an hour, full of joyous spirits, which seem well to sympathize with the apparent hilarity of their flight.'

Vol. I., pp. 78—80.

We would that we had room for Mr. Colton's humourous and graphic description of the close of his journey from Birmingham to London, under the conduct of a coachman who, at starting from the former place, was unable to take the reins, but appears from our Author's account to have been an accomplished 'artist' indeed, when sober or half sober. The skill and courage with which he dashed through Bartholomew Fair, all illuminated, threading and urging his way through the mass amidst 'the din 'of music, dancing, and jugglery,' we should imagine might with propriety be classed among the 'miracles of the art.' Such a drive, however, to our fancy, it is pleasanter to read than to take.

Our Author had again a narrow escape in his journey from Liverpool to Manchester by the rail-road, where the engine was precipitated off the causey and upset, and the whole train of carriages was huddled together in fearful confusion. And, as if this were not enough, he was as nearly as possible drowned off the coast of Ireland, by the upsetting, in a heavy swell, of the boat into which he had just descended in order to be put on shore. His comments on the various disasters and annoyances which he met with during his stay among us, certainly exhibit him as a man of invincible good nature.

Having referred to some occasions on which our Author was in actual danger, let us notice one that was imaginary. It is amusing as illustrative of the power of excited feeling. Mr. Colton had, late on the preceding night, been stopped on Waterloo Bridge by a footpad; and as he is winding his way through the lanes and alleys of Rotherhithe, to see the Thames Tunnel, he is completely enveloped in a London fog.

'I wandered on, dodging this way and that way, asking, and as often forgetting my direction. It grew darker, and the lanes I had to thread became narrower, filthier, and more intricate. I asked again. "You are going the wrong way, sir. Yonder"—second, or third, or fourth turning, to the right or left, as might be. Where lamps, or lights of any kind were to be had, they began to light them up. The ragged and filthy creatures in the streets stared at me, seeming to say within themselves—"He does not belong here." Some of them followed me with observing look, till I had turned a corner, or was lost in the fog. Now and then I stumbled on a ruffian, fiendly-looking form; and he, as I thought, was sure to mark me. It was a region of barbarians, and I was bewildered and lost in the midst of them. When I thought it prudent to inquire, some made the distance great, and some little; some said, Go this way, and some that; and most of them concluded with, "It is very dark, sir." A decent human being, in whom one could repose confidence, was nowhere to be found.

'In spite of all my philosophy, the remembrance of the enactment of Waterloo-bridge twelve hours before came stealing over me, conjuring up a thousand chances of another unpleasant rencounter, and exciting strange sensations. There was little choice between returning and going forward; whichever way I strolled, I was dependent on the advice of those beings, in the midst of whom I found myself; and by reason of mistakes in gaining my ultimate point, I could not have walked less than two miles for one.

'At last I arrived under darkness so considerable, that the keeper of the entrance was burning his lamp at midday to keep his books. "Are there any visitors here to-day?" I asked. "Two men have just gone down, and you will find a waiter at the extremity of the tunnel." "Two *men!*" I had paid my entrance before I received this answer, and in any other circumstances I should not probably have regarded it. But I had been long enough in England to have

learned, that English servants are very nice in distinguishing between "men" and "gentlemen," and that they rarely mistake or call one for the other. It was "two *men!*" It was evident enough that he was not likely to be crowded with company on such a dismal day. I must therefore take my chance with what was before me—"two men," whom I could not avoid encountering at some point.

'Can any one wonder that I should think of the last night? Absolutely, from what I had passed through in a half hour previous, it seemed as if hosts of barbarians were planted between me and the civilized world; and who could know what these "two *men*" might be? Besides, what favourable hour and circumstance for a conspiracy! No one there knew me; I knew not them; no friend in the world knew I had gone there; and the day itself was as dark as the darkest thoughts.

'Notwithstanding, having received my instructions, I began to descend the shaft round and round, descending, and descending, having left the little light of a dark day behind, and meeting only in one place a faint and glimmering taper, just enough to make the darkness visible. After feeling and poking and stumbling along—down the stairs—I found myself at last at the bottom, which was sixty feet deep. The stairway leading down is a crude frame-work, and the region around was impenetrable darkness.

'Arrived at that place, I ought to have been prepared for one of the most imposing and attractive visions which the art and labours of man ever created, especially in such circumstances. The moment I had landed upon the firm earth below, from the winding stairs, and cast my eye upon the perspective of that long and apparently interminable vista of subterranean masonry, finished and vaulted in the most perfect and beautiful curvilinear forms, and lighted up in the whole distance by blazing lamps, suspended from the side, and imparting the most enchanting effect to the eye, it seemed another world. I stopped a moment to think of the floods rolling above it, and of the ships floating upon their bosom; and here, underneath them all, and undisturbed, the one and each unconscious of their relations to the other—here is this peaceful, quiet, incomparable vision! all existing at the peril of all! I hesitated—looked—listened. And as I listened, I heard a whisper! a very whisper! Again a whisper! a frequent whisper! Horrible!

'I stood at the moment in the midst of darkness at the bottom of the shaft, surrounded, enveloped with darkness! The assault of the previous night was play to this! Again a whisper! a tormenting whisper! It was earnest—impassioned! and it was near enough to lay a hand upon me! It seemed at my ear! but nothing visible but darkness. A freezing chill ran through all my veins. Backward I could not go, for I could not see the foot of the stairs, which I had left behind. I was buried from the world and from day; all seemed infernal. And as if the whisper were not enough, there was a whisper laugh! a burst! the very laugh of demons! I sprang forward to the beginning of the tunnel, and of the row of lamps, and stopped. Still the whisperings followed me, and the stifled laughter! but I now

stood under the lamps; could look around me; but I heard no tread —I saw no form of man or demon.

'In looking forward, however, I saw the forms of men in the farther extremity; and I hastened to join them, preferring their society and their protection, whatever it might be; and all the way the whispering and laughing voices, louder and more earnest, followed me.

'As I had been certified, I found the "two *men*," and the waiter sitting in a recess smoking his pipe. They were at the end of the finished part of the tunnel, under the middle of the river; the man with the pipe sitting at his ease, and answering such questions as we put to him. While engaged in colloquy with this interpreter of the mysteries, I cast now and then a furtive glance on my society, to satisfy myself whether I should prefer their company out, or again to encounter those demoniacal salutations alone. I chose the latter; for they proved to be "men" of savage looks; and turning carelessly on my heel, affecting the airs of indifference, I walked leisurely back for a little; then quickened my step, as I observed they did not accompany me; I hastened on, and found myself among the whispering voices again; rushed through the darkness to the foot of the stairs, and most luckily met them at the first touch. In another moment I was at the top.

'When, however, I found myself safe in the regions of day, or where day ought to be, I paused to think of the scene I had just witnessed, and of the perils, real or imaginary, which I had there encountered. I philosophized upon the whisperings and voices, and came to this very philosophical conclusion: That the tunnel in its condition at that time was a whispering gallery, which has been proved to be a fact. Those "men" and the waiter at the further end were little aware of the startling and appalling effect which their talking and bursts of laughter produced on me, as the echoes rolled along, and floated past my ears, while I stood at the base of the shaft, enveloped in darkness.

'I could not be aware of the impression made on my feelings by the assault the night previous on Waterloo-bridge, till I came to this place. But having been the subject of that so recently, and now after such a tedious, dark, loathsome, and exciting way of access, to find myself alone in those infernal regions, with just light enough to make the darkness visible; to see dark caves (in the second unfinished archway, parallel to the first) opening their yawning mouths, without reporting what might be there; to hear those voices and whisperings, coming from invisible talkers, and now and then a laugh, horrible and fiendly, as it seemed, all made strange by the strangeness of the circumstances—was not, I confess, particularly agreeable. The emblazoned vista of the tunnel was not a charm sufficient to charm away the effect of these horrible salutations.' Vol. I. pp. 186—191.

We must now endeavour to do justice to a chapter in Mr. Colton's second volume, headed 'Two Faults of the English.' To the first charge we must plead guilty: the justice of the other is more questionable. The former we will state in the Author's own words.

'There is one great vice in English society, not indeed peculiar to them, but yet strongly marked. It exists under a specious name, and at first sight would seem to be an axiom in morals, or in the social relations. They express it as follows:—"Let every one know and keep his own place." But, when interpreted by its exemplifications, it may generally be taken as meaning, in the mouth of him who uses it, something like this: "Let every one who is *below or under me, stay there.* Let him not presume to aspire." Thus every class conspires to keep down those who are below them.' Vol. II. p. 238.

The second fault, many of our readers will be surprised to learn, is an excessive attachment to the brute creation, especially to horses and dogs. Of this, our Author says, 'it is the *excessive* 'love which the English have for the horse and dog, which I 'think a fault, *a perversion of the affections of the heart, which* 'disappoints the noblest ends of society, and of man's existence.' That there is no such fault to be found in English society, we are not prepared to say. Our Author has adduced in evidence, an eccentric instance of six horses being provided for by will, the single expenses of the last survivor of which amounted to £810. This is an extreme case; though we acknowledge that others of a singular character might be gathered from the newspapers. The 'fancy' for horses and dogs in the sporting world may also be admitted; but these do not constitute the general character, nor can the most ardent votary of field sports be justly charged with a 'perversion of the affections of his heart' *from the human to the brute species*, 'which disappoints the noblest ends of 'society, and of man's existence.' The following is a statement for which we know not how to account. Certainly, the general habits of society afford no ground for such exaggeration.

'Every carriage and every parlour have a dog. Or if he be not found in the parlour, he is an indispensable part of domestic society. The lady, especially if she be unmarried, or has no children, scorns not, but prides herself, in leading her pet by a silken string, through all her public promenades. She feels for her dog, not less, perhaps more, than the fond mother feels for her child. She feeds it;—if it is sick, she watches with it, even all the night. Not a pain does it feel, but she feels. Her dog is her companion—her friend; and when she dies, she remembers her dog in her last will and testament.' Vol. II. pp. 243, 4.

As to the first mentioned charge, however, we have stated our opinion, that it is founded in truth. It is certainly a fact, that Englishmen are apt to look with a jealous eye upon the efforts of their inferiors to improve their condition, unless it is perfectly clear that themselves will remain unaffected. Mr. Bulwer's work on England and the English, has certainly, with all its faults, the merit of illustrating the extensive influence of

the principle of emulation over English society. The effects of this, on English manners are even deeper and more pernicious, in our opinion, than Mr. Colton has represented. It amounts to the almost total obliteration of that beautiful sentiment of *humanity*, which is so admired, in the well known passage of the prologue to Terence's Andria, in the behaviour of persons unknown to each other. In foreign countries, one stranger may address another, and will, whatever the rank of the person addressed, almost invariably receive a polite answer. Let there be, on the other hand, the slightest inferiority of dress or '*manners*' observable in the accosting individual, and an Englishman will, too frequently, only stare in astonishment at the 'fellow's impu-'dence.' A German seems to remember, that the inferior is a man,—an Englishman, that the man is an inferior. We should be happy to hear that most of our readers considered this statement as an exaggeration. As matters are, Mr. Colton is entitled to our gratitude for mentioning it.

The next extract will introduce us to the presence of Royalty. It is a description of the King's Levee, at which Mr. Colton was presented.

'The throne room is the place of reception; the adjoining apartment, George the Third's room, is occupied by foreign ambassadors, ministers, nobility, and other distinguished personages; Queen Anne's room, principally by commoners and strangers, until the time has come for a general mingling.

'It happened, that the Duke of Wellington appeared in his robes, as Chancellor of the University of Oxford, accompanied by a respectable corps of the academical and chief dignitaries, also in their official robes, for the purpose of presenting a petition to his majesty, that he would graciously be pleased to put a stop to the impertinencies of the dissenters, and to resist their unreasonable and arrogant claims. The duke's robe was a new one, with some yards of train, all of black satin, and not a little heavier for the gold that was laid along its borders, from the collar to the end of the train. The train of a robe is a troublesome and inconvenient thing to manage by men, or women, and is always in the way of somebody's feet. They have the privilege, however, of carrying it on the arm, except in the presence of majesty.

'After the company had been half an hour in waiting, the doors of the throne room were opened, displaying his majesty on the throne, supported by members of his family and high officers of state, and a guard of the honourable corps of gentlemen at arms were marched in, forming two ranks from the foot of the throne to the door, between which the Duke of Wellington entered at the head of his *academic* corps, all making obeisance as they approached the throne. The petition was read audibly and distinctly by the duke, and his majesty nodded gracious signs of attention. This ceremony being ended, the duke, his academic staff—a new sort of staff for him—and the guard, retired: when the centre door was closed, a side one thrown open,

and a call made for the foreign ambassadors and ministers; whereupon ambassadors and ministers took rank according to seniority of residence at the court, and prepared to pay their respects to the king. The king had taken his station near the door, in front of the first window; the lord chancellor (Brougham) held the purse, standing motionless, like a statue, a very unsuitable office for him; his majesty being surrounded and supported by those appointed to wait upon his person on such occasions, the dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester being among the number.

'The king takes his station in the throne room on his feet and uncovered, at a point most convenient to receive his company, in like manner as the President of the United States on the same occasion. He does not give his hand. The salutation of the parties, as they meet, the king being always one, is the best bow they can make—a series of bows, concluding with a *congé* from the king, differing from other bows by a peculiarity, more easily recognised than described, which signifies—'You may pass on.' His majesty, of course, cannot speak to every one, and in the majority of cases the bow of reception and of *congé* immediately succeed each other. With most of the foreign ambassadors and ministers he has a word or two; but he cannot have time to speak to one in a score of those who approach him on such an occasion. Yet the opportunity of observing the king's form, features, and manner, is excellent.

'I cannot claim the honour of having held a conversation with his majesty. When I was presented, I happened to stand very close to him, within two feet, or eighteen inches. He received my name from Mr. Vail, with such particulars as were proper to be mentioned; then turning to me, made several very low bows, the marked civility of which compelled me to attempt some like courtesies in return; and had we not both stepped back a little to give space for those arcs of circles described by our heads, we certainly should have bumped rather unpleasantly. Immediately on passing the king, I returned to mingle with some sprigs of nobility, strangers, clergymen, and others, who had the privilege of the *entré*, but did not belong to the diplomatic corps. The doors to the throne room being open, we could still see what was passing there without difficulty. I took my station in the recess of a window, where I could see the king receive his company, and observe his manner. By this time all that had been admitted with the entré had paid their respects to his majesty, and immediately the door of the other room was opened to admit the commonalty.'

Vol. II., pp. 296—98.

The following is our Author's account of the drawing-room at which he was present:

'We left our names at the reporter's table in the Portrait Gallery, according to custom, and arrived in the middle state-apartment, or George the Third's room, next to the throne-room, at a quarter before two o'clock. There were not many in by this time.

'Soon after we entered the room, the centre folding doors at both ends flew open, and the duchess of Kent was announced. As by

magic a passage was opened through our apartment, and all turned to pay the duchess respect. She entered, being ushered in by the men in waiting, followed by the ladies attending upon her, but without the princess Victoria. It would have been especially agreeable, if I had seen this young heiress presumptive to the British throne, under such circumstances. The duchess curtesied and bowed with great grace, both to the right and left, as she passed through the opened and smiling ranks. She is a woman of truly royal bearing; her looks are most interesting, even charming; her manners expressing every winning grace. No wonder that she is popular; and if her husband had lived, she would have been the idol-queen of the nation. She glided into the throne-room to join the royal party, and to support the queen during the ceremonies; and the doors closed behind her.

'The throng in our apartment continued to increase by new arrivals for nearly an hour; and such also I perceived was the fact in the east room, until the latter became absolutely crammed. I hardly need say, that every thing around had now become the most brilliant scene I had ever witnessed—as brilliant, indeed, as the great wealth of the English nobility, lavished in the richest profusion on the persons of the fairest of their women, and of their high and honourable men, could make; and this in no wise diminished, but increased, by that borrowed splendour which the presence of the representatives of the greatest and richest nations of Europe added to the general effect. It was a dazzling pageant. The East contributed its gems; Africa its snow-white, lofty, and nodding plumes; the shops of Europe furnished the wardrobe, and her arts mingled the colours, determined the forms, and fixed the relative position of all the parts of this moving diorama.

'The door to the royal presence opened. An instinctive movement seemed to bring all whose duty it was first to offer their respects to the Queen, into their proper places. I cannot speak positively as to the order in every particular; but the foreign ambassadors and ministers seemed to me to take the lead. A plural number of distinguished females, however, threw down their trains, and preceded us; among whom was the Duchess de Dino, niece of Prince Talleyrand, and Madame Tricoupi, the lady of the Grecian minister, who was now, for the first time, presented.

'The king stood where he did at the levee, supported by certain lords in waiting on his right, and his brother Cumberland and cousin Gloucester on his left, with a nephew, Prince George of Cumberland. The queen stood immediately before the throne, a little to the right, supported by the Duchess of Kent and her attendants on the left, and by her own personal retinue on her right. The king's dress was a scarlet coat and a military uniform; the queen appeared in white satin, with a pearl head-dress.

'Our progress after entering the throne room was exceedingly slow. I stood opposite the king, with only space for one person to pass between me and him, for about ten minutes. The queen was occupied, during this while, I believe, with Madame Tricoupi, wife of the Grecian Ambassador. In the mean time the Duchess of Richmond

came between me and the king, and talked with him freely. The king spoke very low, and I caught but a few words.

'"Poor fellow," said the king to the duchess, "I am told he was very miserable. I was extremely sorry not to see him," &c. They appeared to be speaking of the death of some person, I know not who.

'"And are you in town?" said the king, &c., to the duchess. The Duchess of Richmond is evidently a very superior woman. Her looks and manners are exceedingly interesting.

'Next came Earl Grey and talked with the king, while I stood in the same place. The noble earl has a head that is worth looking at. As I had a fine opportunity for a close observation of the king's countenance for several minutes, while he was engaged in conversation, his features seemed to me quite of the benevolent character.

'We at last came in our turn to the queen. She received my name, looking alternately at Mr. Vail and myself, and very graciously asked, "How long I had been in England," expressing a wish "that my visit might be agreeable." She courtesied, and we passed along to give place to others.' Vol. II., pp. 306—311.

The mention of Earl Grey in the preceding extract, reminds us of Mr. Colton's chapter on four British statesmen; Earl Grey, Lord Brougham, Daniel O'Connell, and T. B. Macauley. We suspect that the third-mentioned individual would, however, object to this classification as being himself 'Irish all over.' Having said that Earl Grey 'has occupied the point of an epoch not in 'English history only, but in the history of Europe and the world;' and that, 'having done his work, he has "descended, not 'fallen" from the summit of his power with a dignity that sheds 'lustre on his name,' 'and will secure for him the respect not only 'of the present generation, but of all that are to come,' he adds:

'It does not now require to be said, that the British nation had recently arrived at a crisis in their history, which demanded no ordinary qualifications and no ordinary powers to guide them, under Providence, safely through. Every body feels it. It was a crisis big with importance, not only to themselves, but to all the nations of Europe. There was a determination for change, pervading the social fabric, which no power on earth could resist; and unless the instruments of safe guidance had been prepared by heaven, there must have been a wreck—certainly a shock, that would have rent society with a violence not soon to be repaired, and which perhaps would have thrown back improvement in the science and the art of governing mankind for generations to come.

'The Aristocracy and Democracy of Great Britain had long been approaching to the point of collision; and in 1830, when William IV. ascended the throne, and called Earl Grey to the head of his government, these two antagonist elements stood marshalled against each other in fearful array. The democracy was mighty and determined; the aristocracy, accustomed to rule, was determined not to be ruled.

Democracy had gained a manifest ascendancy, and felt its own strength; while its antagonist power discovered, that the fight was probably for its own existence. Where was the individual—for great changes in society require a leader—where was the man, in such a crisis, that could check and modify the impetuosity of the one party, and yet retain the confidence of the other, at the same time conducting them both to a safe adjustment of the conflict? There was manifestly but one upon the stage that could do it.

'For a long life of consistent devotion to the principles and cause of reform, Earl Grey had earned and well merited the confidence of the popular party. A member of the aristocracy, proud of its dignities, attached to it in principle as well as in affection, resolved to maintain its privileges, and being generally known by those of his rank to be of this opinion and to have this temper, he had all that respect among them, which this character, bating his known devotion to reform, could inspire. With Earl Grey, Reform did not aim at encroachment on what he regarded as the rights of the aristocracy. By the democracy he was *believed* to be an honest man; by the aristocracy he was *known* to be honest; and he enjoyed the unqualified respect of both parties for the sufficiency of his talents to preside over the councils of the nation, and to act with dignity as well as with decision and energy in a great emergency. He was, in fact, the connecting link between these two great and conflicting parts of society; for the period of his administration, society was bound and held together by his influence; and he had the reins of government a sufficient time to guide the nation through one of the most eventful periods of their history. The crisis passed without convulsion, though, in May, 1832, they were on the borders of a revolution; and that only because Earl Grey felt obliged to retire, on account of the opposition of the House of Lords to his great measure. The necessity which the sovereign was under, of recommitting the government to his hands, proved he was the only man for the time.

'The moral beauty of his retrospective history—the chief glory of his career and of his last great achievement—is, that his name is untarnished: his reputation is left clear and splendid as the sun in a cloudless day. His moral qualities have all along maintained a symmetry with his intellectual powers—or rather, perhaps, the latter have been under control of the former. Both, doubtless, have acted reciprocally on each other, to enlighten, purify, and invigorate the whole man, and to set him up as the prominent and leading star of the constellation that surrounded him—the sun of the sphere in which he moved, and which was governed and blessed by his influence. He has been loved, as well as respected, even by his political enemies; and will be so the more, as he recedes from that high place in which, not personally, but politically, he was obnoxious to them. No party —no man—can bring to his charge a moral delinquency, or the want of courtesy as an opponent; however some may think he has erred in judgment of what the times have demanded.

'To have been thus honoured by Providence and by society—to have filled such a place—to have been so universally qualified for the exigencies of such an eventful period—to have met them calmly, even

with an unruffled temper—to have controlled them with dignity, for the attainment of a result so desirable and grand for the political regeneration of a community of such unbending character, and of such vast, complicated, and long established relations—holding a steady and firm hand on the symptoms of convulsion for the time being, to rebuke and suppress them—and then to descend from power in peace, to enjoy the gratitude and receive the blessing of a great nation—is a part of the history of one man, that rarely finds a parallel.

'Whether Earl Grey has had his coadjutors; whether he could have accomplished this work, unaided by other men in the various ranks and relations of life; whether he could have done it unsupported by the people, whose cause rested on his shoulders; or without the press, that mighty engine of power; or without the popular branch of the legislature, which was the mediate and immediate instrument of his power—are not questions to be debated. But yet is it true, that he stood alone in the peculiarities of his relations, and in the supremacy of his influence; yet is it true, apparently, that no other man in the British nation could have filled his place, and done his work. He was raised up by Providence "for this same purpose."'

Vol. II., pp. 181—84.

The other portraits are drawn with considerable effect, but are too long for our limits: let its brevity apologize for introducing the following characteristic sketch of the eccentric Sir Charles Wetherell.

'"The Methodists," said Sir Charles one day, as he had occasion to allude to them in the case of Lady Hewley's charity,—"*Wesleyan* Methodists, I believe, they are called, are distinguished by holding to the doctrine of *election*," &c. Some one jogged Sir Charles. "O yes," he repeated, "the doctrine of *election*." (Laughter.) He was jogged again. "Yes, yes," added Sir Charles again, "you are right—the doctrine of *election*." (Great laughter.) Sir Charles was then told audibly, that he must reverse his position. "Well, then," said Sir Charles, "have it which way you please. If not elected, they ought to be; for they are the best people among us." Ib., p. 221.

Before concluding, we must offer a few extracts from the chapter on the Church of England. Mr. Colton has stated in his preface, that there are three capital and leading features which distinguish American society from British and European. An 'abjuration 'of monarchy, of an aristocracy, and of the union of religion with 'the arm of secular power.' This may therefore be considered the American 'point of view,' as respects both European and British society; and the principal light in which our Author regards them, that is to say the monarchy and the church establishment, is their enormous cost. We must declare ourselves quite unwilling to estimate the value of monarchy on any such principle; and even the church establishment would be quite safe from our condemnation on any such ground but for the other flagrant evils which appear to us to be inseparable from it.

This portion of the work exhibits in a very powerful degree the 'calculating' spirit of our American friends, and contains a collection of tables and facts, of which some indeed have been already published in England, but which, as a whole, have probably never yet appeared in so succinct a form. Bishop Watson, it seems, had stated that the annual revenue of the Establishment did not exceed 1,500,000*l.* By the report of the Commissioners of Church Revenues, a commission most of whose members were interested in preventing all unnecessary disclosures, and whose report is by their own confession imperfect, it is given at 3,784,985*l.* But there is sufficient evidence that it is considerably more. Let the following be taken as a case in point.

'The Hamlet of Mottingham, in Kent, contains about six hundred acres of land, and has no church, or chapel of ease, or school, or church service; but, for some cause now unknown, is, by ancient custom, liable to pay annually, the sum of 8*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to the Dean and Chapter of Rochester. This Ecclesiastical body has granted to their attorney, the power to levy this sum on the Hamlet, in consideration of the sum of 250*l.* paid to them once in seven years. He again for the annual sum of 200*l.* has granted to a farmer in the vicinity of Mottingham, the power to levy tithes on the Hamlet, which he has done to the extent of ten shillings an acre—making his income on the 600 acres, 300*l.* per annum.

'Murmurs and complaints naturally arose, and although a law-suit was instituted, in hope of getting rid of the burden, it was in vain; and the Tithe-contractor has made his own terms, taxing the land according to his ideas of the improved value.' Vol. II. p. 104.

In this instance, only the original sum of 8*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* was reported by the Commissioners, although the Dean and Chapter are in the yearly receipt of 44*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* without reckoning interest, and the cost to the community is 300*l.* per annum. The following is another specimen:—

'It is but very recently, when a statement was before the public, that the average annual income of 17 livings, in the gift of the late Speaker of the House of Commons, and four others, is 11,170*l.* one-tenth of which, that is, 1,170, by the statute of Queen Anne, is due for the augmentation of poor benefices of the real tenths; but that law under the valuation of the *Liber Regalis,* is evaded by the payment of 23*l.*! That is, the annual income of these 17 benefices, instead of being reported by the incumbents for what it actually is, viz. 11,170*l.*, is reported according to the valuation of the *Liber Regalis,* 231*l.*, so that the poor benefices, entitled to the annual augmentation of 1,170*l.* from this source, are actually augmented only 23*l.*; and the other fraction of 1,147*l.* goes by this rule into the pockets of the fortunate incumbents!' Ib. p. 107.

Mr. Colton then enters very minutely into an estimate of the expense at which the national establishment is maintained; a ques-

tion which is to us much less interesting than that of its efficiency. If it answered the holy ends of true religion as much as it has been found to impede them, the question of expense would be *comparatively* a trifle. We say comparatively, for, in our opinion, the Establishment is amply endowed, and would be fully adequate to all its objects without either rates or fees. 'The 'following is a curious statement of the decrease of fidelity in the 'ministry, with the increase of compensation.'

'The small diocese of Ely, in 1813, compared with the year 1728:

'In 1728.	'In 1813.
On 140 livings, 70 Resident Incumbents.	On the same 140 livings, 45 Resident Incumbents.
Thirty-four who reside near and perform the duty.	Seventeen who reside near and perform the duty.
Thirty-one curates who reside in the parish or near it.	Thirty-five curates, some of whom reside 8, 10, or 12 miles off.
The population was 56,944 souls. The duty was performed 261 times every Sunday.	The population is 82,176 souls. The service is performed about 185 times every Sunday.
And their income £12,719 per annum.	And their income is £161,474 per annum.

'Duty neglected in proportion as it became more important and better paid. The population increased nearly one-half, and the number of times service is performed, diminished one-third. The revenues increased almost fivefold, and the number of resident incumbents decreased one-third.'

The question of patronage next succeeds, in the course of which our author shews how 'three, four, or more rich livings are 'often bestowed on a single individual.'

'For example, the eldest son of the Bishop of Ely has held six preferments at the same time, from his father's hand, worth £4,500 annually. His son-in-law has been presented with three by the bishop, worth £3,700. Another son has held six at the same time by his father's gift—worth £4,000. The total annual income of the family from these sources, including the bishop's, is quoted at £39,742, and this appropriated by a father, his two sons, and a son-in-law. The Beresford family, in all its branches, at the head of which is the archbishop of Armagh, in Ireland, is said to realize annually from the church, army, and navy, by patronage, principally from the church, £100,000. Warburton, Bishop of Cloyne, a poor man at the beginning, left from his acquisitions out of his diocese, £120,000 to his children. It was stated by Sir John Newport in Parliament, that three Irish bishops, within fifteen years, had left to their families £700,000. A former bishop of Cloyne, as I have seen stated, went to Ireland without a shilling, and after eight years died

worth more than £300,000. The late Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry, resided twenty years abroad, without being nice in the choice of his company, and received in the mean time from his diocese, revenues to the amount of £240,000. More than *one-third* of the incumbents of the Irish Protestant Church are non-residents, some of whom with incomes from £5,000 to £10,000, abstracted from the parishes, are living on the continent with their families.'

Vol. II., pp. 120, 121.

In page 123 of Mr. Colton's second volume, the provision for the cure of 500,000 souls, the estimated number of episcopalians in Ireland, is stated at 1,182,021*l.*; a sum almost as great as provides for 33,000,000 in France; to which is to be added 1,025,621*l.*, being the expense of the army in Ireland from April 1, 1834, to March 31, 1834, and nearly 300,000*l.* for police expenses for the same period, making an annual aggregate of 2,507,642*l.*, of which the greater part is mediately or immediately occasioned by the Irish Church Establishment. Even this excludes the law expenses which grow out of tithe causes. Taking these expenses at no higher average than 5*l.* a cause, and reckoning on the average of the years 1817—1821, when 100,000 cases were tried between the clergy and the people, and we have an addition of 125,000*l. per ann.*; making in all 2,632,642*l.* raised every year, partly in the shape of tithe and law expenses from the Irish Catholics and peasantry, partly in the shape of votes of the House of Commons for army and police expenses out of the pockets of the nation at large.

We must close with one more extract for the amusement and instruction of our readers.

'"How do you do, Mr. ——?" said the rector of ——, within fifty miles of London to a dissenting clergyman, whose chapel, dwelling-house, and garden happened to be in the rector's parish. "You have a fine garden here, sir."

'"Oh, yes, sir, I am very fond of a garden. Come, walk through, and see it."

'"Indeed, it is not only very pretty, but I should think it might be profitable," said the rector, as he surveyed the premises in company with his dissenting brother, and while the latter took great pleasure in displaying all, and giving the history of his improvements.

'"There is about half an acre here, as you see," said the dissenting minister. "Half of it is ornamental, where I take pleasure with my 13 children; and the other half furnishes vegetables to feed them. You would hardly believe it, but this little patch, under the culture of my own hand, goes a great way toward supplying the table of my numerous family."

'"Indeed, sir. And how many years has it been so productive?"

'"Some half dozen, or more."

'It was a morning call of the rector, for a purpose best known to

himself, as he had never condescended to visit his dissenting brother before. Having seen and been told all, appertaining to the beauty and profitableness of the garden, from the open and unsuspecting communications of the owner, the rector said—" Good morning," and retired.

' The next day, or soon afterward, the rector's steward sent in a bill for tithes on the said garden, of £6, or nearly 29 dollars, per year, for six years previous, and the same for the then current year—amounting in all to £42—or about 200 dollars; to continue, as I suppose, at £6, or nearly 29 dollars a-year, on a quarter of an acre of land!

' The rector, I think, was a bachelor, on a living of some hundreds of pounds a-year, which he could augment at pleasure, by these modes. The dissenting clergyman had a family of *thirteen* children, and a small congregation, which could afford him only a slender support—by no means adequate for the demands of his family. He was astounded at this bill!—for it was positively and unavoidably distressing.

' " But you did not pay it?" said I, when he narrated to me the facts.

' " Your ignorance of this country, sir, as manifested by this question, is very excusable. There is no redress for such an imposition—no tribunal for defence, to which a poor man will dare to appeal. The ecclesiastical courts, which have the supervision of all such matters, will always defend the rights of clergymen of the established church." ' Vol. II., pp. 131—133.

From the passages which we have cited, our readers will be able to judge of the miscellaneous and entertaining character of these volumes. In passing rapidly over them, we noticed a few minor errors which, though they would mislead no Englishman, and are in themselves of no importance, it may be as well to notice for the sake of any American reader whose eye may glance over these pages. Thus, in page 164 of the first volume, our Author's language is likely to convey a very erroneous impression, when he says, that ' for the most fashionable dinners, in the ' highest circles, company does not arrive till ten or eleven o'clock;' it is, we believe, much more usual to sit down to table at seven or eight. In page 267, he speaks of the Princess Amelia as one of the king's living sisters; and, evidently by oversight, calls William the Fourth the great uncle of the Princess Victoria. In the 269th, he represents the aristocracy, meaning by the term the families of the nobility, as ' a world by themselves, entirely con- ' fined to their own society,' immediately after he has stated that they guard their privileges with the most scrupulous conscientiousness from all invasions by commoners; representations which taken together would give no idea of the habits of society where peers and commoners are certainly seen continually intermingled without any jealousy. So, also, in the second volume page 139, when he says, that the Dissenters ' by long and hard fighting,

'have now a university of their own in London,' his language would, we imagine, be generally understood to mean that the London University, is *exclusively* a dissenting university, which is not the case. It can hardly too be represented as a privilege obtained by them, at least in its unchartered state to which Mr. Colton refers, as an institution subscribed to by them; and they might have subscribed to such an institution, had the plan been set on foot, years before. But these are comparatively trifling errors into which any person, however careful, might have fallen; and we cannot represent Mr. Colton as a careless observer. In conclusion, we repeat our thanks to him, not only for the entertainment his volumes have given us, but for his kindly feelings towards England, and hope that his work will meet with many interested readers on both sides of the Atlantic.

Art. V. *The Cabinet of Modern Art, and Literary Souvenir.* Edited by Alaric A. Watts. Third Series. 24 Plates. Price, 21*s.* London, 1837.

MR. Watts has abandoned, in this volume, the plan of illustrating the engravings by notices and criticisms on the respective painters, upon the ground that articles of this class are not of sufficient interest to the general reader. This is, we think, a mistake. Biographical notices of deceased artists are always acceptable; and judicious criticisms upon pictures that have stood the test of public approbation, would be both useful and interesting to all who have an eye for the productions of art. The distinguishing feature of this Cabinet, however, is still adhered to, in the choice of the embellishments, the subjects of which are taken from the finished works of the most eminent painters of the day. The frontispiece, 'the Birth of Venus,' is from a magnificent composition by Howard. The Venus is certainly not the Medicean, but of grosser mould, and her beauty is much less celestial than that of the attendant Graces; but the grouping is exquisite, and the burin of Portbury has given every thing but colour to the engraving. Nor has he done less justice to another highly beautiful and well imagined picture by the same clever and classical artist,—'Sabrina in the Hall of Nereus.' 'The Morning Bath' is from a very pleasing picture by Collins—a well composed groupe of female figures and children on the beach. Titus before Jerusalem, from a drawing by Martin is a gorgeous vision. We would give a score of such prints, however, for 'The Ruined Fountain,' a moonlit scene drawn by Chalon, and exquisitely engraved by Wallis. We are glad to meet with three subjects from Stothard; the Muse Erato, the Wise Men's Offering, and the Bower of Diana; each worthy of his fame, and the last

one of his most elegant and finished compositions: the engravers are Portbury, Goodyear, and Storks. There are two from Westall; an English Cottage Door, and the Boar that killed Adonis brought to Venus,—a well-known picture, but not to our taste. Stephanoff has contributed a very clever and well fitted historical scene—'The Entry of the Black Prince into London.' 'The Fantoccini-Boy,' admirably engraved by Engleheart from a picture by Edmonstone, presents us two Italian peasant boys, full of character, and evidently from the life. We must not omit to notice with similar commendation, a Peasant Girl of Procida; the engraver, Hollis. 'The Welcome,' is a very clever narrative scene by Parris. 'The Dead Soldier' is from a well known picture by Wright, of Derby. When we have mentioned 'La Pensierosa,' an expressive portrait painted by Newton, we have gone through all that seem to us to demand specific notice, and we shall simply enumerate the remainder. La Rosa Parlante, a portrait by Chalon. The Embroiderer, from a drawing by Hart. Peasants of Subiaco, from a picture commenced by the late R. Edmonstone, and finished by John Wood. Venice, from a drawing by Bentley. A Gipsy, from a miniature by Rochard. Cleopatra quitting the Battle of Actium, by George Jones, R.A. La Belle Fortunata, by Fichner.

The literary contents of the volume exhibit an agreeable *mélange* of romance, biographical and critical notices bearing on the arts, and poetry. A chapter on Archery, by G. Agar Hansard; the King's Fête, by the Author of Chantilly; 'Cottage 'Life', by William Howitt; 'two Scenes in the Life of Anna 'Boleyn', by Miss Landon; a Tale of Historical Romance, by the very clever Author of The Reformer; 'a Koordish Tale', by J. A. St. John; an interesting notice of the Life of Leopold Robert, the celebrated French painter; and 'The Entry of Ed-'ward the Black Prince into London', by Sir Harris Nicolas; are the principal prose contributions. The poetry is by T. K. Hervey, Miss Landon, Mrs. Howitt, Allan Cunningham, the late Mrs. Fletcher, Cornelius Webbe, and Miss E. L. Montagu. As the last mentioned contributor is evidently a favourite with the Editor, we wish not to criticise too severely her smooth and not inelegant verse; yet we must be permitted to express our surprise that the Editor should be guilty of the poetical heresy of styling her *quaterzains*, sonnets, which they are not; and our assurance that only his gallantry could have withheld him from hinting to the fair Montagu, that the following is not rhyme.

> 'I woke,—and birds on every leafy bough
> Are singing sweet to usher in the dawn;
> So sings my heart, forgetful of its woe,
> Since night and darkness from my soul are gone.'

The Stanzas entitled 'The American Indian's Farewell to the 'Forest,' by the same contributor, are very pleasing and spirited, and discover talents which, if not overlaid by flattery, will repay diligent cultivation. We miss the name of the Editor altogether from the list of contributions, but conclude that some of the short notices are from his pen. We can only indulge ourselves with a single specimen, and it must be the following beautiful verses by Mr. Hervey, who can write very carelessly and feebly, when he does not choose to take pains, but has shown himself capable of better things than he has produced.

'THE STAR IN THE EAST.

BY T. K. HERVEY.

'The burning East hath caught a sign
Upon the brow of night,
And starts the sage to see it shine
O'er all the morning's light;—
A stranger with his step of fire
Upon the starry way,
And wings that tarnish not, nor tire,
Amid the blaze of day,
But keeping still his flashing eye
Unshut, amid the sun-bright sky!

'He is not of the stars who sang
At that primeval birth,
When all their lyres with music rang,
To hail the young bright earth!
When swelled the world's high anthem out,
And pealed the spheres abroad,
And one wide pæan met the shout,
From all the "sons of God!"—
He fought not with the starry train
That fought on Kishon's ancient plain!

'Whence comes that glorious messenger?
Why came he not before?—
Chaldea hath no form so fair
In all her planet-lore:—
The Gheber knoweth not that star,
Amid his creed of fire;
Nor hath its beauty hailed from far
The mariner of Tyre,
When midnight with her spirit train
Looked o'er the Idumean main!

'It prophesyeth in the skies;—
Oh! where hath it been hid,
For ages 'mid the myriad eyes
That watch the Pyramid?

The Persian, with his starry wit,
He cannot speak its name;
And who shall read the story writ
Upon its brow of flame!
It hath no page in Grecian Art,
Nor sign in Zoroaster's chart!

'It spreadeth forth its glittering wing,
And beckoneth to the west.
And circleth, like a living thing
In haste—that may not rest:—
The sage hath watched its course afar,
And pondered it apart,
Till, lo! the story of that star
Beams in upon his heart,—
And brightly rises on his soul,
The legend of its burning scroll.

'Tis he—'tis he—the light of whom
Those ancient prophets told,
The star that should from Jacob come,
To shine on Judah's fold!
The East shall offer odours sweet,
To meet its rising smiles,
And kings bring presents to *His* feet,
From Tarshish and the Isles,—
And Sheba, from the desert far,
Be summoned by that herald star.

* * * * * *

'But onward, onward gliding, still
Afar, and yet afar,
By day and night, o'er plain and hill,
Looks out yon golden star!
Oh! never herald's presence yet
With such a glory shone;
And sure, such guide must bring the feet
Unto a gorgeous throne.
And who shall meet His awful eye
Whose burning couriers walk the sky?

* * * * * *

'Yon herald halteth suddenly!
And, with their fragrant freight,
The stately camels stoop the knee
Before a *stable gate!*
Oh! He whose name was first on high,
Is lowliest in his birth;
And He whose star is in the sky,
Hath but a crib on earth.
And they, the wise, have trod the wild,
To bow before *a little child!*

' So, guided by that Eastern ray,
The lowly and the poor
May gather precious truths to-day,
Beside that stable door :—
That not unto the highest here
The highest place is given ;
And they who serve below, may wear
The starry crown in heaven :—
And shining things still keep the road
That leads the Christian to his God !'

Art. VI. *Brief Records of the Church of Christ, of the Independent Denomination, at Southampton, from the Establishment to the present time ;* accompanied with observations, argumentative and explanatory, respecting the principles in which it is formed. By T. Adkins, Pastor of the Church. 12mo, pp. 211. Southampton, 1836.

IN the present day, when every system of principles human and divine, is subjected to so searching an investigation, it is highly desirable that the practices and modes of proceeding that have been adopted in past times by the various denominations of professing Christians, should be brought as much as possible to light, in order that, by a comparison of excellencies and defects, and, above all, by subjecting them to the test of the sacred records, error may be exploded and truth illustrated and confirmed. Power, and the sanction of human government, have long since ceased to screen from animadversion the vulnerable points, even of the most ancient and established systems; and the time seems fast approaching when truth, though not arrayed in splendour, nor leaning on the arm of secular authority, is destined to wield an unlimited sway over the hearts, and the consciences of men.

We know of no better way in which the controversy now going on respecting ecclesiastical systems, not always in the genuine spirit of Christianity, can be conducted, than by such works as the present; which contains a temperate, but firm and able *exposé* of the sentiments, on a variety of important points, of the denomination to which the author belongs. The present publication owed its origin to the exertions which were made by the congregation of Independent Dissenters at Southampton, to liquidate the debt which rested on their place of worship. The pastor was on this occasion requested to deliver a discourse embodying some of the principal facts, connected with the history of the church over which he has for many years presided. Accumulating materials have issued in the interesting piece of local ecclesiastical history before us.

Of the spirit in which Mr. Adkins sat down to the task he has undertaken, the following passage may be taken as an example:

'In the necessary development of certain controverted points, he has aimed, so far as truth and duty would allow, at once to speak with honest plainness, as to what he deems the errors of those who differ from him, and to treat their characters as sacred, and their motives with respect. Hostility to error, and benevolence to him that errs, he considers, are, so far from being incompatible, that they absolutely spring from the same source. Both are comprehended in the precept, "thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart: thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him." As the indulgence of error on the subject of religion, is one of the most pernicious forms of evil, so, amidst the various modes in which the love involved in the preceding injunction should unfold itself, few can be more beneficial, though many, indeed, more agreeable than the attempt to remove its delusions, and exhibit truth. If, in aiming at this object, the author has unwittingly penned a sentence, which, either in statement, or in spirit, can inflict a *needless* wound, in the feelings of those who may differ from him he can only, thus publicly aver, that, on the discovery of the unpremeditated fault, he would willingly acknowledge it before the aggrieved brother, as he hopes he should before "the Judge of all" '—Preface, pp. vi, vii.

Like many other societies of Christians, that to which the present volume refers had its origin in the great ejection of 1662; when the church of England, unhappily for herself as a community, but in its eternal results, happily for the world, threw from her bosom the two thousand confessors, who 'quitted their 'livings to retain their consciences.'

'The first authenticated memorial of this christian society, or church, as in conformity with the scriptural designation it may be called, commence at that period which has justly been called black Bartholomew day; when two thousand ministers of Jesus Christ in this country, and in one day, quitted their livings to retain their consciences; casting themselves and their families afloat, on the tide of divine providence, without any apparent means of support. A sublime spectacle to angels and to men!

'The victims of this arbitrary measure were, for the greater part, eminent for their learning and their piety. Of the former, the works which they have left are the most convincing proof; in which it is difficult to determine whether vigour of intellect, extent of erudition, or patience of labour, is more apparent: whilst of their piety the sacrifices which they made, rather than violate their allegiance to Christ, afford unequivocal evidence. It is, however, a most important fact in the history of these men, of whom the world was not worthy, and to whom, under providence, more than to any other agency, the prosperity of this country both in a political and religious point of view is to be ascribed; that, during more than twenty-six years of suffering, their enemies were never gratified by being able

to provoke them to resistance, nor, amidst the most precarious means of support, was one of them imprisoned for debt.

'The Rev. Nathaniel Robinson, who at the time referred to, was the rector of All Saints, in this town, was, with the Rev. Giles Say of St. Michael's, first ejected and then imprisoned for his nonconformity: the former became the first pastor of this church.

'The act of uniformity, by which these devoted men were driven from their sphere of labour, and which is still enforced, was justly considered, by those who suffered from its effects, as utterly indefensible, on any principle of reason or religion; for the terms of compliance were vexatious and severe. It has sometimes been observed that, however eminent might be the *piety* of these men, their consciences must have been more scrupulous than enlightened, otherwise to avoid the imposition of requirements so unimportant, they would not have made so vast a sacrifice. The objection, however, like a sword wielded by an unskilful hand, falls in the wrong place: for, if the terms of conformity were so lenient, as some have represented them to be, to enforce them by the penal severities which were then inflicted, was alike impolitic and unjust. Plausible, however, as it is, it is not founded in truth. The act of uniformity was an engine of state, fabricated between the king, his favourites, and the ecclesiastical dignitaries; and by the latter in particular, was designedly made so strict, that those, whose views of sacred polity did not comport with their own, might be compelled to perjure themselves, or be cast out of the church. As a proof of the truth of this, Dr. Sheldon, then bishop of London, who was one of the commission for revising the liturgy, and who as is affirmed by Bishop Burnet "seemed not to have any sense of religion, if any religion at all; and spoke of it, most commonly, as of an engine of government and a matter of policy;" hearing a nobleman express some regret that the door was so strait that many sober-minded ministers could not have admission; replied, "It is no pity at all: if we had thought that so many of them would have conformed we would have made it straiter."

'That this subject may be distinctly placed before the eye of the reader it is necessary to refer first, to the terms of subscription, and secondly, to the points to which the candidate for orders was required to subscribe. These are but little known and less observed, though a clear understanding of them is of great importance, in deciding the question that existed then, and exists now, between the respective parties.

'It was enacted that no person shall obtain ordination within the pale of the established church excepting he shall first subscribe the thirty-nine articles: and in addition to them the three articles here subjoined.

'I.—"That the king's majesty, under God, is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other his highness's dominions and countries, as well in all *spiritual* or *ecclesiastical* things, or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preeminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within his majesty's said realms, dominions, and countries.

'II.—" That the book of common prayer, and of ordering of bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God, and that it may lawfully be used, and that he himself will use the form, in the said book, presented in public prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and no other.

'III —" That he alloweth the book of articles of religion, agreed upon by the archbishop and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy, in the convocation, holden at London, in the year 1562, and that he acknowledgeth all and every the articles contained, being in number 39, besides the ratification, to be agreeable to the Word of God.

'" And for the avoiding of all ambiguities, such person shall subscribe in this form, and order of words; setting down both his christian and surname, viz. I. N. N. do willingly and *ex animo* subscribe to these three articles, above mentioned, and to all things that are contained in them."—pp. 7—11.

Mr. Adkins pursues his argumentative defence of the nonconformists by reference to the office of public baptism; the burial service; the apocryphal writings; and the oath of canonical obedience. He clearly shows that the act of uniformity, as it interferes with the rights of conscience, making the temporal magistrate a judge in spiritual matters, is constituted in obvious ignorance of the essential principles of the mental and moral constitution of man; and must therefore be ineffectual to promote the purpose for which it professe to be designed,—uniformity of belief.

'The act of uniformity was unjustifiable as it evinced the grossest ignorance of the human mind, and of the laws by which it is governed. The mind of man, from its very nature, is utterly incapable of yielding its convictions, excepting to the force of truth itself. Proscription, persecutions, penalties in any, or every form, can never bring an erring mortal to abandon his own system, or to assent to the truth of ours. They may make, and often have made, men to be hypocrites: and where the mind does not possess sufficient fortitude to brave the impending terrors, there may be a hollow assent to the truth of any proposition, to which, after all, the secret convictions of the heart may give the lie. A mighty accession forsooth it must be to any cause, to obtain those, who, by threats or by lures, are brought to profess a creed which they do not believe, and to practice forms from which their minds revolt! What reliance could be placed upon men, who could thus make a gain of godliness? Having violated their consciences in matters of eternal moment, it is folly to expect that they would listen to them in those of a temporal nature! Such is the legitimate tendency of civil coercion in spiritual things on weak or unprincipled minds; what, in the mean time, must be the effect of such measures on an upright man? Having adopted his sentiments, as the result of deliberate inquiry and conscientious approval, " he holds fast his integrity and will not let it go." Should the civil ma-

gistrate call to his aid fines, penalties, and even death itself; the mind of such a man looks with calm intrepidity upon the gathering storm. To every remonstrance which may be urged from the love of ease, the dread of human displeasure, or, even, the fear of death, he replies, "Whether it be right in the sight of God, to obey you rather than God, judge ye." Holding, as he does, his convictions with a firmness not to be bent, and a courage not to be appalled, his enemies are defeated, even though he perish in the contest: and they create a martyr where they intended a victim. "Personal sufferings," says the Honorable Mr. Boyle, "which a well-meaning man undergoes for his conscience, are but such a burden to his mind as feathers to an eagle; they have some weight in themselves; but in the situation in which they are placed about him, they enable him to soar towards heaven, and to reach a height from whence he excites the astonishment of beholders and defies their rage." Such was the effect upon the holy men to whom we have already referred. Never should it be forgotten that mind alone can come into contact with mind, truth alone can expel error; and that, if men do err in matters of religion, it is not by the sword of the civil magistrate that they can be reclaimed, but by the force of moral reason; by arguments addressed to the understanding, and motives applied to the will.' pp. 31—33.

The following particulars are stated respecting Mr. Watts, father of Dr. Watts, and the Rev. Giles Say, who was ejected from St. Michael's Church, Southampton, and who was fellow-sufferer with the Rev. N. Robinson, the first patron of the Congregational Church, in the town. The Act of Indulgence, and its subsequent revocation, shew how things were managed in those days, and ought to inspire gratitude to Divine Providence that we live in other times,—when conscience has successfully asserted her rights, and is no longer at the mercy of a court, of the back-stairs' influence which has so often proved stronger than the sceptre, or the laws.

'Of the Rev. Giles Say, who was ejected from St. Michaels, and who was thus the fellow-sufferer with Mr. Robinson, the following particulars may not be uninteresting:—He was born in Southampton, in the year 1632. The family sprang, originally, from Dorsetshire, but removed in consequence of the marriage of the father. On the blank leaf of a bible, which was a present from his brother to himself, a few days before the death of the former, he wrote the following lines: "My mother, who was born in 1588, departed this life in February, 1669. She was of French seed. Her ancestors were protestants. Her father and mother, with several of her relations, fled for religion, out of France, upon a great persecution there, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time, and came and dwelt at Southampton." The maternal family name was Câtell, to whom a considerable estate at Rouen, in Normandy, belonged. In the year 1660, Mr. Say was ordained to the pastoral office, by the hands of the presbytery, at Bishopstoke, a village about seven miles from Southampton. After his ejectment, in 1662, he preached in several places,

as opportunity was afforded, for which he was involved in much trouble, and also was imprisoned. He was offered the living of Wellow, if he would conform, by Colonel Norton, of Southwick, a village where he was accustomed to preach. Sir Thomas Barron, also, of Plaitford, gave him an asylum during this period of persecution, and in his house his eldest daughter was born. Upon the declaration of indulgence in 1672, he opened his house for religious worship, which, accordingly, was licensed at Whitehall, on the second of May, in that year. The original document is still preserved amongst the papers belonging to the family, and is to the following effect, "Charles R.—

'"Charles, by the grace of God, King of England and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all mayors, bailiffs, constables, and other our officers, and ministers, civil and military, whom it may concern, greeting. In pursuance of our declaration of the fifteenth of March, 167½, we do hereby permit and license Giles Say, of the congregational persuasion, to be a teacher of the congregation allowed by us, in a room or rooms, in his house, in Southampton, for the use of such as do not conform to the church of England, who are of the persuasion commonly called congregational. With further license and permission to him, the said Giles Say, to teach in any place, licensed and allowed by us, according to our said declaration; given at our court, at Whitehall, the second day of May, in the 24th year of our reign, 1672.

'"Say, a teacher,

'"*Signed*, Arlington."

'On the revocation of this act of indulgence, owing to the clamorous bigotry of the bishops and clergy, such meetings as these which he held, became illegal; and Mr. Say, with others to whom we shall subsequently refer, was thrown, for exercising his ministry, into the common jail of the town. It is not clearly ascertained, when Mr. Say quitted Southampton; an entry in the family register seems to prove that he remained there some years after these events.'

* * * * * * *

'Mr. Watts, the father of Dr. Watts, was, at the time to which this narrative refers, a deacon of the church. He was evidently a man of vigorous intellect, considerable information, exalted piety, inflexible principle, and every way worthy to be the parent and the pattern of the distinguished individual, who inherited his name and perpetuated his virtues. He was master of a boarding school in his native town, the repute of which was so well established, and widely diffused, that pupils from America and the West Indies were committed to his care. The uncompromising integrity of his religious principles, exposed him to much persecution, and, after the revocation of the act of indulgence, he had the honour to occupy, in more instances than one, and as was the case with the Rev. Mr. Say, a cell in the common prison, for the cause of Christ. After that period he was compelled to leave his wife, children, school, home; and was driven into exile for two years. His son, in his memoranda states, "My father persecuted and imprisoned for nonconformity six months; after that

forced to leave his family, and live privately in London for two years."'

* * * * * * *

'The imprisonment of Mr. Watts took place during the infancy of his son Isaac. A tradition was perpetuated in the family, that during the period of his confinement, the sorrowing, and almost widowed mother, has sometimes placed herself on a stone, in front of the cell in which her husband was confined, to impart to the child, thus cradled in affliction, the warm nutriment from her maternal breast. Brighter days, however, dawned upon the sire and the son: the history of the latter is universally known; and the former, having outlived these times of persecution, had the hallowed satisfaction of seeing the principles, for which he had suffered, gain the ascendancy, in the reign of the house of Brunswick; and, also, to witness that son, the morning of whose day was veiled in darkness and storms, shine forth in the meridian splendour of his learning, piety, and renown.'

The concluding chapter in the volume is chiefly occupied in advocating the congregational system of church government. Mr. Adkins has at all events handled the subject with temper and with ability. The topics discussed in this last chapter are, the congregational system, as adapted for maintaining the purity and integrity of divine truth, and for extending the kingdom of Christ; the efficiency of the voluntary principle; the obligation to investigate, to maintain, and in a becoming spirit to diffuse the principles of Protestant Nonconformity. We cordially recommend the volume to our readers.

Art. VII. *Letters on the present State of the Visible Church of Christ*, addressed to John Angel James, Minister of the Gospel in Birmingham. By R. M. Beverley. 12mo., pp. x. 248. London, 1836.

ADMITTING—what we are not concerned very strenuously to deny—that all denominations of the religious world are in the wrong, and stand in need of thorough reformation, we cannot think that Mr. Beverley is quite the person best qualified to set us to rights. He has not the requisite knowledge, and he wants correct judgement. He is chivalrous, but does not always discriminate between friends and foes. We have no doubt as to the excellence of his intentions, but his loose assertions and sweeping conclusions exhibit a rashness of temperament which unfits him for the office of public censor. In some of his former tilts, although he had the best of the argument, he had the worst of the controversy; being indebted for the former to a good cause, and for the latter to his own imprudence. In the volume before us, he has, if we may be pardoned the colloquialism, *given it us all round*, dealing his blows as impartially as a Malay in

running a muck. Sometimes he hits; more often he beats the air; and one is sorry to see so much earnestness so ill directed. He is a reformer, but might be mistaken for a gladiator. He is a most polemical pacificator, a most dogmatic inquirer, a most warlike Quaker; for to Quakerism Mr. Beverley's present opinions most closely approximate; and to advocate the views and principles by which the Society of Friends has been most prominently distinguished, is the main object of these Letters.

'The rule and doctrine of the Quakers,' he says, 'are certainly not *perfect*, but it would be difficult to prove that any other sect has approached nearer to perfection; and though there are in other sects to be found some good things which are wanting among the Quakers, yet, on the other hand, they are in possession of valuable truths which have no practical power among other denominations.' p. 209.

This is a strange representation to proceed from one who glories in styling himself a Calvinist, 'and that too of the rigid 'school,' 'who, though now decidedly in the minority, would ap- 'peal to Dr. Owen as a sound expositor of their creed.' (p. 169.) And it is not a little difficult to reconcile it with the admission, that this all but perfect rule of Quakerism rests upon a capital error, which has led to the religious declension of the body, and 'allowed of the inroad of an evil which seems incurable without 'a revolution.'

'In a society of such high spiritual pretensions, to allow every child of a Quaker to become, by mere hereditary right, a member of the Society, and to permit the carnal birth of those born merely "by the will of man and the will of the flesh," to enjoy an equal share of all Christian privileges with those who are born in the spirit; was to join things human and divine together in melancholy disorder; and, after having purged away all the dregs of men's inventions, to *retain the worst arrangements of the Church of Rome and the Church of England*, or even of the heathen Brahmins! The effect of this law or custom has been two-fold; to introduce a majority of mere moralists, totally unacquainted with the life and power of the Gospel, and gradually to infuse a tone of thinking unlike that which influenced the Society in its first era. Hereditary membership in a Christian sect is sure, sooner or later, to create a generation that forgets, and at last denies, the creed of its origin. The Quakers of the nineteenth century adopted the opinions of *human nature:* they were, with the exception of the spiritual minority, a *tabula rara* as to spiritual matters; and though they adhered to all the external peculiarities of their sect, they were in a state to receive a new order of religious impressions.' p. 206.

There is much truth in this account of the necessary consequence of 'the capital error' in the structure and constitution of the Society; but if the church government of the Quakers be thus

fundamentally erroneous, retaining 'the worst arrangement' of the Brahminical system, and if the creed of the majority be a *tabula rara* in spiritual matters, the reader will be apt to think Mr. Beverley must be jesting, or speaking ironically, when he represents this sect as approaching nearer to perfection than any other. But he is quite serious, having a much worse opinion of all other sects than of them. Yet, as not even among the Quakers, this new *Seeker* can find rest, he sighs for the formation of a new sect, of which who but himself should be the founder?

'He that to the unadulterated doctrine of the Reformers should add much of the church government and some of the peculiar principles of the Quakers, and, on such an amalgamation should *found a new sect*, would, I believe, in the event, be acknowledged a public benefactor of the Christian body; for we have hitherto been trying experiments on the truth, and, like empirics, have been mixing up some thing known to be good, with others that we conjecture to be so, trusting to superstition or to chance to effect a remedy which all confess is wanted. But now is the time to leave off practising with old prejudices and idols of the tribe:—now is the time to mount the eminence which is far above the din and darkness of sectarian lawgivers, and, according to the pattern poem in the mount, to build a holy tabernacle to the Lord, out of those materials which experience has proved to be good, and which are to be found in the Gospel, leaving all the rest to the workmen of Babel, and "rulers of the darkness of this world."' pp. 209, 210.

And so should we have another chapter added to the history of Fanaticism! Have we not had enough of new sects? This quack remedy has, one would think, been tried sufficiently often, to demonstrate its noxious character. In our own times, we have seen a man whom Mr. Beverley will allow us to characterize as his superior in genius, attainments, and eloquence, who might have done great service to the Church of Christ, had not his vanity and ambition betrayed him into an erratic course. *He* started into notoriety as a censor and rebuker of the church, declaiming against the errors and sins of the Evangelicals, and inviting the world to mock the nakedness he exposed. Yet he for a time 'ran well' in point of doctrine, and did good; but, through an instability of mind which we often find united to a haughty spirit and shining parts, repelled in one direction, he bounded to the opposite point, and it long appeared uncertain where, after running the circle of opinions, he would terminate his career. Alas! by a natural process, this morbid restlessness and impetuosity, the intoxication of the intellect, settled down into a chronic fanaticism. He succeeded in founding a new sect; and too late, upon his dying bed, he rebuked the extravagancies which he had originated. Peace be to the memory of Edward Irving! But let not the lesson which his career reads to the

Church be forgotten. Presumption was his sin, and fanaticism his punishment. He who starts as a general censor, bids fair to end in the heresiarch.

There is at this moment, however, some danger that a new sect, answering very nearly to Mr. Beverley's description, should be *unintentionally* produced by the secessions from the Society of Friends. We must confess that we watch the result with no ordinary anxiety. At present, the Evangelical Friends at Manchester, though meeting in a separate assembly for religious worship, have not, we understand, decided upon their ultimate course. Mr. Beverley expresses his astonishment that 'some respected 'Quakers, men of supposed piety,' should, on leaving the Society, 'have leaped headlong into the undrained bog of the Established 'Church, sinking over head and ears into all the depths of arch-'bishops and bishops, tithes and pluralities, simony and semi-'popery.' The transition is not quite so unnatural as it may seem; and he has in part accounted for it, by stating, that the constitution of the Society, which allows of membership by hereditary right, closely resembles 'the worst arrangement of the 'Church of England.' The National Establishment presents the the only other religious body possessing this feature of a corporation, which to a Quaker must be an attractive one. Besides this, in all transitions of the kind, *c'est le premier pas qui coute:* the greater or less distance to be travelled matters comparatively little. We are disposed, however, to account for the fact referred to, chiefly by the almost total ignorance of the rule and discipline, and practices of other sects more kindred to their own, in which the Friends have hitherto been kept by the sectarian regulations of their own Society. Many of them are now beginning to extend their inquiries in this direction, with a view to ascertain to what portion of the Visible Church they may most consistently attach themselves. We regret to say, that Mr. Beverley's Letters will afford them but small assistance or encouragement. He will tell them, that no sect approaches to perfection so nearly as that from which they have so conscientiously separated, that 'the progress 'of the movement out of the papacy' may be traced through the Prelatist, and the Presbyterian, to the Independent, who 'can, 'with more than heraldic accuracy, confidently declare that the 'Pope is his real grandfather;'—that, 'though individuals among 'the Independents have occasionally taught Quaker doctrine con-'cerning the priesthood, yet no society of Christians, except the 'Quakers has, *as a society*, acknowledged and acted upon this 'great maxim, that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is the only 'Priest that has any pre-eminence, and that the whole body of 'believers are priests in perfect equality in and through their 'Head and Lord.'—(pp. 21, 22).

Should these pages meet the eye of any such inquirer, we would

put him upon his guard against relying very implicitly upon Mr. Beverley's testimony in this matter; and would direct him to Mr. B.'s note referring to a valuable and eloquent volume, maintaining this very doctrine respecting the true nature of the Christian priesthood; the Author, a much respected independent minister, who, we venture to say, was not aware that he was advancing any opinions at variance with the general and avowed sentiments of the denomination of which he is an ornament. Between the Quaker doctrine and the Independent doctrine, there may be, and is, a material difference, so far as respects the institution of the Christian ministry. The sentiments of the Independents on this head is contradistinguished from those of the Prelatists and the Presbyterians, we have taken some pains to expound in a recent article upon the liberty of preaching, to which we would beg leave to refer the inquirer*. But no tenet of Independency has been more firmly, constantly, and unanimously maintained, than that Christianity knows of no sacerdotal order; that the whole body of believers are 'a royal priesthood,' under the only 'High Priest 'of our profession';—and that ordination conveys neither 'grace', nor 'indelible character', nor official authority, but is only the public and solemn sanction of an appointment made by election or with consent of the church. Mr. Beverley has a right to entertain the opinion if he pleases, that what *he* deems 'inevitable deduc-'tions' from these principles have not been acknowledged and acted upon; while his inevitable deductions others might regard as practical fallacies. He must be, however, extremely ill-informed to harbour a doubt that the work he eulogizes fairly represents the acknowledged principles of the Independents.

Mr. Beverley devotes no fewer than seven of these Letters to an attempt to shew the inutility of learning as a qualification for the Christian ministry; and he thinks that talent also exercises at present a very undue sway over the religious world. He deplores the influence of Robert Hall's writings in stimulating too many students to imitate the style of that 'brilliant disquisitionist,' and we have then the following exquisite piece of coxcombry.

'Robert Hall is entitled to praise in his proper place, but that place can hardly be within the precincts, though perhaps not far from the confines, of the church of Christ. It certainly would be improper to call him a divine, for divinity is not to be found in the pages of his elegant writings: he is an admirable reasoner, but his province was to overthrow the Deist, rather than to improve the Christian; and I suspect that another age will confess that he was too abstract for edification, and too pious for pure reason. If metaphysics could have added power and life to the quick and powerful word of God, —if logic could have sharpened that two-edged sword, which pierces

* See Eclectic Rev. 3d Ser. Vol. xv. April, 1836.

even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, it would have been effected by Robert Hall; but he that gave us the truth in Christ knew, by his superior wisdom, that it was inexpedient to strengthen his word from the sources of metaphysical cognition, which he left to be explored by those who love to touch the short limits of the reasoning faculties, where they are soon stifled in the thin atmosphere of psychological analysis.'

We could forgive the arrogancy and the flippancy of this silly attempt to depreciate the value of Mr. Hall's work, did not the Writer betray in another passage an almost malignant feeling towards his memory. At page 102, referring to a celebrated passage in Mr. Hall's sermon, at the ordination of Mr. Robertson, in which seriousness and affection are recommended in the *mode* of pulpit addresses, Mr. Beverley says, 'Is not this a distinct 'recommendation of the *theatrical art?*' Such a question cannot have been put in good faith: and we are constrained, therefore, to deem it a wilful misrepresentation of Mr. Hall's meaning. But it would really seem to be the infirmity of Mr. Beverley's mind, to revolt against every thing above his own level; and learning and talent, as a sort of intellectual aristocracy, must therefore be reduced to a plebeian equality, not to offend against his self-love. We readily believe that he knows not 'what spirit he is of;' but that spirit will, we fear, not only neutralize the good he might have effected, but, if he is not aware, hurry him into still wilder improprieties. 'Bad taste and bad doctrine', he justly remarks, 'generally go hand in hand'; and these Letters supply a striking exemplification of the truth.

Art. VIII. *Gleanings in Poetry,* with Notes and Illustrations. By Richard Butt. First Series. 12mo. 7*s.* 6*d.* London, 1836.

A SOMEWHAT *lengthy* preface informs us that the Editor, who keeps the 'Friend's School' at Lancaster, has been prompted to publish this Selection by an almost constant sense of the want of such a Compilation in his own school. Its distinguishing feature is the Notes and Illustrations appended to the Poems, imbodying a variety of useful information bearing upon the subject, or explaining the allusions, and intended to render the process of learning to read subservient to the development of the understanding. 'The Elegy in a country Churchyard,' remarks Maria Edgeworth, 'is one of the most popular poems 'which is usually given to children to learn by heart: it cost at 'least a quarter of an hour to explain to intelligent children, the 'youngest of whom was at the time nine years old, the first 'stanza of that elegy.' Mr. Butt has been guided in his selection by the subject and tendency of the poems, rather than by their

possessing the highest literary merit; his aim has been 'utility'; and he has more especially availed himself of those poems which are adapted to impart a taste for the study and observation of nature. Contemporary and living poets have, for this purpose, been largely drawn upon. For instance, Bp. Heber's 'Evening 'Walk in Bengal' is followed by nine pages of notes illustrative of the scenery and natural history described. The Daisy is honoured with a series of poems and notes extending through sixteen pages. In the same manner, several other subjects are treated; and the botanical and ornithological articles form a considerable proportion. The plan of the Selection is good; and the Compiler expresses his hope, that the notes will not deter the parent or teacher from making those remarks, and giving those explanations which the different pieces will more or less suggest or demand. The price of the volume is too high for a school-book, though it cannot be called dear.

Art. IX. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Mr. James Montgomery (of Sheffield) is superintending for the press, "The Christian Correspondent:"—Letters, Private and Confidential, addressed to Relatives and others, by Pious Persons of both Sexes, eminent for their Rank, Talents, or Peculiar Circumstances in Life; exemplifying the Fruits of Holy Living, and the Blessedness of Holy Dying.

Amidst the diversified contents of these volumes will be presented —beautiful and affecting specimens of epistles by Martyrs and Confessors;—Nobles, Statesmen, and Judges;—Ministers of various evangelical denominations;—Ladies of high as well as humble birth, distinguished by the virtues and graces peculiarly becoming and adorning their sex;—celebrated Patriots, Philosophers, Poets, and Christians of all classes, who have successively been the glory and defence of our country, from the Sixteenth Century to the present time.—There will also be prefixed to it an Essay on Letter Writing, by Mr. Montgomery.

Mr. John Sheppard, Author of "Thoughts on Devotion," "Essays," &c., has in the press a new work entitled, An Autumn Dream; Thoughts in Verse, on the intermediate state of Happy Spirits. To which are appended, collections from various authors, on the "Separate State," on the Immateriality of Mind, &c. With a dissertation on the opinions cited concerning the Lower Animals.

The Rev. Thomas Milner, Author of the "History of the Seven Churches of Asia," will shortly publish, The Sanctuary and the Oratory; or, Illustrations of Devotional Duty. Containing, 1. The First Days of the Son of Man.—2. The Day of Rest.—3. The Word of God.—4. The Sanctuary.—5. Prayer.—6. Secret, Social, and Domestic Prayer.—7. Times, Postures, and Forms of Devotion.—8. Praise. —9. Morning and Evening Devotion.—10. The Last Days of the Son of Man.

Dr. Lingard is preparing for the press a new edition of his History of England, to be published in Monthly Volumes, at Five Shillings each, illustrated with beautiful engravings. The author has given the work a thorough revision, and proves his facts in every instance by references to additional authorities. The entire work will not exceed twelve volumes. The labour given to the preparation of this edition having of course occupied largely his time and thoughts, the public may now hope, on its completion, that a continuation to the work will be begun. A History of England from the time of the last James, written with the original views, lucid narrative, and great industry of Dr. Lingard, would be a national object.

Literature and Art.—The Supplement to the "Literary Advertiser," for 1834, contains Lists of the New Books and Principal Engravings published in London, during the past year, with their Sizes and Prices. The Number of Books is about 1270, exclusive of New Editions, Pamphlets, or Periodicals, being upwards of 100 more than in 1833. The number of Engravings is 73 (including 31 Portraits), 15 of which are engraved in the Line manner, 49 in Mezzotinto, and 9 in Chalk, Aquatinta, &c.

The New Edition of the London Catalogue of Books brought down to December, 1834, is nearly finished printing and is expected to be ready for publication by the end of the present Month.

Mr. W. Jones, Author of the "History of the Waldenses," has in the Press, a volume of Sermons, which, it is expected, will make its appearance on the 1st of March.

In the Press, The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, with the Text of the Common Translation arranged in Paragraphs, and illustrated by Rhetorical Punctuation.—In Two Parts.

The Marquess Wellesley's Dispatches. The Third Volume of these important state papers, edited by Montgomery Martin; corrected, arranged, and revised by his Lordship, and dedicated by command to the King, will appear on the first week of January.

The Honour attached to Eminent Piety and Usefulness. A Sermon preached at the Meeting House, Downing Street, Cambridge, on occasion of the Death of the Rev. Charles Simeon, M. A. Senior Fellow of King's College; to which is appended a brief sketch of his Life and Character. By the Rev. Samuel Thodey, of Cambridge. 8vo. 1*s*.

Preparing for publication. The Life and Correspondence of the Rev. Charles Simeon, M.A. By the Rev. William Carus, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.—The above Memoir will be compiled with as little delay as possible, from the large and valuable Collection of Mr. Simeon's own papers, the whole of which have been bequeathed to the Rev. W. Carus.

Early next month will be published, (with twenty-five beautiful illustations), Beauties of the Country; or Descriptions of Rural Customs, Objects, Scenery, and the Seasons. By Thomas Miller, Author of "A Day in the Woods."

Preparing for publication. The Union of the Holy Spirit and the Church, in the Conversion of the World. By Thomas W. Jenkyn.

Also, by the same Author, the Second Edition of his Work, on The Extent of the Atonement, in its relation to God and the Universe.

The Rev. A. McCaul has in the press, a Translation from the Hebrew, of the Rabbi, David Kimchi's Commentary upon the Prophecies of Zachariah. With Notes, and Observations on all the Prophetic Passages relating to the Messiah. It will be published early in December.

Nearly ready. The Americans, in their Social, Moral, and Political Relations. By Francis J. Grund. In Two vols., 8vo. The Author has resided in America during fifteen years, mixing with all classes of society, in every part of the Union. It is believed that the Work will present a more characteristic view of the Americans, and their Institutions, than has appeared in any preceding publication; combining ample Illustrations of the National Character and Manners, with the most circumstantial Statistical and Financial Details, derived, in most instances, from official documents.

In the press. The Life of Thomas Chatterton, containing his unpublished Poems and Correspondence. By John Dix. With an Appendix, by George Cumberland, Esq.

In the press. Spartacus, or the Roman Gladiator. A Tragedy in Five Acts. By Jacob Jones, Esq., Berrister-at-Law, Author of "Longinus," a Tragedy; "The Anglo-Polish Harp," and other works.

Art. X. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

EDUCATION.

Syllabus of a Course of Lectures upon Trigonometry, and the Application of Algebra to Geometry. Demy 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

Britain's Plea for Sailors, in whole cloth, lettered, 2*s.*—in stiff wrappers, 1*s.* 6*d.*

German Poetry for Beginners. By Dr. Bernays. Fcap 8vo, 4*s.*

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

The Mathematical Principles of Mechanical Philosophy. By J. H. Pratt. 8vo. 1*l.* 1*s.*

PHILOLOGY.

Theory of the Hebrew Verb. By the Rev. W. Yates, of Calcutta. Second Edition, pp. 58.

THEOLOGY.

The Marrow of Modern Hymn Books. A selection for the use of Families and Sunday Schools, containing about 225 Hymns. Price 3*d.* By the Rev. John Campbell, Author of "Theology for Youth," and three other Catechisms.

The Testimony of Our Lord's Discourses to the Divinity of His Present Character. By George Pearson, B.D. Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. Demy 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

The Present State and Claims of London. By Robert Ainslie. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

*** The entire profits will be devoted to the London City Mission.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

For FEBRUARY, 1837.

Art. I.—*Divine Inspiration; or the Supernatural Influence exerted in the Communication of Divine Truth, and its Special bearing on the Composition of the Sacred Scriptures: with notes and illustrations.* By the Rev. E. Henderson, Doctor in Philosophy. London: Jackson and Walford. 8vo. pp. 574.

IT is an unequivocal and affecting evidence of human depravity, that the inspiration of the Bible should ever have been the object of hostility or cavil. To examine, indeed, the pretensions of any persons or writings setting up a claim to so high a character, and to hold them in jealous abeyance until we obtain satisfactory proofs, is the dictate, not of prudence only, but of wisdom: it is not only allowable, but imperative; since the interests at stake are far too precious to be exposed, without folly, to uncertainty or hazard. But surely wisdom as loudly calls for candour as for caution. It must be as important to receive what is true, as to reject what is false; since what is true will inevitably come into bearing upon us, whether we admit it or not, only the more fearfully in the latter case, because it will find us unprepared. This consideration would justly apply to a revelation of an exclusively awful kind, to such an one as announced only terrors, and such an one, therefore, as all must wish not to be true; but it acquires much more force when applied to the Christian revelation, which is emphatically one of mercy and gladness. Taking the Bible in his hand, how fervently any child of mortality and sin may *wish it to be true!* How well might we imagine an inquirer conducting his investigation in a spirit, not merely of candid submission, but of eager hope; rejoicing in the clearness of any evidence, and trembling lest objections should arise to invalidate his happiness! There have been men, however, and there still are men, at whose hands the Scriptures have received a far different treatment. It has been their delight to take the opposite side; to strengthen themselves

in denying the inspiration of the sacred records; racking their ingenuity to invent arguments, or to discern difficulties; and employing sophistry and captiousness as their coadjutors in this melancholy labour? And to what end? To extinguish what *promises*, at least, to be a light from heaven, thrown upon the path of man; and what alone gives such a promise with any resemblance of truth! To throw the human race adrift from their only hope, and bear them floating on in darkness and despair to the impenetrable abyss! To deprive any guilty conscience of its peace, any trembling heart of its repose, any sorrowful breast of its consolation! Such a work, if it were necessary to be done, should at least be done with tenderness and tears; but unbelievers have attempted it as with a heart of adamant, with the recklessness and fiend-like triumph of beings no longer partaking of the sins or sympathies of humanity.

And wherefore? For no other reason than because the word of God is *holy*. This is the secret of their hostility. The bible exhibits a holy God, and requires a holy character. It makes neither allowance for sin, nor compromise with the sinner; and therefore they will try to prove that God has not spoken it. It bears too heavily on their cherished passions for them to admit its truth, while they can give any plausibility to the affirmation of its falsehood. Alas! The power of a corrupt heart! But be it so. We acknowledge it is just the waywardness which a depraved spirit might be expected to manifest. We accept it as an indication altogether in harmony with the sentiment they dispute, and as affording a presumptive evidence of its truth. It was not likely that God should say any thing that could be agreeable *to them;* and their distaste for the communication agrees well with the declared nature of its origin.

The determination and tenacity with which the inspiration of the Scriptures has been attacked, demonstrates also, what indeed is obvious enough, the vital importance of the sentiment. If we would allow the bible to be *uninspired*, infidels themselves would join us in prizing its historical documents, in admiring its poetry, in applauding its morals; but then it would have *no authority*. It could enjoin no duty, it could condemn no sin, it could announce no truth, it could proclaim no mercy, it could exhibit no terrors. The essential question is, therefore, whether *God* has spoken. If he has, and the bible be his word, the volume assumes quite a different character. It is then both light and law; it has then both authority and power; it can then both arrest the conscience and cheer the heart.

There is, no doubt, among the existing population of this country, an almost universal belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures. Those who are truly pious have a practical evidence of this truth in the power which the gospel has exerted, and is continually

exerting on their minds; and by a far greater number it is readily classed with 'the things commonly believed among us.' Where there is no experimental piety, however, the belief of the inspired character of the bible must, for the most part, be extremely slight, inasmuch as we cannot assume any very extensive knowledge of the other class of evidences, however satisfactory, by which it is established. Multitudes, doubtless, believe it without knowing why; and believe it in a manner, therefore, in which it takes no firm hold of the mind, and presents little security against a successful assault. We think that those who have the management of the *Congregational Lecture*, therefore, of which the present is the fourth series, did well in selecting the subject of the volume before us. That they confided the treatment of it to able hands, will be abundantly manifest as we proceed.

We profess ourselves, at the outset, eminently gratified with the manner in which the auther has conducted that part of his inquiry which relates to the 'positive proofs' of the inspiration of the Scriptures. It will, we think, enable persons in general to give a more simple and immediately conclusive reason for their belief, than we recollect elsewhere to have seen put into their mouth. But before we enter on this portion of the subject, we shall detain the reader for a little while, on the nature of that divine inspiration which is to be ascribed to the sacred writings. On this point, it is well known, many differences have obtained; some writers preserving the term inspiration, but with it nothing of substantial value; while others have carried their ideas of it to an extreme on the opposite side, both unwarrantable and untenable. Dr. Henderson has taken a middle course; and we beg to commend to our readers the sober and judicious views contained in the following extracts. They are taken from the seventh lecture.

'In the first place, the sacred penmen were the subjects of a *Divine Excitement*, when they proceeded to commit to writing those matters which it was the will of God should be permanently preserved. By this excitement we understand, both the supernatural intimation given to the writers, that it was the pleasure of the Most High they should pen any particular book, or portion of Scripture, and also the influence by which they were compelled to comply with such intimation.

Secondly, There was an *Invigoration* experienced by the inspired writers, by which their natural faculties were elevated above the imperfections which would have incapacitated them from receiving those communications of a higher order with which they were favoured; and by which also they were enabled perfectly to recollect and infallibly to reason respecting truths and facts, with which they were previously acquainted, but which, owing to the lapse of time or the decay of mental vigour, they were unfit, without such supernatural aid, accurately and fully to make known to the world. . . . . This energy strengthened their mental powers, giving expansion to the understand-

ing, quickness to the perception, vividness to the imagination, vigour to the memory, and solidity to the judgment, whereby they were rendered capable of receiving and communicating those matters of divine revelation, to which their minds were otherwise totally inadequate. In vindicating to the sacred writers this invigorating influence, we would not be understood as maintaining, that it imparted to them properties in any degree bordering upon omniscience or impeccability. All we contend for is, that in proportion as they required its exercise in order to capacitate them, as percipient and intelligent instruments, infallibly to publish or record the truths and facts of revelation, it was vouchsafed to them. At other times, and in reference to other subjects, it left them in the ordinary circumstances of humanity. . . . .

'In the third place, it clearly appears from the facts of the case, that, in writing many parts of Sacred Scripture, the divine influence enjoyed by the penmen was that of simple yet infallible *Superintendence*. By this is meant the watchful care which was exercised over them, when, in performing their task, they made use of their own observation, or availed themselves of their previous knowledge of existing documents, or of other external sources to which they had access. In virtue of this divine guardianship, they were preserved from all error or mistake, and committed to writing for the benefit of posterity nothing but what was deemed proper by Infinite Wisdom. That they actually knew much of what they have written, independently of the aid of divine revelation, cannot be denied. They only required, therefore, in such a case, to be excited to commit what they thus knew to writing, and to be so controlled, while engaged in writing, as to produce it with accuracy and truth. As long as their natural faculties were adequate to the task, and when, on being supernaturally excited, they took precisely that course which its proper execution required, they were employed without further aid by the Spirit of Inspiration; but whenever they would have taken a wrong direction, or when there was the slightest liability to present the matters to be recorded in a light or in an order that would in any degree have deteriorated from their utility, his divine influence interposed to prevent or remove it. . . . .

'We now proceed, in the fourth place, to remark, that *Guidance* was another of the modes in which divine inspiration operated upon the penmen of Scripture. . . . . By the descent of the promised Spirit, impediments were removed, and they were conducted to deeper and more enlarged views of the great principles of the gospel dispensation. Under his direction, they taught both orally and by writing; and as the same Spirit, in former times, moved the "holy men of God," or bore them onward to the delivery of his messages, it is obvious both prophets and apostles were upon a level in regard to the infallible guidance which they enjoyed. They were not left to choose their own way. The path in which they were to proceed was pointed out to them. They were supernaturally excited and strengthened to walk in it. Supernal guardianship was vouchsafed them; and whatever instruction they required respecting the region of truth which lay before

or around them, was fully imparted. In the selection, order, and combination of the facts to be narrated; in the particular line of argument to be employed; in the directions and admonitions to be tendered; and in the peremptory decisions to be given on all points connected with the kingdom of God; they were favoured with the teaching of an infallible guide, to whose omniscient view were present at the time all the diversified circumstances of those into whose hands the Scriptures would come, and who adapted his instructions so as most exactly to meet them. . . . .

'The last and highest species of inspiration, with which we believe the sacred penmen to have been endowed, is that of direct *Revelation*. Besides the various subjects to which we have adverted, as coming within the sphere of their external cognizance, or that were matters of personal consciousness, in recording which they only required to be under the special superintendence and direction of the Holy Spirit, many are to be found in their writings of a description which clearly evinces that they were the result of an immediate influence upon their minds, by which conceptions were produced without the interposition of any human agency whatever. To this head are to be referred all those doctrines which had previously been hid in the divine mind; all knowledge of past events, respecting which no record or tradition existed; all acquaintance with circumstances present in point of existence, but of which the writers could not but be totally ignorant; and all communications respecting future contingent events, the foreknowledge of which is the sole prerogative of Deity.'—pp. 364, 381.

We do not affirm that the scheme thus carefully propounded is without its difficulties. Every view of the same subject has difficulties. But we believe that those which beset the moderate course taken by our author are fewer and less formidable than such as attach to any other. It is a delightful part of this chapter, in which the author, after explaining that 'the spirit of inspiration' employed the faculties of *men*, observes, that the men whose faculties he employed for the composition of the Scriptures, were *pious* men; so that he has communicated 'a large share' of religious truth in those interesting and attractive forms of experimental and practical godliness, of which there exists a counterpart in the heart of every believer. We cannot withhold from our readers the two beautiful paragraphs which follow:—

'This view of the nature of inspiration affords a two-fold illustration of the divine goodness. It displays the exercise of that attribute towards the inspired instruments, in permitting them to give expression to the decisions of Christian judgment, and the interesting feelings of Christian experience, while in the act of recording the will of God—a privilege, which they clearly could not have enjoyed, if they had performed a mere mechanical part, or if their intellectual faculties had merely been a channel for the conveyance of abstract truth. Theirs was not the cold and heartless task of communicating matters in which they had no concern, but the exalted felicity of imparting to

others what most deeply interested their own minds. To this there may seem to be an exception, in the case of the writers of prophecy, who did not fully understand the import of those visions with which they were favoured. But, whatever imperfections may have accompanied their subjective knowledge of the truths which they delivered, it is manifest from the statements which they have made respecting the manner in which their minds were exercised in reference to them, that they experienced a powerful excitement, and were led to institute certain courses of pious action, which most delightfully harmonized with the nature of the heavenly communications. Examples in abundance occur in the books of the prophets Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Zechariah, and in that of the Apocalypse.

'Nor is the manifestation of the goodness of God less conspicuous in such a view of the subject, in regard to the persons for whose benefit the Scriptures were written. These Scriptures are presented to our view, not in the shape of abstract uniform documents, but of historical, epistolary, didactic, prophetic, and devotional monuments, the endless variety of which, created chiefly by the diversity of situations in which the writers were placed, is admirably calculated at once to please and to instruct; while the conviction, that those by whom they were composed were persons, who more or less took part in the transactions which they describe—whose temptations, difficulties, and dangers were, in many respects, similar to our own, is equally fitted to awaken our attention, inspire us with a deep interest in the subjects brought under our review, and produce impressions of a highly powerful and practical character. We naturally identify ourselves with the writers, or with those whom they describe. We are conscious of a sympathy of feeling in all that we possess in common, as fallen and redeemed creatures; and before we are aware we become possessed of many truths, which, but for the vital forms in which they are thus conveyed to us, might not so easily have obtained a lodgment in our minds.'—pp. 359, 361.

In treating of the evidence that the Scriptures are thus divinely inspired, (which he does in the fifth and sixth lectures,) the author divides it into two classes, the presumptive, and the positive. Passing by the reference to geological topics in p. 246, which we do not think either eminently happy, or perfectly correct, ('the originally liquid state of 'the earth,' being, we conceive, indefinitely remote from being either proved by geologists, or asserted by Moses,) we have much pleasure in furnishing our readers with the following quotation:—

'Of the inspiration of the Hebrew prophets, strong presumptive proof is supplied by the circumstances connected with the discharge of their official duties, as well as by the nature of the messages they were called to deliver. How different their character and predictions from those which distinguished the vates and the oracular responses of the heathen! They were the guardians and interpreters of no oracle. The delivery of their prophecies was not purchased by costly presents, confined to certain days and places, or preceded by any particular cere-

monies. Their announcements were not made in scanty and obscure sentences, in answer to superstitious applicants, and in terms of amphibological import. Neither were they characterized by those hollow and unearthly sounds, which marked the responses of the Dodonean, the Delphic, and other ancient oracles. The prophets had no mysteries to conceal from the light of day. The signs which they furnished, were publicly exhibited: they were submitted to the view equally of the peasant and the prince; they invited the belief of the pious; while, at the same time, they challenged the opposition and braved the contempt of the wicked. They were an order of men, who conducted the whole of their affairs with the utmost publicity. Instead of shrouding themselves in the gloom of a cave, and enunciating their predictions with the studied caution and base timidity of conscious imposture, they appeared in the centre of the metropolis, in the palace of the monarch, before the gate of the city, and in the court of the temple, and denounced in the boldest and most unequivocal terms the judgments of God against every rank of transgressors. So far were they from amassing wealth, and living in luxury, by the price of their announcements, that the only rewards they received were hatred, derision, imprisonment, and death. Where, it may fearlessly be asked, is a parallel to be found in all the ancient world? Does not the case stand out in bold relief from any thing exhibited in connexion with the functions of religious teachers or divine interpreters on the pages of profane history? Was it in human nature to have acted the part ascribed to the Jewish prophets, if they had not really been the subjects of divine inspiration?'—pp. 251—253.

With this reference to the heathen oracles, Dr. Henderson has connected a note, from which it appears that, in his judgment, they were wholly fraudulent. We cannot say that we feel satisfied in this conclusion. We know the subject is difficult. We have no doubt that frauds constituted by far the greater part of the system. We should lay little or no stress on whatever statements might be found respecting the oracles in pagan writings. But we do not know how to set aside the records of the New Testament. Had Dr. Henderson forgotten the Pythoness who encountered Paul at Philippi (Acts xvi.)? She is said to have possessed 'a spirit of divination,' πνεῦμα Πύθωνος; and we are told that Paul 'said to the Spirit, I command thee, in the 'name of Jesus Christ, to come out of her. *And he came out the* '*same hour.*' ver. 16. 18. This surely is not to be understood of a case of absolute imposture. Or if a real Spirit is not allowed in this case, what, under a similar mode of interpretation, will become of the demoniacal possessions mentioned in the gospels? And if one such case occurred, and was turned, as in this instance, to 'much gain,' by private persons, why might not persons similarly affected, occasionally at least be in the service of the priests? We have already admitted by far the greater part of the oracular system to be fraudulent, but we cannot help

thinking it had, like most other frauds, a slender basis of reality. It was, we conceive, a system of imposture, founded on some degree of preternatural operation: what degree and of what kind, may probably be explained, by any person who can remove the difficulties which attend the cases of demoniacal possession in the evangelical narrative.

Among the presumptive arguments in favour of the inspiration of the Scriptures, our author notices 'the Mosaic and 'apostolic miracles,' and 'the original reception of the books' in their inspired character. But without dwelling on these topics, we shall proceed to the positive evidence, with the mode of treating which we are eminently gratified. The subject is thus frankly and candidly introduced:

'The arguments which have occupied our attention may go far towards removing doubts from the mind, and preparing it carefully and conscientiously to prosecute the study of the dogma, and impartially to receive whatever farther light may be thrown upon it; but it is not their design, as it is not within their province, to impart a perfect conviction of its truth, or give to it such a lodgment in the soul, as shall inspire an unhesitating reliance upon the testimony of the Bible as the sure and infallible word of God. This conviction can only be produced by evidence, which positively evinces, that the persons by whom the Scriptures were written were in actual correspondence with the Deity; that they wrote by his direction and assistance; or, that what they have delivered to us possesses his sanction as an infallible rule of faith. Except these points be made good, we shall never be practically influenced by their writings, but shall feel more or less at liberty to treat them as we do standards of mere human fabrication—assenting to them or departing from them, as may best accord with our own previous notions of truth and duty.

'It has been customary, without any preliminary or qualifying consideration, to maintain, that the doctrine of inspiration is to be received simply on the declarations of those by whom the Scriptures were written;—that they were infallible, and consequently, if they have expressly affirmed that they were the subjects of such extraordinary divine influence as the term inspiration implies, we are bound, without any further inquiry, to abide by their testimony. On this ground, the doctrine is supposed to possess all the authority of a direct divine sanction; and to press for further evidence is deemed unwarrantable, if not profane. But it must be evident to every one who takes a more minute view of the subject that, to say the least, this is merely to beg the question. It is taking for granted the very point to be proved. It amounts in effect to nothing more than this: the Bible is inspired, because those who wrote it declare that they were inspired—a statement, however, which is by no means universally true; for though it may be shown that some of the writers do advance such a claim, it by no means holds true of them all. We may argue *à priori* in support of the question, and may establish positions in reference to it, which it might be difficult to overturn; but with persons of reflecting

minds, the inquiry will still return: What positive grounds have we for believing that the authors of the books of Scripture really were inspired to write them?—or, in other words, that these books possess a plenary divine sanction?'—pp. 280—282.

The evidence usually adduced at this point is that afforded by miracles and prophecies, as establishing the fact that the same writers had received a commission from God, and that they are worthy of credit, in declaring themselves inspired. We say nothing to impugn the force of this reasoning, as far as it extends; but we may affirm of it, first, that it is circuitous, and next, that it is incomplete. The latter point particularly merits observation. Concerning the books of Esther and Ruth, for example, we know neither who wrote them, nor who inserted them in the canon. How do we prove that *they* were inspired? What we want in this matter is *a witness*, competent to give unexceptionable evidence—such as shall not only justify, but demand our belief. It is plain that these requisites do not meet in any of the sacred penmen themselves, even with respect to their own writings, which constitute after all only a part of the volume we maintain to be inspired. We think Dr. Henderson has met the case fairly and fully, and we will present his statement in his own words.

'In such a view of the case, the only fair and satisfactory process to be pursued, is to narrow the question within certain definite limits, and endeavour to ascertain whether any primary basis can be found, on which it may rest, undisturbed by the attacks of scepticism and unbelief. Now it appears to us that there is only one position, which, in the first instance we can safely and fearlessly occupy, and within the limits of which we must primarily concentrate our forces, if we would not expose ourselves to the reproach of inconsistency, or surrender the truth into the hands of its adversaries. That position is the *authority of the Son of God*, which none can consistently call in question, who does not reject the entire mass of evidence by which his mission, and the religion which he founded, are immoveably supported. If it can be proved, that Christ has attributed to the Scriptures of the Old Testament the qualities and claims of inspiration, then we are bound to receive them as inspired, simply on the ground of his declarations to that effect; or, if he has affirmed, that such endowments should be vouchsafed to his apostles as would invest their writings with similar claims—we are equally bound to acquiesce in the decisions contained in these writings, as the infallible dictates of Jehovah. Whatever, as the Great Messenger sent from the Father, he has been pleased to reveal, it is our duty implicitly and cordially to believe.'—pp. 282, 283.

The testimony thus elicited to the inspiration of the sacred books, is at once simple and direct, unquestionable, and not to be answered. Are we asked for proof that the Bible is inspired?

The reply is, in one word, that Jesus Christ declares it to be so. Into the evidence that he does declare it to be so, our author immediately enters, in a most luminous and satisfactory manner. Of course, the direct testimony of our Lord in this matter must be confined to such portions of the Sacred Scriptures as were extant in his time, that is to say, to those of the Old Testament. This being first established, the rest will follow. It will occur to our readers, perhaps, that there is no passage in which the inspiration of the Old Testament is in so many words asserted by Christ; but that the evidence on this point is ample, will fully appear from the following summary.

'First, He mentions several of the writers by name, and ascribes to them in this capacity an authority, which he would not have conceded to any ordinary or uninspired author. . . . . .

'Secondly, He refers his hearers to the Old Testament Scriptures, with the question, 'Have ye not read?' (Matt. xix. 4, xxii. 31;) intimating that, if they had perused them, they would have ascertained the will of God on the subjects on which they had interrogated him.

'Thirdly, He speaks of them as a definite collection of writings, an acquaintance with which would prove an effectual preservation against error in matters of religion; and he reproves the Sadducees, who neglected to employ them for this purpose: 'Ye do err, not knowing *the Scriptures,* τὰς γραφὰς, nor the power of God,' (Matt. xxii. 29). . . . . .

'Fourthly, Our Lord also repeatedly speaks of the Old Testament in the singular number, calling it the Scripture, ἡ γραφὴ, (John vii. 38—42, xiii. 18, xvii. 12;) and most peremptorily vindicates its authority as the word of God, which could not be set aside, or rendered void—consequently was, in point of religious obligation, binding upon all into whose hands it came: 'Is it not written in your law, I said, ye are Gods? If he called them Gods, to whom the word of God came, and *the Scripture cannot be broken,* say ye,' &c., (John x. 34—36.) By law, in this place, he does not mean the Pentateuch, but the whole of the Old Testament, only specifically quoting from the Psalms, as a part of the whole: an idiom frequent both in the Scriptures and in the Rabbinical writings. And of this Scripture, ἡ γραφὴ, he expressly affirms that οὐ δύνα ται λυθῆναι, it cannot be invalidated—its authority cannot be called in question—it must be received and treated as coming from God.

'Fifthly, He further speaks of the writings of the Old Testament under the designation of 'the law and the prophets,' ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται. . . . . .

'From these and other passages which might be adduced from the gospels, it is apparent that our Saviour fully admitted the inspired authority of the entire codex received in his day as divine, by the Jews in Palestine. The doctrine of its inspiration is not taught by him in so many express words; but it is so clearly implied in many of his discourses, and is so fairly deducible from the manner in which he refers to it, that, on the contrary supposition, his appeals would lose

their force, and his reasonings be rendered totally inapposite and nugatory.'—pp. 298—303.

With respect to the New Testament, we have our Lord's express testimony to the inspired character, if not of the books, which were written after his departure from the world, yet of the writers by whom they were composed. The proofs of this are gone into at large and forcibly stated by our author, pp. 286—297. Christ thus sets his seal to whatever these his followers should affirm, and renders them perfectly credible witnesses, either to their own inspiration, or to that of others. It is enough, then, that the apostles and other writers of the New Testament Scriptures assume, more or less expressly, the tone and character of inspired writers. After examining in detail the evidence on this point, Dr. Henderson thus gives us his conclusion :—

'Such are some of the testimonies to be found in the books of the New Testament, to the fact of the inspiration of the writers; and certainly, bearing in mind what has already been hinted, that they are for the most part incidental, and not put forth systematically in support of the dogma, they are so highly satisfactory in their character, that, had we no other evidence, we should be perfectly warranted in ascribing all that can be ascertained to have proceeded from the pens of these men, or to have received their sanction, to the same divine influence which Moses and the prophets enjoyed under the former dispensation. The language is of the most explicit and positive nature; and describes an inspiration which extended to all that the writers communicated. They vindicate to themselves and their associates a tuition, which they could only have enjoyed as the result of the accomplishment of our Lord's promise of the Holy Spirit; and they speak in a tone of authority and infallibility, which none was warranted to assume, who did not stand in direct correspondence with heaven, and to which such men as the disciples of Jesus could not have pretended, had they not been specially called to the office which they sustained.' —pp. 335, 336.

The author devotes an entire Lecture (the eighth) to the much disputed question of verbal inspiration. Of course he argues against it, and, although we do not blind ourselves to the intricacy of the subject, we think conclusively. We have no doubt of the motives of those pious and learned men who have maintained, both that the very words in which the sacred penmen expressed themselves were universally suggested by the Holy Spirit, and that this suggestion of every word is essential to the plenary and sufficient inspiration of the whole Bible; but we very much question their discretion. For, if this be so, it follows, in the first place, that no writings can properly serve the purpose of a divine revelation but the originals; since every transcriber is liable to errors, and no copy has been found without them. And then, in the second place, it follows too, that the originals being

unadapted for general use, and being, moreover, long ago destroyed, there is no such thing as a competent revelation from God in the world. If a copy would be without authority, how much more a translation? After the ordinary fate of disputants who take too high a position, the advocates of a verbal inspiration fall into the snare they were anxious to avoid, and undesignedly inflict the mischief of which they accuse their differently minded brethren. Few things are more painful, indeed, than to observe the acrimony with which the controversy on this subject has been carried on by the Verbalists, and the inconsiderateness, to say the least of it, with which charges of heresy and heterodoxy have been flung abroad on the occasion. Even Dr. Chalmers, in the third and fourth volumes of his works, recently published, "on the Miraculous and Internal Evidences of the Christian Revelation, and the Authority of its Records," expresses himself in the following strong language:—

'By the giving up of a universal inspiration, we are left without a Bible—for we are left to guess as we may when it is, or when it is not, that the voice speaketh to us from heaven. It may well be said to emit an uncertain sound, when thus made uncertain of the quarter where the sound comes from; nor can we imagine aught more precarious, than when given to understand, that there is a mixture of various sorts of inspiration in the book, and that all is reduced to a dim and shadowy question of degrees, which is wholly unresolvable. It may continue to be called the Bible. But from the moment we are made to believe it is not all over the word of God, its character, as a clear and unequivocal directory from our Master and Lawgiver in heaven, is henceforth nullified.'—Chalmers's Works, Vol. IV., p. 360.

Now we must take leave to ask why such language should be employed. Does not Dr. Chalmers know that many of his Christian brethren, and some of them not his inferiors in learning and piety, as highly revering the same writings, and holding as firmly their plenary inspiration as himself, adopt the view which he charges with such fatal issues? Is not this quarrel among the friends of revelation materially strengthening the cause of its enemies, and playing the game of the infidel? If Dr. Chalmers and others can see the holy books in the glory of a verbal inspiration, let them to the full enjoy a privilege which no one wishes to disturb; but why must they reprobate brethren who take a somewhat different, but to themselves satisfactory view, and proclaim to the world, that, upon the establishment of a doubtful, if not impossible condition, depends the entire authority and value of the divine word? There surely must be peace among the armies of the living God, if their energies are to be effectively directed against his foes. As to the parade which is made of passages of Scripture in favour of the doctrine of verbal inspiration, Dr. Henderson has with great

patience and candour gone into them, and shown that none of them require such an interpretation.

The Canon of Inspiration, which is the subject of the ninth lecture, with equal importance, presents far fewer and less perplexing difficulties. At least we deem them so. We do not shut our eyes to the real difficulties of the question; nor forget that the formation of the canon, that is, the collection into, and the preservation in one body, of the various writings transmitted to our days, with a claim to have been inspired of GOD, has nevertheless been the work of *man*, with all his liabilities to error and sin. Especially we do not forget how often it has tauntingly, and even triumphantly (but with a vain triumph), been asked by the infidel, by what men was the sacred canon determined? Show us, unbelievers have been perpetually saying, the time when, the place where, and the persons who met, with learning and skill competent, and with delegated powers authorized, to decide between the conflicting claims of writings pretending to be inspired, on behalf of the church and the world, in all subsequent ages? Nothing will satisfy these sage inquirers but a sort of conclave of cardinals, and a formal decision on each book, *ex cathedra;* an imagination which, if it had been realized, would have been the most undesirable method possible of obtaining the end, and the most open to objection and assault. No such assembly of uninspired men could have been worthy of the requisite confidence; and of men inspired no such assembly could have been necessary. To the canon of the Old Testament we have the direct testimony of our divine Lord and his inspired followers in the New; evidence of the most decisive kind, which our author thus exhibits:

'In the New Testament the collection of divine Scriptures is represented as commencing and ending with the same books that occupy the first and last place in our present canon. Thus our Lord, designing to comprehend all the instances in which innocent blood had been shed, cites that of Abel, from Genesis, and that of Zacharias, from the close of the second of Chronicles, which is the last book in the Hebrew bible. (Matt. xxiii. 35.) It is also divided into 'the Law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms,' (Luke xxiv. 44), the third of which classes comprehends the Chethuvim, or Hagiographia, according to the custom of the Jews, to designate, by synecdoche, a book, or number of books, from that with which it commences. It also contains direct quotations from, or obvious references to, all the books now in the Old Testament canon, except those of Ruth, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, the Song of Solomon, Lamentations, and Ezekiel; to which, however, on the presumption that they existed, it does not appear the writers had any occasion to advert. In the present case, as we have already shown, the testimony is strictly divine, being that, either of the Son of God himself, or of his apostles, who were infallibly taught by the Holy Spirit.'—pp. 467, 468.

After noticing the testimonies of ancient uninspired writers, the author of Ecclesiasticus, Philo, Josephus, and others, which fully prove that the canon of the Old Testament was then altogether as it is now, including the Song of Solomon, the author disposes very satisfactorily of the Apocrypha, and then proceeds to the canon of the New Testament. To this we have no *inspired* testimony; which, however, we should have had, if the blessed Author of the Bible had deemed it expedient: and if he has left us without it, it is only because there exist copious and satisfactory proofs.

'At what time, and by what means, the New Testament canon was completed, it is impossible to determine. That a diversity of opinion prevailed for a time in reference to some of the books now comprised in it, appears from the statement of Eusebius, who, in his classification of the writings of the New Testament, divides them into the ὁμολογούμενα, or such as had been universally received, and the ἀντιλεγομενα, the genuineness of which had by some been called in question, but yet was acknowledged by most. It is further confirmed by the fact, that the Peschito Syriac version, which there is reason to believe was made very near, if not in the apostolic age, contains only three out of the seven Catholic epistles, and omits the Apocalypse. The very circumstance, however, that the claims of some of the books were, in some quarters, disputed, proves the deep interest which was felt in settling what should, and what should not, be received as the genuine word of God; and the speedy withdrawment of all opposition to the ἀντιλεγόμενα, in an age when the subject not only engaged the attention, and kept alive the vigilance of the orthodox, but was not unobserved, either by the heretics or by the learned pagan writers who attacked Christianity, satisfactorily shows that, when they were universally admitted into the canon, it was in consequence of sufficient evidence having been produced in support of their divine sanction. . .

'That not only the gospels, but also the epistles were collected, so as, with the gospels, to form one body of sacred writings as early as the days of Tertullian, is evident from his calling it an Instrument, or rather, he says, a Testament, which designations he gives to it and the Old Testament in common. . . .

'From the investigations which have been instituted respecting the completion of the New Testament canon, it is certain that it cannot be attributed to any legislative enactment, to any decrees of councils, or to any public authority whatever. It was the simple result of evidence elicited by a growing acquaintance with the channels through which the different books might be traced to an inspired source. It was entirely dependent on testimony; so that afterwards, when a decree was issued by the council of Laodicea in the year 363, it was more a declaratory act, attesting the universal prevalence of such testimony, than an authoritative mandate, designed, as such, to be binding on the whole Christian world. The ground of decision was the universal suffrage of the Christian church, which had been constituted a keeper and witness of the sacred oracles, just as the Jewish church

had been in former times. To her care the deposit was committed; she was the pillar and ground of the truth; and upon each of her members, who became possessed of the invaluable treasure, devolved the responsibility of guarding and transmitting it unimpaired to others, according to his ability, and according to the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed. . . .

'The total result of our inquiry into the canon of inspiration is this: that it never consisted of more, or other books than those which now compose our Bible; that these books were inserted in the canon as they were written, or as it was indubitably proved that they were the product of inspiring influence; that they were received as the oracles of God, or divine Scriptures, by his church, which he had constituted the guardian of the truth; and that they have been transmitted to us in the original languages, and in numerous versions, most of which are independent vouchers for the integrity of the sacred volume.'—pp. 498, 509.

The subject of the concluding lecture is the Cessation of Inspiration; a subject on which it is quite proper there should be satisfactory evidence, but which would possess little interest for us, were it not that the atmosphere of the churches is every now and then disturbed by some new pretenders to supernatural powers. Not that such pretensions themselves are new; they are as old almost as the apostolic age; and the follies of the Montanists stand as the type and pattern of performers in this line in all subsequent periods. We regret our inability to give our author's argument on this point; as it exhibits, in a compact a form, a sample of the close and careful reasoning with which his volume abounds. The lecture is founded on 1 Cor. xiii. 8: 'Whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away.' To his argument the author adds some interesting observations on the time and manner in which supernatural gifts disappeared in the church, and then, in a not less interesting note, a historical view of the principal pretenders to inspiration in both ancient and modern times. Some attention is here bestowed on the followers of the late Edward Irving. In concluding the account of them it is observed:

'The present position of the people is very peculiar. A high degree of excitement has been produced by what has taken place among them; and means are still employed for the purpose of keeping up this excitement, and extending it through the country: but the novelty of the manifestations begins to wear away; several distinct and pointed predictions have completely failed; the unknown tongue still remains uninterpreted, while the English utterances, which are still more or less continued, have nothing in them indicative of a celestial origin; all attempts at the performance of miracles have proved abortive; impostures and other evils have been detected; some pious persons, who took a leading part in the scenes which are exhibited, have become con-

vinced of the delusion, and retain so deep a sense of its horrid nature that they find it impossible to rid their minds of the idea, that it can only be resolved into diabolical influence—an immediate inspiration of Satan, wrought with a view to counteract the work of God, which is going forward on the earth. Much anxiety prevails with respect to the disclosures which are to be made by the conclave of the twelve apostles now sitting at Albury, where they were commanded, by an utterance, to remain for a year, in a state of separation from the church and the world; and all sorts of arguments are adopted in order to keep up a conviction that God will reveal himself in the plenitude of his spiritual gifts, whatever may be the result of this or any other particular measure, and whatever may be the disappointments by which the faith of 'the remnant' may be tried.'—p. 570

Besides the ground which we have now gone over with Dr. Henderson, and which might seem to constitute the whole of his subject, he has traversed extensive regions, in which we should with pleasure follow him, if our limits would permit; but we have dwelt so long on what is certainly the main and most important part of his treatise, that we must deny ourselves this gratification. By an extended use of the word *inspiration*, he comprehends within it all the methods which God has at any time employed for revealing his will to mankind; and he gives us elaborate and instructive disquisitions on the scripture accounts of Visions, Dreams, Appearances of Angels, Voices from heaven, and the re-appearance of the dead. These topics occupy the second and third lectures, while the fourth is devoted to a consideration of the Spiritual Gifts, which distinguished the infancy of the Christian church. We will avail ourselves of only one quotation from these lectures (to a concurrence in *all* the sentiments of which, of course, we do not pledge ourselves), containing an explanation of the Bath-kol, and showing the impropriety of employing this Jewish fancy in the illustration of the New Testament; which we do the rather, because in Mr. Townsend's generally admirable arrangement, it is, to our great surprise, identified with the voice of Christ to Saul of Tarsus.

'The Jews have generally supposed that, on the cessation of ancient prophecy, a new mode of revelation was employed, to which they give the name of בת קול, Bath-kol, or, 'the daughter of the voice.' Such of them, however, as use the phrase in this sense, ascribe to it a degree of importance which elevates the communications made by it above those made by what they call the רוח הקדש, or the supernatural influence enjoyed by such as were not prophets according to the strict meaning of the term, but yet truly inspired. They make it to consist in a miraculous voice, proceeding immediately from heaven, and imparting in intelligible language the knowledge of the divine will. Yet the instances which they adduce to prove that it took place are so trifling, and so completely Talmudic in their character, as at once to

evince its total discrepancy from any thing justly claiming to be divine. It would seem, from statements made by some of the rabbins, that the Bath-kol was in reality nothing but an extraordinary noise or sound, which, from the peculiarity of the circumstances in which it was heard, might be construed into a good or bad omen, or a communication simply of portentous import. The word קוֹל, Kol, being one of those by which thunder is expressed in Hebrew; it has not improbably been inferred, that, by prefixing to it the word בַּת, Bath, or daughter, the Jews originally meant to express the echo, or repercussion, which follows a clap of thunder. Thus, indeed, it is expressly defined in the Codex Sanhedrin: 'Bath-kol is when a sound proceeds from heaven, and another sound proceeds from it.' To such reverberations, or distant sounds, they were accustomed to attach a monitory significance; and so far did they carry the superstition, that, at length, any words which they might accidentally hear repeated, when they were intent on ascertaining a particular fact, they viewed in the light of a supernatural intimation, or a sacred oracle, to whose import they were bound to attend. The application of any of the notions connected with the Bath-kol of the Jews to the elucidation of the New Testament, is greatly to be reprobated. Between such notions and any of the facts narrated in that portion of the sacred volume, there exists not the slightest degree of congruity. Since the use of the phrase cannot be traced further back than an age considerably posterior to that of the apostles, we have no reason whatever to conclude that it was customary in their day thus to designate an articulate voice from heaven.' —pp. 171, 173.

Our general opinion of the work before us will easily be gathered from the preceding pages. We have now no space, and we have little inclination for minute criticism. In general, the language is excellent, and the style, without being highly-finished, is simple, luminous, and forcible; it is thus admirably adapted to the subject, only that we could have wished, both as a matter of good taste, and for the more enlarged usefulness of the volume, that it had been less scholastic. The volume exhibits great stores of knowledge, extensive theological learning (the author is quite at home among the German divines), and very superior logical and argumentative powers. It is highly honourable to the body from which it has emanated, and will, we have no doubt, be appreciated by the learned and the candid of every denomination. We should like to recommend it even to those who might fancy it too learned for them; but for biblical students it will prove in the highest degree interesting and instructive. We have never seen exceeded the patient, discriminating, and candid examination of passages of Scripture, many of them of no little difficulty, with which this volume abounds.

Art. II. *The Life of Oliver Goldsmith.* By James Prior, Esq. 2 Vols. 8vo. Murray, London.

SOME savage nations, it is said, possess canoes formed by roughly hewing, and slightly scooping, the trunks of large trees. However clumsy in appearance, or ill-managed, they at least possess *one* advantage; they cannot *sink*. The immense buoyancy of the materials preserves them from any such catastrophe. Mr. Prior's volumes resemble these primitive vessels. Though ill compacted and clumsily put together, though disfigured by many grave and serious faults, the materials alone will give them an interest, and secure for them a popularity which attach to few books of modern biography.

But some cynical reader may perhaps whisper, that as the materials must necessarily possess the same intrinsic interest, no matter who edits them; the merits of the compiler must, if the above representation be correct, be very moderately estimated. In such a judgment, however, we can by no means concur. Mr. Prior's defects, as we shall attempt hereafter to show, are both numerous and important; but they are at least balanced by his merits; and though it is quite true that the interest of the materials, abstractedly considered, is equally great whoever edits them, it is also true that upon the editor depends the somewhat important question, as to whether there shall be any such materials to edit or not.

In order to form a perfect biographer there must be combined two widely different classes of virtues. Unhappily we so seldom see them united, that they are often, though erroneously, supposed to be incompatible. The one secure persevering, extensive, and accurate research; the other, a tasteful and judicious arrangement and disposition of the materials. If either of these be in any considerable degree wanting, the result will be equally unsatisfactory: we shall have erudition without taste, or taste without erudition; something too heavy to be read, or too superficial to be *worth* reading.

To the first of these very different kinds of merit, Mr. Prior may as securely lay claim as any author we know. With most untiring industry and perseverance he has hunted out every scrap of information that could in the slightest degree illustrate Goldsmith's character, habits, or history. Not content with the sources of information which England and Ireland supplied, he has in several instances directed the archives of foreign universities, in which Goldsmith studied or which he visited, to be searched; often with but a very slender hope of obtaining some acquisition to his stores. Not content with printed or public documents, he has rummaged all sorts of private repositories, delved into the recesses of domestic history, turned out the pockets of our grandmothers, examined old family account-books, fished up grocers' and tailors' bills of three generations back, and by so

doing, has presented us with some highly curious, if not always valuable, information. Nor has his research been merely extensive and untiring; it must be confessed that he has often carried it on with distinguished sagacity and acuteness. The obscurest clue, the slightest hint, is often skilfully followed up until it issues in the authentication of some important or interesting fact; the faintest scent is pursued over hill and dale, hedge and ditch, from hand to hand, from tradition to obscure record, or from document to document, till it is at last fairly unearthed in some long extinct magazine, or some dirty pamphlet which has by miracle escaped the cheesemonger, or the musty recesses of some old family papers. It is proper to observe, that the same spirit of research characterises the book throughout; the author appears to bestow as much pains on the verification of an unimportant date or trivial occurrence as the generality of writers would expend on points of vital importance. Upon the whole, it is but justice to Mr. Prior to say, that he has presented us with a mass of information respecting Goldsmith's history, which, at this time of day, we should hardly have thought it possible to reclaim; and that if he had done nothing more than snatch from oblivion the exquisite letters of his author which enrich these volumes, he would have well entitled himself to the gratitude of all lovers of our literature.

But here our praise of our author must end; for few writers, we apprehend, could have used their materials with less judgment. His principal defects are as follows. In the first place he seems to have no perception of the *relative* value of his materials. He details with as much particularity, the most trivial and the most important matters; and gives equal prominence to the most worthless and the most valuable parts of his narrative. It may be curious and interesting it is true, to know how much it cost Goldsmith to have his shoes cleaned per quarter, or what price he paid for his manifold pairs of silk breeches; but we cannot think it was necessary to describe such matters with so much particularity, or to give them so much space as our author has done. To the same fault are to be attributed the very frequent and long digressions on matters only collaterally, and often very remotely, connected with Goldsmith's history; as for instance, the lives of his contemporaries, the rise and progress of the various periodicals in which he wrote, and certain facts, (frequently we allow, very curious and valuable,) illustrative of the literature of the age. No matter how slight the connexion between Goldsmith and the parties with whom his literary career brought him into contact, our author has no sooner mentioned one of them than he ruthlessly turns out upon us the whole contents of his voluminous collections, instead of simply selecting from them only such facts as really tended to illustrate Goldsmith's life and character.

The consequence is, that the thread of the narrative is continually broken; instead of a luminous and continuous view of Goldsmith's history, we are perpetually obliged to wait while Mr. Prior is rambling into a long digression on the history and adventures of some literary contemporaries; often by the way, amongst the obscurest drudges of periodical literature. In the first volume alone we have sketches of the lives of Carolan and Laurence White, the Irish bards, Mr. Lauchlan Macleane, Dr. Farr, Dr. Grainger (seven pages with notes '*to match*,') Kenrick, Edward Purdon, Pilkington, and others. In the same manner he has crammed into the book, notes of money-transactions between Mr. Newbury, the bookseller, and Dr. Johnson, containing nothing more worthy of note than this: "Lent Mr. Johnson so much;" "Dear Sir, I beg the favour of you to lend," &c. He has done the same in the case of Dr. Dodd, nay, has filled not less than four pages in the shape of foot-notes, with the letters of the Doctor, in not one of which can we see a single sentiment or expression worth preserving. Now however *curious* such matters may be, the natural question is, what have they to do with the life of Oliver Goldsmith? They should obviously have been introduced only *so far* as they crossed the path of his history, or tended to illustrate his character; or if Mr. Prior thought it desirable to give us still further details, they should have been compressed,and even then thrown into the form of an appendix. As it is, Mr. Prior reminds us of a ship which has charge of a large convoy; instead of sailing on at once to the place of its destination, it is compelled perpetually to shorten sail, while some lagging merchantman brings up its lee-way; or he resembles the author of some ill-concocted drama in which the action is continually flagging from the introduction of scenes and characters no way german to the matter. We admit, indeed, that after diligent research has opened some very curious and novel stores of information, it seems hard to throw them aside unemployed. Still it is obvious, that if an author is writing the life of an individual, such details must be excluded; they can find a proper place only in a work of a miscellaneous character. And by the way, if we might take the liberty of advising Mr. Prior, we would earnestly solicit him to furnish us (and if he has many such materials as he has *thrust* into the life of Goldsmith, the work would give him very little trouble,) with a supplement to one of the most interesting books in our language; we mean D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature.

Another fault of our author, and which also seriously tends to break the continuity of the narrative, is the tedious particularity with which he has detailed the *sources* of his information, and the modes in which he became possessed of certain facts. However long and wearying his chase, however far his research leads him, he compels his readers to follow, and gives them nearly as much

trouble in showing them *how* he acquired such and such facts, as he had in obtaining them. In the same manner, if he has to controvert the statement of some former writer, or to correct a mistake in names or dates, he often formally introduces into the text itself all the grounds on which he founds his opinion, instead of simply stating the result. Now it is plain that such matters as these should not be introduced into the text at all; in order to render the narrative clear and unbroken, such matters should, as far as possible, be stated in the preface, and where that is not possible, they should be thrown into the appendix.

A fourth fault of Mr. Prior, is a propensity to indulge in long-winded, and oftentimes exceedingly unedifying reflections and disquisitions. Where such reflections and disquisitions are novel and important in themselves, and naturally suggested by the narrative, they constitute one of the most pleasing features in biography. They present us with philosophy in her most attractive form, and instruct while they delight us. In such reflections consists one of the great charms of Johnson's 'Lives of the 'Poets,' and of many other works of biography. The reflections of Mr. Prior, however, are for the most part of a very different stamp; being often trite, and almost always tedious. One instance, by way of justifying our remarks, we cannot refrain from citing. It is matter of report, that when Goldsmith was making his celebrated pedestrian tour, a young Englishman was consigned to his care; it is also reported that the connexion between the tutor and pupil soon ceased, from the total dissimilarity of their characters. As the fact is wholly unimportant, and rests merely on conjecture, a passing mention of it would appear to be all that was requisite; yet Mr. Prior proceeds, at considerable length, to reason on the *probability* of the story being true, chiefly on the ground, that an incident of a somewhat similar character is introduced into Goldsmith's beautiful novel of the 'Vicar of Wake-'field,' combined with the author's well known habit of working up the incidents of his own most eventful life into the form of fiction. Mr. Prior then proceeds to indulge in the following moral prosing.

'Between the improvident and the parsimonious, there can be no permanent bond of union: if positive antipathy be not engendered between persons of such opposite qualities, their acquaintance never ripens into friendship, for they cannot pardon the peculiarities of each other. The improvidence of the poor always astonishes the wealthy. The avarice of the rich, on the other hand, is ever incomprehensible to the poor,' &c.

This is only one out of numberless instances; indeed Mr. Prior has as grave a way of stating truisms as any writer we know.

But it is now time that we should give our readers a taste of the entertaining and instructive matter which Mr. Prior has here

collected. We shall first, however, offer a few observations on Goldsmith's history and character generally.

We must confess then that we have risen from Mr. Prior's volumes with a far more favourable view of Goldsmith's character than we had ever before entertained. He has done justice, not merely to his genius, (of which indeed his writings are the best and most unequivocal evidence,) but to the many excellent qualities, to which little attention had been paid, or which misrepresentation, slander, or envy had obscured; to his fortitude, his perseverance, his simplicity, his benevolence, his good-nature. He has fully vindicated him from the mean and malevolent attacks of that prince of coxcombs, Boswell; who seldom introduces his name unaccompanied by some ungenerous attempt at depreciation. Indeed, all literary men of any eminence, who have investigated this subject, have expressed their surprise and indignation at the gross injustice with which Boswell has treated him. There is one point, however, in which we cannot think that Mr. Prior has materially affected Boswell's assertions; we mean with respect to Goldsmith's ruling foible of vanity. That he was characterized by this quality, in no inconsiderable degree, we believe, not merely because Boswell has said so, but from the concurrent testimony of all Goldsmith's contemporaries; we might even add that, in the absence of the very highest and noblest principles of action, (of which in his earlier career at least, Goldsmith appears to have been sadly destitute,) nothing but the possession of such a quality could have sustained him under that load of poverty and insult by which, during so large a portion of his life, he was nearly crushed. Under such circumstances vanity is often a sort of defensive armour, which repels the shafts of insult and slander; the oil upon the waters, which breaks the angry surges of the world's unkindness; a secret comforter in the bosom, which fortifies wounded pride and injured sensibility, by imparting an assurance which modesty can never reach, that the assaults from which they suffer are but the assaults of malice and envy!

The records of genius, in general, are melancholy enough; but we must profess our belief that, with the exception of Savage and one or two others, there is no man whose history is so melancholy as that of Goldsmith. The difficulties with which he had to contend, throughout the whole of his earlier career, indeed until he was forty years of age, (he died at the early age of forty-five), are enough to appal the stoutest heart; and show that he must have possessed wondrous buoyancy and elasticity of mind to bear up under them. To read his life is enough, one would think, to make the most eager aspirant for fame exclaim, in the words of Hotspur,

> 'I had rather be a kitten, and cry mew,
> Than one of these same metre ballad-mongers;'

Nor is there, perhaps, a more striking proof of the thirst for fame and the love of knowledge which animate the bosom of youthful genius, than the fact, that with such memorable beacons before its eyes, it should still throw itself upon literature for subsistence.

It must be granted, indeed, that much of Goldsmith's misery is to be attributed to his own folly and imprudence; but he also endured much, very much, that can be attributed to no such causes. It is true, however, that he possessed all those failings and eccentricities, which so often characterize poetical genius, and which, in accordance with that principle of compensation which pervades the whole of this lower world, fully balance the equivocal advantages of great intellect. He possessed that ambition which rendered his long years of obscurity and neglect the more galling; that susceptibility which gave to contempt and insult a double sting; that simplicity of character, which rendered him the prey of the crafty and designing; that improvidence and extravagance, which forgot the necessities of to-morrow in the gratifications of to-day; and a generosity and benevolence so reckless and absurd, that he was not only deaf to the claims of justice, but often induced to spend the very sums he had received in charity, in charity again. Of this reckless generosity, a most amusing anecdote is told in Mr. Prior's first volume; it occurred while poor Goldsmith was a student at Dublin University.

'Mills, whose family in Roscommon was opulent, possessing a handsome allowance at the University, occasionally furnished his relative with small supplies, and frequently invited him to breakfast. On being summoned on one occasion to this repast, he declared from within to the messenger his inability to rise, and that to enable him to do so they must come to his assistance, by forcing open the door. This was accordingly done by Mills; who found his cousin not *on* his bed, but literally *in* it, having ripped part of the ticking and immersed himself in the feathers, from which situation, as alleged, he found difficulty in extricating himself. By his own account in explanation of this strange scene, after the merriment which it occasioned had subsided, it appeared that while strolling in the suburbs the preceding evening, he met a poor woman with five children, who told a pitiful story of her husband being in the hospital, and herself and offspring destitute of food, and of a place of shelter for the night; and that being from the country, they knew no person to whom under such circumstances they could apply with hope of relief. The appeal to one of his sensitive disposition was irresistible; but unfortunately he had no money. In this situation he brought her to the college gate, sent out his blankets to cover the wretched group, and part of his clothes in order to sell for their present subsistence; and finding himself cold during the night from want of the usual covering, had hit upon the expedient just related for supplying the place of his blankets.'

At another time, when a youth, and with nothing more than

five shillings in the world, he parted with half of it to a poor woman, who told him one of the usual pitiable stories, 'of a hus-'band and large family being ready to starve,' &c. and then he asks, with most amusing *naivete*, 'And pray, mother, ought I not to 'have given her the *other* half-crown, for what she got would be of 'little use to her?'

Nor had he simply the eccentricities and irregularities of the imaginative temperament to contend with; he seems to have been distinguished by all those qualities which constitute the Irish national character; the same warmth of heart and want of prudence, the same reckless generosity and improvidence, the same love of social enjoyment. Nay, if Mr. Prior's representation be correct, he must have been a Hebrew of the Hebrews, the quintessence of an Irishman; for it appears that his whole race was characterized by a most marked predominance of the very same qualities. 'In conversing with three branches of the 'family,' he tells us, 'in as many different quarters of Ireland, 'the remark of each ran nearly in the same words; 'the Gold-'smiths were always a strange family; they rarely acted like other 'people; their hearts were always in the right place, but their 'heads seemed to be doing anything but what they ought.'

The adventures of such a character might be expected to be singular; and in truth they were singular enough. Few men have seen more of 'many coloured life' than poor Goldsmith; and of him it might be said, with at least as much truth as of Ulysses, in the words of old Homer,

'——— Πολυτροπος ος μαλα πολλα
Πλαγχθη * * * *
Πολλων δ' ανθρωπων ιδεν αστεα, και νοον εγνω.'

He was born, November 10, 1728. At the age of sixteen he was sent to Trinity College, Dublin, as a sizar. From the mortifications which he endured there, the uncongenial nature of his principal studies, the consequences of his frequent irregularities, and the brutal insults of his tutor Wilder, he always looked back upon his college life with the bitterest emotions. Even at this early period, the straitness of his finances compelled him to commence the hard life of one who scribbles for his bread.

'Goldsmith was now taught for the first time to draw upon his resources in a mode which, however beneath the dignity, was not inappropriate to the calling of the future poet. This was the composition of street ballads, to which Beatty, a fellow student, knew him frequently to resort when in want of small sums for present exigences. The price of these was five shillings each, and all that he wrote found a ready sale at a shop known as the sign of the Rein-deer, in Mountrath Street. None of the names of these verses were recollected at the time Mr. Beatty related the fact to his friends, but popular occur-

rences commonly supplied the subjects. Poor as they may be supposed to have been in character, from the remuneration received and the class for whom intended, he is said to have exhibited for his offspring all the partiality of a parent, by strolling the streets at night to hear them sung, and marking the degree of applause which each received from the auditors.'

Whatever he learned at Dublin, and he seems to have read a good deal, though of a miscellaneous character, he does not appear to have troubled the severer sciences much. As Mr. Prior justly remarks, Goldsmith was, in all probability, drawing his own early character, when in writing the life of Parnell he observes, 'his pro-'gress through the college course of study was probably marked 'by little splendour; his imagination might have been too warm 'to relish the cold logic of Burgersdicius, or the dreary subtleties 'of Smiglesius.'

Of the vacant and indolent mood in which he often sat down even to more congenial studies,—studies which he would have been the last to characterize as conversant only with 'dreary subtleties,'—we have a proof in the edifying notes in the margin of his Latin dictionary, which is still preserved. Amongst other memoranda of about equal importance, was frequently found the prophetic form, 'I promise to *pay*, Oliver Goldsmith;' promises, alas! which then, as at a later period, he found it more easy to *make* than to *fulfil*.

It is of course impossible, within the narrow limits of an article like the present, to give in detail the transmigrations through which Goldsmith passed. Having finished his somewhat unsatisfactory career at College, and having led for some time a scrambling life amongst his friends, principally with his mother,* (his father died while he was at the University,) he, in an incredibly short time, made a movement towards each of the liberal professions; the church, the law, a tutorship, and medicine.

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* Of the humble manner in which Mrs. Goldsmith lived, an estimate may be formed, from accounts of grocery, &c. which Mr. Prior has given us, first printed in Mr. Shaw Mason's statistical survey. In these accounts Oliver, who it appears was often his mother's errand boy, is somewhat irreverently called Master Noll.

'One of the accounts, in 1756, may be considered a curiosity, ascertaining the use and the price of green tea in this part of the country, nearly eighty years ago.

'Mrs. Goldsmith to Sarah Shore, Dr.

	Brought forward	0	15	5
Jan. 16.	Half an ounce of green tea . . .	0	0	3½
	A quarter of a pound of lump sugar .	0	0	3½
	A pound of Jamaica sugar . . .	0	0	8
	An ounce of green tea	0	0	7
	Half a pound of rice	0	0	2
	A quarter of an ounce of green tea .	0	0	2'

He failed in the first, it is said, because, when he presented himself before the Bishop of Elphin for ordination, he thought proper to appear in a pair of 'scarlet breeches!' It is also said, however, that the fame of his irregularities at college had gone before him, and that this was the cause of his rejection. To do Goldsmith justice, he was not sorry for this failure; and indeed the application had been made rather in compliance with the wishes of others than with his own. He always maintained (and who could gainsay him?) that he was not fit for the sacred office.—His tutorship he retained about a year. He then resolved to go abroad, and actually set forth on a good horse, and with about thirty pounds in his pocket. At the end of six weeks he again appeared, without a sixpence, and mounted on a miserable hack, which he had humorously named 'Fiddle-back.' His next attempts were still more disastrous. Having been provided by a generous relative (Mr. Contarine) with fifty pounds, he was sent to Dublin, on his way to London, to keep his terms as a law student; but no sooner had he reached Dublin, than he lost every penny in a gambling-house, and returned in shame and beggary to be a burden and reproach to his reduced family. Some time after he was sent, by the generosity of the same relative, to Edinburgh, to study medicine; where he passed his time much in the same manner as at Dublin University. From thence he went to Leyden; and having spent a season there, set out almost penniless on his celebrated pedestrian tour of Europe. He begged his way from town to town and village to village; and often earned his supper and his bed, by playing to the simple peasants on his German flute. In about two years, having seen and learned something of every mode of life, without being exactly fitted for any, he returned to London 'without friends, recommendations, money, or impudence.' In an incredibly short space, he passed through a series of transformations which would have confounded Proteus himself. He first became, though for a very short time, an usher; then an assistant to a chemist and apothecary; then established himself as a physician, 'in an 'humble way,' to use his own words, in Bankside, Southwark; scribbled a tragedy now lost; and dreamed of a strange Quixotic scheme of going to decipher the inscriptions on the *written mountains*, although utterly ignorant of Arabic, or of any languages in which those inscriptions might be supposed to be written. A short time after, we find him again doffing his physician's uniform of 'tarnished green and gold,' and resuming his character of usher, at a large school at Peckham; he then became a literary hack to Griffiths, the editor of the Monthly Review, writing, as he declares, 'from nine o'clock till two, and frequently the whole 'day.' A quarrel with Griffiths, or his wife, or both, terminated this connexion in a few months, when he once more put on his

old suit of 'green velvet,' and as he expresses it, 'by a very 'little practice as a physician and a very little reputation as a poet, 'made a shift to live.' He then drudged successively in the Literary Magazine and the Grand Magazine; not to mention compilations, translations, and prefaces without end. Still half-starved, he sought to eke out his miserable income, by resuming his situation in the school at Peckham. At the close of 1758, a medical appointment abroad was procured for him; and in December of that year he presented himself at Surgeons' Hall, 'in a borrowed suit,' for examination. Unfortunate wretch that he was, he was the only unsuccessful candidate! He then once more took up his well-worn crow-quill, published his first considerable work, 'The Inquiry into Polite Learning,' and again scribbled on in the Critical Review, the Bee, the Busy-body, the Lady's Magazine, the British Magazine, the Martial Review, the Christian Magazine, and the Public Ledger; in which last appeared the celebrated Chinese Letters, a work which first stamped his fame as a writer. His circumstances had now become considerably easier by his connexion with Mr. Newbery, of St. Paul's Church Yard, the well-known children's bookseller; yet even in this improved state of his finances his life must have been one of intolerable drudgery, as is proved by the various labours of one year, of which Mr. Prior has given a curious list, and for which the remuneration did not amount to more than one hundred and twenty pounds.

'It may be a source of curiosity therefore to trace his income as far as can be ascertained, during this year of acknowledged industry. The pamphlet on the Cock Lane Ghost as appears was three guineas; the history of Mecklenburgh, if he were actually the author, may be estimated by the value of other works at twenty pounds; revising the Art of Poetry ten pounds; seven volumes of Plutarch forty-five pounds; Citizen of the World [written before] probably ten or fifteen pounds; five sheets of the History of England two guineas; Life of Nash fourteen guineas; occasional pieces, such as Essays, Prefaces, and Criticisms, perhaps twenty pounds, making together less than one hundred and twenty pounds. When we consider the time required for these various works, it is not probable he could have written any thing of moment for another publisher; and there is little doubt, as we find in the instance of Collyer, that he occasionally paid for assistance. With this deduction from small means there might still be something left for a strict economist, though little to gratify the pride of literature; and in all the labours of the year there was nothing conducive in any degree to fame.'

With the improvement in his circumstances he removed from Green Arbour Court, in the Old Bailey, where he had lived in a state of 'squalid poverty,' to respectable lodgings in Wine Court, Fleet Street, and subsequently to Islington, to the house of a Mrs.

Fleming. Here he boarded and lodged for fifty pounds a year, 'which his publisher, Mr. Newbery, as his usual cash bearer, 'paid quarterly, taking credit for such payment in the settlement of accounts.' Mr. Prior has recovered a curious bill of his landlady for one quarter, which we here subjoin, for the amusement of the reader.

'Here he continued a resident during the whole of 1763 and part of 1764; and as illustrative of his private habits, the following bill of his landlady for the items of expense during a quarter will gratify curiosity. By this he appears to have been fond of sassafras, a decoction of which was then in vogue as an innocent and wholesome beverage, though now chiefly confined to medical purposes. The dinners mentioned without any price affixed were given to visitors of her lodger, and seem introduced in order that the generosity of his hostess towards him and them should not be forgotten. To the bill is appended the particulars of the account of his laundress, which it is scarcely necessary to transcribe: the items sufficiently prove that if formerly open to the charge of neglecting his linen, it could not now justly be brought against him.

'1763. Dr. Goldsmith,
Dr. to Eliz. Fleming.

		£	s.	d.
Aug. 22.	A pint of mountain	0	1	0
	A gentleman's dinner	0	0	0
24.	A bottle of port .	0	2	0
	4 gentlemen's teas	0	1	6
25.	Dr. Reman's dinner and tea . . .	0	0	0
Sept. 5.	——— dinner	0	0	0
7.	Sassafras	0	0	6
11.	Dr. Reman's dinner	0	0	0
29.	A bottle of port . .	0	2	0
	Mr. Baggott, dinner	0	0	0
Oct. 8.	Sassafras	0	0	3
10.	Mr. Baggott, tea .	0	0	0
14.	Paper	0	1	0
24.	Sassafras	0	0	3
25.	Paid the newsman .	0	16	10½
30.	Wine and cakes . .	0	1	6
31.	To the Rev. Mr. Tyrrell . . .	0	2	6
	Mr. Baggott, dinner	0	0	0
	Sassafras	0	0	6
Nov. 5.	Ditto	0	0	6
	10 sheets of paper	0	0	5
8.	Pens	0	0	2¾
	Paper	0	1	0
	Sassafras	0	0	6
	To 3 months' board	12	10	0
	To shoes-cleaning .	0	2	6
	To washing . .	0	18	0½
		£ 15	3	0¾

Received, Dec. 9, 1763, by the hands of Mr. Newbery, the contents in full.
Eliz. Fleming.'

But though poor Goldsmith's circumstances were certainly improved, he was by no means exempted from occasionally feeling poverty in its most humiliating forms. The story of his being arrested by his landlady, (though not, as we think Mr. Prior rightly maintains, by the worthy woman who gave her lodger's hungry brother-authors their dinner *gratis*), and of Johnson's selling his Vicar of Wakefield to extricate him from the difficulty, is well known. His difficulties have often been imputed to his extravagancies and thoughtless generosity; and in part, no doubt, they are to be attributed to these causes. At the same time it must be admitted that, whatever his extravagancies, the preceding account shows plainly that

they were not in his *housekeeping;* his greatest *personal* expense appears to have been his dress, as the heavy bills of his tailor, worthy Mr. William Filby, preserved in Mr. Prior's second volume, too sadly prove.

It is not necessary to follow Goldsmith's career any further; shortly after the date of the preceding bills, he published his 'Traveller,' and immediately took his place amongst the first writers of the age.

It is proper to add, however, that even after he had achieved fame and established his character, his life was still one continued struggle with poverty. The tales which have been long current of the large sums he realized by his productions, appear to be entirely devoid of foundation. It is certainly a disgrace to the government of the day, that, while many worthless blockheads fattened upon undeserved pensions, Goldsmith, though he had established so splendid a reputation, and had contributed so much to the glory of our literature, was left to maintain to the last a precarious struggle for existence, and, as there is too much reason to believe, in some measure fell a victim in the arduous and harassing strife.

Of the obstacles with which he had to contend, in the earlier part of his career—of the sordid want by which he was oppressed, no language can give so vivid a picture as certain affecting passages in some of his own inimitable letters, or certain notorious facts of his melancholy history.—Take, for example, the following, from a letter to Daniel Hodson, Esq., of Lishoy, near Ballymahon, Ireland:—

'Dear Sir,

'It may be four years since my last letter went to Ireland—to you in particular. I received no answer; probably because you never wrote to me. My brother Charles, however, informs me of the fatigue you were at in soliciting a subscription to assist me, not only among my friends and relatives, but acquaintance in general. Though my pride might feel some repugnance at being thus relieved, yet my gratitude can suffer no diminution. How much am I obliged to you, and to them, for such generosity, or (why should not your virtues have their proper name?) for such charity to me at that juncture. Sure I am born to ill fortune, to be so much a debtor and unable to repay. But to say no more of this: too many professions of gratitude are often considered as indirect petitions for future favours. Let me only add, that my not receiving that supply, was the cause of my present establishment at London. You may easily imagine what difficulties I had to encounter, left as I was without friends, recommendations, money, or impudence; and that in a country where being born an Irishman was sufficient to keep me unemployed. Many in such circumstances would have had recourse to the friar's cord, or the suicide's halter. But with all my follies I had principle to resist the one, and resolution to combat the other.

'I suppose you desire to know my present situation. As there is nothing in it at which I should blush, or which mankind could censure, I see no reason for making it a secret. In short, by a very little practice as a physician, and a very little reputation as a poet, I make a shift to live. Nothing is more apt to introduce us to the gates of the muses than poverty; but it were well if they only left us at the door. The mischief is, they sometimes choose to give us their company at the entertainment; and want, instead of being gentleman-usher, often turns master of the ceremonies.

'Thus, upon learning I write, no doubt you imagine I starve; and the name of an author naturally reminds you of a garret. In this particular I do not think proper to undeceive my friends. But whether I eat or starve, live in a first floor or four pair of stairs high, I still remember them with ardour; nay, my very country comes in for a share of my affection. Unaccountable fondness for country, this *maladie du pais*, as the French call it! Unaccountable that he should still have an affection for a place who never, when in it, received above common civility; who never brought any thing out of it except his brogue and his blunders. Surely my affection is equally ridiculous with the Scotchman's, who refused to be cured of the itch, because it made him unco' thoughtful of his wife and bonny Inverary.'—pp. 246—248.

Or the following extract from a letter to Robert Bryanton, Esq., at Ballymahon, Ireland:—

'Sir,

'Who am I? Eh! what am I? Do you know whom you have offended? A man whose character may one of these days be mentioned with profound respect in a German comment or Dutch dictionary; whose name you will probably hear ushered in by a Doctissimus Doctissimorum, or heel-pieced with a long Latin termination. Think how Goldsmithius, or Gubblegurchius, or some such sound, as rough as a nutmeg-grater, will become me? Think of that!—* * Sir! who am I? I must own my ill-natured cotemporaries have not hitherto paid me those honours I have had such just reason to expect. I have not yet seen my face reflected in all the lively display of red and white paints on any sign-posts in the suburbs. Your handkerchief weavers seem as yet unacquainted with my merits or physiognomy, and the very snuff-box makers appear to have forgot their respect. Tell them all from me, they are a set of Gothic, barbarous, ignorant scoundrels. There will come a day, no doubt it will—I beg you may live a couple of hundred years longer only to see the day—when the Scaligers and Daciers will vindicate my character, give learned editions of my labours, and bless the times with copious comments on the text. You shall see how they will fish up the heavy scoundrels who disregard me now, or will then offer to cavil at my productions. How will they bewail the times that suffered so much genius to lie neglected. If ever my works find their way to Tartary or China, I know the consequence. Suppose one of your Chinese Owanowitzers instructing one of your Tartarian Chianobacchi—you see I use Chinese

names to show my own erudition, as I shall soon make our Chinese talk like an Englishman to show his. This may be the subject of the lecture :—

'Oliver Goldsmith flourished in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He lived to be an hundred and three years old, [and in that] age may justly be styled the sun of [literature] and the Confucius of Europe. [Many of his earlier writings, to the regret of the] learned world, were anonymous, and have probably been lost, because united with those of others. The first avowed piece the world has of his is entitled an 'Essay on the Present State of Taste and Literature in Europe,'—a work well worth its weight in diamonds. In this he profoundly explains what learning is, and what learning is not. In this he proves that blockheads are not men of wit, and yet that men of wit are actually blockheads.'

'But as I choose neither to tire my Chinese philosopher, nor you, nor myself, I must discontinue the oration, in order to give you a good pause for admiration; and I find myself most violently disposed to admire too. Let me, then, stop my fancy to take a view of my future self; and, as the boys say, light down to see myself on horseback.* Well, now I am down, where *is I?* Oh, gods! gods! here in a garret writing for bread, and expecting to be dunned for a milk-score! However, dear Bob, whether in penury or affluence, serious or gay, I am ever wholly thine.

'Oliver Goldsmith.'

'London, Temple Exchange Coffee-house,
Temple Bar, Aug. 14, 1758." pp. 265—267.

Or a third extract, from a letter to Mrs. Jane Lawder:—

'However, it is probable you may one of those days see me turned into a perfect hunks, and as dark and intricate as a mouse-hole. I have already given my landlady orders for an entire reform in the state of my finances. I declaim against hot suppers, drink less sugar in my tea, and check my grate with brick-bats. Instead of hanging my room with pictures, I intend to adorn it with maxims of frugality. Those will make pretty furniture enough, and won't be a bit too expensive; for I shall draw them all out with my own hands, and my landlady's daughter shall frame them with the parings of my black waistcoat. Each maxim is to be inscribed on a sheet of clean paper, and wrote with my best pen; of which the following will serve as a specimen :—'Look sharp;' 'Mind the main chance;' 'Money is money now;' 'If you have a thousand pounds you can put your hands by your sides, and say you are worth a thousand pounds every day of the year;' 'Take a farthing from a hundred, and it will be a hundred no longer.' Thus, which way soever I turn my eyes, they are sure to meet one of those friendly monitors; and as we are told of an actor who hung his room round with looking-glasses to correct the defects of his

* A common phrase among schoolboys in Ireland now, in ridiculing an unskilful appearance of their companions on horseback.

person, my apartment shall be furnished in a peculiar manner, to correct the errors of my mind.'—p. 271.

That Goldsmith had at one time been compelled to mingle with the very dregs of society, may be inferred from the well-known fact of his once commencing a story amidst a splendid company (we believe at Sir Joshua Reynolds's) with the ominous introduction, 'When I lived amongst the beggars of Axe-'lane ——'

One of the most amusing expedients of poverty we have ever heard of, was that by which he endeavoured to conceal the treacherous patch in the faded 'velvet coat,' when he first entered upon his career as physician. We give the account in Mr. Prior's words.

'A ludicrous story told of him at this period afterwards reached the ears of Sir Joshua Reynolds, who repeated it to one of their mutual friends, a lady, who, to the delight of her acquaintance, can still detail the anecdote and through whom it is with much more information communicated to the reader. In conformity to the prevailing garb of the day for physicians, Goldsmith, unable probably to obtain a new, had procured a second-hand velvet coat; but either from being deceived in the bargain or by subsequent accident, a considerable breach in the left breast was obliged to be repaired by the introduction of a new piece. This had not been so neatly done, as not to be apparent to the close observation of his acquaintance, and such persons as he visited in the capacity of medical attendant: willing, therefore, to conceal what is considered too obvious a symptom of poverty, he was accustomed to place his hat over the patch, and retain it there carefully during the visit; but this constant position becoming noticed, and the cause being soon known, occasioned no little merriment at his expense.'—p. 215.

It is highly creditable to Goldsmith, and shows that his good-nature must have been exhaustless—that the unkindness of the world, and the hardships with which he had to contend, never soured his temper, never rendered him peevish or discontented, or touched his character with misanthropy. His very poverty was sometimes the subject of jest. 'All in good time, my dear 'boy,' said he to his brother Charles, who, having heard of Oliver's dawning fame, came to London 'to be provided for by his 'influential friends,' 'I shall be richer by and by; besides, you 'see I am not in positive want. Addison, let me tell you, wrote 'his poem of the Campaign in a garret in the Haymarket, three 'stories high; and you see I am not come to that yet, for I am 'only got to the *second* story.'

His benevolence was rather an instinct than a principle; for it seems never to have been in the slightest degree under the control of his reason or his judgment. He well describes himself as 'a machine of pity.' The very sight of distress seems to have

been sufficient at any time to loosen his purse-strings, without the least reflection on the worthiness of the object, on his own wants, or on the claims of his creditors. So easily was his money extracted from his pocket, and so often did his combined simplicity and benevolence render him the victim of imposition, that Mrs. Milner (the wife of the schoolmaster at Peckham, in whose establishment Goldsmith was usher) once said to him, when, as usual, he wished to forestall his salary, 'You had better, Mr. Goldsmith, 'let me take care of your money, as I do for some of the young 'gentlemen.' To which he good-naturedly replied, 'In truth, 'Madam, there is equal need.'

Mr. Prior has related some exquisite stories of Goldsmith's sensibility; we cannot refrain from gratifying our readers with the following:—

'While playing whist at the house of Sir William Chambers in Berner's Street, the party at the table consisting, besides Sir William, of Lady Chambers, Baretti, and Goldsmith, the latter hastily threw down his cards at a critical point of the game, flew out of the room, and, as appeared by the opening of the door, into the street, returning speedily and resuming his seat. Sir William, conceiving that something unusual had occurred, ventured, after the lapse of a few minutes, to inquire the cause of his sudden retreat, trusting it had not been occasioned by the heat of the room. 'Not at all,' was the reply, 'but in truth I could not bear to hear that unfortunate woman in the street half singing, half sobbing, for such tones could only arise from the extremity of distress; her voice grated painfully on my ear, and jarred my frame; so that I could not rest until I had sent her away.' On further explanation, it appeared that others had likewise noticed a female voice, of peculiar character, aiming to sing, but without remarking that mingled tone of misery conveyed to the mind of the poet, and which he had quitted the room to relieve.'

What a comment is this upon the life of Goldsmith; it shows not only that his heart must have been by nature most sensitive, but that he must have been deeply versed in all the forms and expressions of human misery. Nothing but this could have enabled him to understand so well and to feel so intensely the various dialects of sorrow.

Nothing could be more generous than his efforts to befriend his brother authors, especially the literary adventurers from his native land. Of these, it is said, he often had a levee at breakfast; and was familiarly, yet flatteringly styled by them, '*our* doctor.'

Though the youth of Goldsmith was dissipated, he appears, for some years before his death, to have thrown off some of his worst habits, especially that most baneful one, the habit of gaming. Johnson once said, 'Dr. Goldsmith is one of the first men we 'have now as an author, and he is a very worthy man too. He

'has been loose in his principles, but is *coming* right;' yet alas! one searches in vain for any satisfactory evidence of a more thorough transformation. 'I have lately finished several volumes of Johnson's Prefaces or lives of the Poets,' says Cowper, in one of his letters, 'and in all that number I observe but one man, a 'poet of no great fame,—of whom I did not know that he existed 'till I found him there,—whose mind seems to have had the slightest tincture of religion. His name was Collins; and he hardly 'in his senses.' We are afraid that if some second Johnson should arise to write the lives of the poets who have flourished since the period at which his work broke off, reflections somewhat similar, though happily not quite so sweeping, would naturally be suggested to the mind of the pious reader.

Of Goldsmith's intellectual and literary character, we shall speak more fully, when the new and enlarged edition of his miscellaneous works (now in course of publication, under the superintendence of Mr. Prior) shall have been submitted to our inspection. That edition is to contain a number of pieces reclaimed from the various periodicals in which Goldsmith first employed his pen, and which he did not think it worth while to own. That nothing will be inserted for the authenticity of which Mr. Prior will not adduce sufficient evidence, we are quite willing to believe; the extent and accuracy of his research are a sufficient guarantee on this point; we confess, however, that on another point, our confidence is not quite so plenary. We do hope that he will not insert any thing merely *because* it came from Goldsmith, or unless it is in some measure worthy of his reputation. There is no great author who has not written many slight things, to which he would be very sorry to see his name attached. We are induced to make this observation, because Mr. Prior has, in one place, expressed what we cannot but think latitudinarian views upon this subject.

We must not close these articles without making one or two observations on Mr. Prior's style. We frankly acknowledge that we have derived so much amusement from his volumes, that we would willingly have passed this topic by unnoticed: but critical justice, and even our solicitude for Mr. Prior's *second edition*, forbid. We hardly ever met with a writer, whose acquaintance with the best portion of English literature was so extensive and so accurate, who appeared to possess so slight a perception of the elegancies of composition, or who had caught so little of the spirit of his models.

Gross grammatical errors, though his work contains such, we will not charge upon him, because we are convinced that they can have crept in only by haste or negligence. In many instances, however, the turn and structure of the sentences is so awkward and clumsy as to render the meaning almost unintelligible,

or to convey, when syntactically analyzed, a meaning as different as possible from the real one. What, for example, are we to think of such sentences as the following?

'Telling tales is to others a profession; who travel the country in default of more steady modes of industry, and find refreshment and a ready audience in farm-houses to hear such wonders as they have gleaned from memory or by invention.'

'A friend had furnished him with a guinea; and the desire, perhaps, of spending it in (to a school-boy) the most independent manner at an inn,' &c.

'Communicated by a grand niece of the poet, who became, by marriage, singularly enough, connected with the unfortunate tutor, to the Rev. John Graham.'

He means, we presume, 'communicated to the Rev. John 'Graham,' &c.

'After entering France, his music *became* again in requisition.'

Speaking of those who re-published, without acknowledgment, some of Goldsmith's earlier pieces, Mr. Prior says,—

'Commonly the obligation was not only not acknowledged, but besides being for the moment deprived of the honors of originality, the popularity of his past labours were occasionally made to counterbalance the weight of those that occupied him at the moment.'

'Among the alleged papers of Nash, were found a letter wretchedly spelt, said to be written by Quin to a nobleman, soliciting his assistance in the design of supplanting the master of the ceremonies in his situation, which letter, through some means, had been communicated to the object of the supposed plot by being found in his possession.'

'One of the scenes, whither he was led for occasional amusement, more perhaps than it was voluntarily sought, was the well-known debating society of the Robin Hood, &c.'

We trust Mr. Prior will not be offended with the above remarks; we sincerely thank him for the entertainment he has afforded us, and cordially recommend his volumes to the attention of our readers.

Art. III. 1. *Report addressed by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries to its British and AmericanMembers.* pp. xvi. 188. With numerous Engravings on Wood and Copper. Copenhagen, 1836.

2. *Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord à Copenhague.* Séance Annuelle tenue le 31 Janvier, 1835.

3. *Méme Société.* Séance Annuelle du 30 Janvier, 1836.

4. *Antiquitates Britannicæ et Hibernicæ; or, a Collection of Accounts elucidating the Earlier History of Great Britain and Ireland; extracted from Ancient Icelandic and Scandinavian MSS., and other*

historical sources; with a Latin Translation, Geographical and Archæological Notes, Fac-similes, and Maps. Edited by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries. [Prospectus.] Copenhagen, 1836.

'DAN AND ANGUL, says our venerable historian, Saxo-Grammaticus, WERE BROTHERS;' and with this appropriate but quaint citation does the Danish Society, whose researches are described in the works above enumerated introduce the Report addressed to its British and American members. The expression, they observe, was doubtless borrowed 'from a current popular tradition, 'which again may have been founded on some still more ancient 'legendary lay;' and is probably 'but a figurative statement of 'the fact, that the Danish and English people are originally 'descended from the same ancestry.' 'This fact which,' they continue,

'as is well known, is laid down by the old historians of England, receives familiar confirmation from the circumstance, that Angeln, whence the Angles, who gave their name [*Anglia*] to England, emigrated, lies within the limits of Denmark Proper; and that the Jutes, or Jotes, *Jutæ*,—whose collateral descendants, under the name of Jutlanders, still inhabit a portion of Continental Denmark,—were, with the Angles and Saxons, one of the confederate tribes that, on the abandonment of Britain by the Romans, migrated thither, and contributed to form the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy.'—Report, p. iii., Introduction.

This, which with one exception, is an accurate representation of facts, certainly goes some way towards the evidence of a common origin of the two nations. The exception we take is to the *obiter dictum* whereby the state of things which followed the separate inroads of the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, is designated as the Saxon Heptarchy; an erroneous term, which however familiar by usage, must, as Sir Francis Palgrave has observed, in strict propriety 'be rejected, because an idea is conveyed thereby, 'which is substantially wrong. At no period of our history,' as he truly says, 'were there ever *seven* kingdoms independent of 'each other; and, if we include those kingdoms which were sub-'servient to larger states, the number must be increased.' With this exception, however, which is merely by the way, the facts may be admitted as stated, and they certainly show that the Angles were Danes. Still this evidence scarcely covers the whole case, for the former, though so fortunate as to attach their name to nearly the whole of South Britain, formed but a small portion of the adventurers who at different times obtained a footing in the country; and, though the Jutes, who laid the first foundations of Danish settlement in England, should also be acknowledged as the progeny of the mythic DAN, the relationship of the Saxons, who successively established the king-

doms of Sussex, Wessex, and Essex, remains yet unproved. Of this, however, which is in fact no doubtful point, the Society furnish some very interesting evidence, or rather set it, for the information is not new, in an interesting light; and, before offering some remarks upon the general question of the remoter sources whence the British Islands were first peopled, we will lay before our readers some additional extracts on this subject, from the Introduction to the Report, which stands at the head of the present article. Having observed that the many writings in the Anglo-Saxon language which have reached us, 'plainly show 'that it constituted an important link between the old Teutonic 'and the old Northern, which anciently was spoken in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden,' they proceed to notice the following mythological and other analogies:—

'The heathen ancestors of the Angles, of the Saxons, and of the Scandinavians had *the same religion;* their common deities, Tyr, Wodan, Thur, Frea, etc., still survive, and are daily suggested to memory, in the ordinary appellations of the days of the week common to both the leading races. The same mythic beings, Gudh, Gud, Godh; Alfar, Ælfs, Ylfe, Elves; Vætter, Vihte, Wights; Dvergar, Dveorh, Dveorgs, Dwarfs; Jötnar, Jætter, Jotnas, Eotnas; Tröll, Trolde, Trolles; Thursar, Thurser, Thyrse; Hel, Hell, etc. were worshipped or feared, in their times of paganism, by both Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians, and occur not only in their ancient poetical remains and other writings, but also in the language, the popular superstitions, traditions, and ballads of their still flourishing posterity. As both these leading races called their oldest progenitor (and also the first man) Ask or Æsc, so they likewise traced the family of their kings and princes to a common progenitor of divine lineage, Voda, Vodan, Voden, Oden, Odin, and likewise panegyrised in their poems the very same heroes: for example, Volund (Veland); Volse, (Vælse) Volsung; Giuke (Givica); Sigmund; Skiold (Scyld); Halfdan, Healfdene; Ubbe, Uffo, Offa; Vermund (Veremund); Jormunrek, Eormenric; Hrodulf (Hrolf, Rolf); Helge (Halga) etc., and likewise the very same races of princes or people, for instance, Skioldungs (Scyldings), Skylfings; Ylfings (Wylfings) etc.

'The *Lays* of the Anglo-Saxons and of the inhabitants of the North are constructed according to the very same metrical rules, with alliterative verse, and employ the same poetical language, all which evidently shows that not only the Lays, but also the people of whom they are the remains, sprang from one and the same root. We have, however, scarcely any Anglo-Saxon poem of the heathen time that is purely pagan. The influence of Christianity is to be discerned in most of them; and therefore we cannot sufficiently regret that some very ancient Anglo-Saxon writings, containing chiefly prayers, invocations, and religious rites in honour of the heathen deities, and particularly of the Sun and Woden, which were discovered A.D. 890, in the ruins of a palace or temple, in the centre of the city of Verlamacester or Varlingacester (formerly Verolamium) were at the same time burned by

command of a fanatic abbot. Fortunately something of the same kind has been saved in the remote north, in the two Eddas preserved in Iceland: these, as well as some other old northern poems, and their poetical diction, elucidate, in the clearest manner, most of the obscure passages and phrases that occur in the ancient lays of the Anglo-Saxons, as these lays, on the other hand, afford important means for the explanation of similar old northern relics. The same remark may be made with respect to the eldest *laws* of both the Anglo-Saxons and the inhabitants of the north, which mutually elucidate and explain each other. Along with the ancient language, the ancient law maintained itself longest in Iceland, where it is still, to a certain degree, the law of the land; and therefore it is easy to explain the striking phenomenon, that certain Icelandic legal terms and phrases give the best explanation of several obscure terms that are still in use in the English laws.

This remark holds good, in a still higher degree, with regard to the *dialect* of the common people of England, particularly in the northern and eastern districts; for to the greater part of the peculiar words and expressions there occurring, complete counterparts can be shown either in the old northern and Icelandic, or even in the modern Danish, low German, Southjutlandish, or Swedish. Some of the English idioms are to be recognised in the old ballads, but these ballads again correspond, in very many respects, with the ancient Danish, Swedish, low Saxon and Icelandic popular songs of the same kind, which can be proved to be of a very remote antiquity both in Denmark and Iceland. In like manner the very same *proverbs*—partly preserving the old alliteration—still live, as palpable relics of paganism, in the colloquial dialect of the common people of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Britain, and Iceland, and the same remark may be applied to the *popular manners, customs, diversions, superstitions,* etc. of these nations.'—Report, pp. iv. v., Introduction.

It may not be altogether uninteresting to our readers if we now state, with some attention to order, a few of the traditions which have come down to us respecting the earlier population of Great Britain and Ireland; and we shall give precedence to the sister island, as being the subject of some of the oldest traditions of remote ages. The various streams of population which in different periods of antiquity have flowed in a westward or northwestward direction from the cradle of the human race, are now, with almost the universal consent of the learned, distributed into five races—the Iberian, the Celtic, the Teutonic, the Sclavonian, and the Finnish.* These probably set out on their wanderings nearly in the order in which they are here stated, the earlier migrations being pressed and driven further westward by those of later date. The honour of first reaching Ireland is still debated between the Iberian and the Celtic races; the earliest traditions

* Some consider these races as aborigines, *autochthones*, but this does not affect the distribution of them, which, as decided by identity of language and customs, remains as we have stated it.

being very doubtful, and indeed inconsistent with each other, unless we concede the priority in point of time of the Iberian traditions. Nor is the difficulty much diminished by an investigation of the Irish language, for while W. Von Humboldt has decided that it is totally distinguished from the Iberian, which, of all the European dialects, has been considered to possess the nearest resemblance to the Semitic and Indian families of language; others have observed that it is almost equally remote from those which are usually received as Celtic. On this account Professor Mone, of Heidelberg, in his *Geschichte des Heidenthums im nördlichen Europa*, following in the steps of Adelung, in his *Mithridates*, considers it as a distinct dialect between the Iberian and the Cimbric, and, judging on philological principles alone, both Adelung and he regard the Irish, not only as Celts, but as, with their Scottish off-sets, the only pure Celts, and the Britons as a people of Celtic origin, adulterated by a migration from the Teutonic race of the Cimbri or Belgæ. This view certainly receives some countenance from the designation 'Cymri,' retained by the modern Welsh, and we think the philological argument entitled to attention; but Dr. Mone himself acknowledges that the testimony whereby the Irish might support their national traditions in favour of an Iberian origin are unknown to him; and adds, with a consideration worthy of his learning: 'it may very 'well be, that from the resources of their ancient poetry, testi-'monies very important in this respect might be produced, 'whereby the German view, which refers the whole case to phi-'lological decision, would in many respects be materially altered.' Durst we interfere in a strife so weighty and so obscure, we should certainly declare ourselves in favour of the Iberian origin, which has not only the support of Tacitus, but of other authorities; the 'Historia Brittonum,' of Nennius, for instance, who wrote in the sixth century, and who expressly says (p. 52 of the London edition, published in 1820) 'Sic mihi periti Scottorum 'nunciaverunt.' The same author also asserts (p. 54 of the same work) that he has taken the genealogies of the Teutonic races, '*ex antiquis libris* nostrorum veterum;' and adds, 'hanc peritiam 'didicimus *ex traditione veterum.*' Such an authority, as Mone justly observes, is not to be rejected; and our readers, we take for granted, are aware the *Scoti*, or *Scotti*, whom he mentions, denote the Irish, from whom the designation passed to the modern Scotch, by means of their numerous descents in the west of Scotland.* The matter must, however, be considered as still *sub judice*, though there appears to us nothing more difficult in

* It is curious enough to observe that, according to the testimony of Nyniaw (the Nennius above mentioned), the designation of the Scots did not originate in Ireland. This old historian speaks of three migrations of the *Scots* into Ireland out of Spain.

the supposition that in Ireland the first imported Iberian dialect should be obliterated by repeated Celtic invasions, than in the fact that in England the pure or corrupt Celtic of the Welsh, be it which it may, has been entirely displaced by the victorious incursions of the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles. The cases are parallel in every particular.

As to Britain meanwhile, the first lifting of the veil in the pages of established history discovers the south, south-western, and middle parts of what is now called England in the possession of the ancient Britons, a people of Celtic origin, who had come over from Gaul; and the northern and western coasts of the same country in the occupation of the Belgæ of Teutonic origin. For this we have the testimony of Julius Cæsar. Before this discovery, however, and, for aught that we can tell, at no long interval after the arrival of the Britons in the south, the extreme north and north-eastern parts of the island were entered by the Scandinavian or northern branch of the Teutonic race. These settlers are the Picts of British history,* and their settlement, which supposes the prior occupation of Ireland by the Celts, was probably soon followed by the migrations, to which we have already referred, of the Celtic Irish to the western coasts of Scotland. Upon the question of the pure or mixed character of the Celtic population of Britain, it is only right to adduce, in opposition to the view proposed by Adelung, the statements of Dr. Pritchard, one of the most distinguished critical investigators of Celtic literature in our own or any other country. This eminent writer, in his work on the eastern origin of the Celtic nations, most distinctly states (p. 20) that 'Adelung, who has been fol-'lowed in this particular by many foreign writers, has *committed* '*the error* of supposing the Welsh tongue to be descendant from 'the language of the Belgæ, and not from that of the Celtæ, 'who inhabited the central parts of Gaul, and, as it is generally 'supposed, of Britain.' He then adds, in explanation of this error, 'a want of access to information respecting the Celtic dia-'lects, has prevented the learned men of Germany from forming

* On this point we find in the Introduction to the Danish Society's Report the following interesting confirmation from both Scandinavian and Celtic sources: 'Agreeably to the most ancient heroic poems of the Scottish Highlanders (in elucidating which much light is to be obtained from northern sources) the attacks of the northmen on Scotland, before they got a firm footing there, were chiefly made from the Orkneys, which from time immemorial seem to have been inhabited by people of Scandinavian origin. Dr. John Jamieson's masterly philological investigations have proved, that the ancient Lowland Scotch—and, generally speaking, the colloquial dialect of Scotland—is more frequently to be traced to Northern than to Anglo-Saxon sources. Mr. Robert Jamieson has proved a similar result, in respect to the remarkable affinity, both of language and poetry, which prevails between the Scottish and Danish ballads.'—Report, p. vi., Introduction.

'correct opinions on their relations to each other; and hence it 'has arisen that this department in the history of languages—a 'subject which has been principally investigated by German 'writers—still remains but imperfectly elucidated.'

We have thus endeavoured to give a summary view of the various sources whence the British Islands were peopled before the Roman invasion; the inroads of the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles were consequent on their abandonment of Britain. The Report before us opens several interesting hints respecting the subsequent intercourse maintained between the British Islands and the countries peopled by the Scandinavian and Teutonic tribes, of which some appear to supply very valuable materials of historical investigation. The relationship of Dan to Angul, therefore, may be considered to be of very great advantage to such modern Britons as are disposed to carry their researches into the primitive history of their beloved Fatherland up to the investigation of the earliest legendary and historical sources; and, on this account, we acknowledge that we hail the appearance of this Danish Report with decided satisfaction. It is true that it is not published in the full sense of the term, but merely printed for distribution among the English and American members of the Society of Northern Antiquaries; but, as among these, it will be probable that some of our most indefatigable British antiquaries will from time to time be numbered, we hope that the hints thus communicated to them will not be altogether lost to the public. To us it is perfectly evident, from the perusal of the papers we have seen, that the celebrated library of Copenhagen, which, in addition to its 400,000 printed volumes, comprises 20,000 MSS., many of them illustrative of northern history, places at the disposal of the literati of the Society the means of throwing much additional light over the history of Great Britain and Ireland. Indeed, as we have already said, the Report before us contains many interesting glimpses of such light. We believe that the following representation of the progress of Christianity northward will be regarded as an instance of the kind:—

'The greatest and most important reaction which the inhabitants of Britain exerted on the north, was that which manifested itself at the introduction or diffusion of Christianity, in the countries inhabited by natives of Scandinavian origin. Anglo-Saxon missionaries converted a great portion of the continental Saxons and of the Frisians, and, to the best of our knowledge, it was they who first scattered abroad the seeds of Christianity among the Danes. It is true, the Germans have the merit of Denmark's first formal transition to Christianity, but its general diffusion among the people, must, without doubt, be ascribed to that intimate acquaintance with its nature and institutions, which the Danes, chiefly during the reign of Canute the Great, acquired by means of their dominion and sojourn in England. On this occasion

many British missionaries, monks, priests, and prelates, came to Denmark, and laboured faithfully in their vocation, not confining their exertions to that country alone, but occasionally extending them over the whole Scandinavian north. Next to Canute, the Englishman William (who was first his chancellor and chaplain, but afterwards, in the reign of his nephew Swein, Bishop of Roeskilde) may be said to have taken the lead in conducting the great work. Swein governed the kingdom, and William the church, during the entire period of thirty years, and both died, nearly on the same day, in the year 1074. The Cathedral of Roeskilde, to this day one of Denmark's noblest architectural ornaments, was first built by them, though not entirely completed until a succeeding age. It was from *England* that Norway received the first germ of Christianity. It was *there* that Hacon, the first Christian king of Norway, commenced and finished his education, during the period from 937 to 963, though he failed in his effort to establish his own faith among his subjects. His brother Eric also, whom he had driven from the throne, embraced the Christian faith, and died as ruler of Northumberland, about 952. It was reserved for the insignificant islets of Scilly to kindle for Norway that light which was thence to be diffused over the remotest north. The expatriated Norwegian prince and sea-king, Olaf Tryggvason, known in the history of England by the name of Anlaf, received baptism in these isles A.D. 993; three years after that he overran all Norway, and in four more, or precisely at the completion of the first millennium after the birth of Christ, he introduced Christianity not only there, but also in Iceland, where, however, some British and Irish Christians had previously lived and labored; he also introduced it into the Färö Isles and into the remote Greenland. From England Olaf took along with him, in addition to other clergymen, his chief court priest and Bishop, Sigvard or Sigurd (also called Sigfred, and John, or Johannes), who not only contributed much to the conversion of Norway, but also of Sweden. For as early as the year 1000, he converted and baptized his sovereign's brother-in-law, Rognvald Ulfson, the ruler of West Gothland, and subsequently, after the death of Olaf Tryggvason, he converted Olaf Ericson, king of Sweden, about the year 1008, and at that period and afterwards many other Swedes. The Bishop Grimkel (or Grimketel) who, along with King Olaf Haraldson (deceased A.D. 1030) completed the conversion of Norway, and promulgated the first ecclesiastical law for it and for Iceland, was Sigurd's nephew and also an Englishman.'—Report, pp. viii. ix., Introduction.

Without entering with too severe a scrutiny into the character of the Christianity thus disseminated, it must at least be admitted to be a much better religion than the Scandinavian paganism; and to us, as Englishmen, it is, we must acknowledge, matter of devout thankfulness to God, that in those early as well as in these more recent times, he has permitted our favoured land to send forth the light of his most precious Gospel.

The methods whereby the Society pursues its principal object of illustrating the history of the northern nations, may be, in a

measure, judged of from the contents of the Report to which we have already referred, and from the introduction to which we have selected the preceding extracts. This comprises:—

'I. A brief exposition of the oldest Icelandic and Norwegian accounts of Ireland. By Professor N. M. Petersen. pp. 1—17.

'II. An Essay on the Stone Implements of the Pagan Northmen. pp. 18—39.

'III. The Runamo Inscription. pp. 39—48.

'IV. Account of some Bronze Antiquities found in the island of Fyen. pp. 48—53.

'V. A remarkable Bronze Axe-hammer. pp. 53, 54.

'VI. Valuable Collection of Gold Antiquities found in Fyen. pp. 54—59.

'VII. Northern Gold Ornaments from the Pagan times. pp. 59—60.

'VIII. Account of some Scandinavian Chessmen. pp. 60—81.

'IX. A Dissertation on the Ruthwell Obelisk, and the Anglo-Saxon Runes. By Professor Finn Magnuson.'* pp. 81—188.

Engravings, exceedingly well executed in copper, are given of the implements in stone and bronze, as well as of the golden ornaments and chessmen. The article on the last-mentioned curiosities is professedly designed as a supplement to 'the very 'erudite and interesting description of them by Sir Frederick 'Madden, in the 24th volume of the ARCHÆOLOGIA, published 'by the Antiquarian Society of London.' We must allow ourselves one extract from this curious and amusing paper, in illustration of the light which such discoveries, unimportant as they may seem to some, are adapted to shed upon the intercourse of ancient nations.

'Those versed in Scandinavian history need no ulterior proof of the game of chess having been known in Europe prior to the time of the crusades, instead of being brought thither as some of the old French writers have asserted, after that epoch; and for those who are not thus familiar with the history of the north, it would be still a work of supererogation here to adduce the many evidences to that fact that are to be gleaned from the Sagas, this having been already so ably done by Sir Fredk. Madden (*l. c.*). We shall confine ourselves, therefore, to citing but one more conclusive testimony to the same effect, testimony furnished by a fact recorded in a yet unpublished portion of the celebrated Norwegian historian, Gerhard Schönning's account of his travels. That writer states, to wit, that 'in a barrow at Vestrerömen, at Hedemark, in the now diocese of Christiania, has been found a complete

* We are informed, in a note to this table, that, from p. 1 to 138, the Report was translated from the Danish by the late G. G. Macdougal, Esq., and the remainder by John M'Caul, Esq., M. A., Oxon., both members of the Society.

set of chess-men, wrapt up in a piece of silken stuff almost rotten, which are said to have been transmitted to the royal museum of arts in the year 1730.' The silken stuff, we may safely take for granted, was, at the remote period here referred to, brought from the East, *viâ* the Byzantine empire, or Russia—and perhaps the chess-men too came with it.

'We cannot enter here on an investigation of the opinions entertained by various antiquaries, as to whether the game of chess is of Chinese, Indian, Persian, Arabian, Egyptian, or Byzantine origin. What we have in view at present is the single point, that it was in use and vogue in Scandinavia in the heathen times. For the rest, the men underwent various changes, in respect both of form and name, subsequently to the Christian era, a circumstance to be ascribed to the Northmen's then more frequent intercourse with strangers, as well as, more especially, to their making it a branch of industry, after their discovery and colonization of Greenland, to manufacture chess-men of walrus-tusks, with a view to sending them abroad as presents, or for the purposes of traffic, and the obligation this imposed on them to give them the forms that happened to be most in use in the foreign countries with which they thus had intercourse.'—Report, pp. 68, 69.

The piece of silk referred to, in which the chessmen were tied up, would seem to be the *Taflpúngr*, a bag which was used, not only to keep the men, but probably also for playing the game. This at least is the use to which it both has been and still is applied by the Arabs, who wrap up their men in a piece of stuff made of differently coloured patches, so as to be capable of serving as a board or table.

The golden ornaments, which are described and figured, are historically valuable, principally as they illustrate the connexion of the Scandinavian pagans with the Roman empire. Such connexions between the empire and uncivilized nations have been too often overlooked, and seem even to have been unsuspected by some very distinguished historians, although of such importance, that Sir Francis Palgrave, 'after having long investigated the 'the subject,' has expressed his opinion, 'that there is no possible 'mode of exhibiting the states of western Christendom in their 'true aspect, unless we consider them as arising out of the do-'minion of the Cæsars.' Now, though the Scandinavian nations, which remained unsubdued, do not fall under precisely the same category as these western states, yet it must be obvious to every student of history, that the investigation of the nature and extent of such intercourse is of very great moment, when once the existence of it has been ascertained. In this respect these ornaments must be considered highly valuable. They also offer probable evidence as to the time when the use of coined money began to supersede the weighing out or cutting off of pieces of precious metal for payments in the north.

The stone implements discovered principally consist of whet-

stones—flat, clubformed, or rounded off at the ends; quoins—without heads, cuniform at both ends, or square—round, or sharp-headed; chisels and gouges of different shapes and sizes; knives or lance heads of flint or hornstone; flint crescents; flint-flakes and arrow heads—trilateral, lanceolate, or heart shaped; arrow heads of bone, with bits of flint let in along their edges; axes and axe-hammers—square backed, bulge headed, boat-shaped, or knob-headed, with pendulous edge; hammers of different forms; and slings, shuttle-stones, dirks, anchors, corn-crushers, touch-stones, &c. &c. These, and the bronze antiquities, some of which are perfectly unique, give considerable insight into Scandinavian customs. But we must for a moment leave the Report before us, in order to extract from the account of the Society's Annual Meeting for 1835, a short description of one of the Society's investigations. This extract will convey an idea of the methods by which antique remains are occasionally brought to light, along with the credentials of their progressive antiquity.

'In clearing the fountain of St. John, at Roeskilde, from the mud and filth which had collected for several centuries, and had risen to the height of twenty feet, a quantity of objects have been discovered, which had been successively lost, and which evidently belong to very different periods. They are principally vessels of clay, frequently of unknown forms, and vessels of copper and bronze. The objects found in the upper layers are almost modern; among these there is the lid of a coffee-pot; but, as the investigation got nearer to the bottom, the forms and materials of the objects varied more and more, until it was evident that those last discovered were relics of Pagan times. Bronze vessels, for instance, were discovered, similar in form and material to those of the sacred cups of those ages; and clay vessels similar to the pagan urns. A bone comb was also found, made exactly like those which are dug up in the pagan *tumuli*.'

Séance Annuelle, 1835, p. 4.

Of all the articles comprised in the Report, however, the most interesting, are unquestionably Professor Petersen's Exposition of the oldest Icelandic and Norwegian Accounts of Ireland, illustrated by a very beautiful, though minute map, representing its earliest divisions, and the two by Professor Finn Magnuson on the Runamo Inscription, and the Ruthwell Obelisk. The history of interpretation is perhaps as curiously illustrated by the fate of the inscription just mentioned, as by any specimen which can be adduced. Our readers will excuse the length of the following extract relating to it, as well for the lessons it suggests, as the information which it conveys.

'This inscription, cut in the surface of a flat rock at a place called Hoby, between Carlshamn and Runamo, in Bleking, a province now of Sweden, but formerly of Denmark, is the most celebrated, and, to the best of our knowledge, the oldest monument of the kind in all

the North, though, in as far as regards its contents, that of which least has hitherto been known. Mention was first made of it by Saxo Grammaticus, who, in the preface to his *Historia Danica*, speaks of the rock in question as an *apta meantibus rupes, mirandis literarum notis interstincta,* and states that king Waldemar the First (or the Great, who was contemporary with him, and whose reign extended from 1157 to 1182), sent some emissaries thither, skilled in Runic lore, for the purpose of reading the inscription, and cutting a facsimile of it on some small wooden sticks (*virgulis quibusdam*), as also that these men returned without having accomplished the object of their mission, reporting that they had found the characters of the inscription (or the surface of the rock in which it was cut), partly so much worn away by frequent passage of pedestrians over it, and partly so much filled up with soil, that it was impossible for them to make it out. It is apparent hence that the inscription had sustained such injury as to have become in part illegible, as early as the twelfth century, if not still earlier; though this, in all probability, was not so much the result of frequent passage over it by pedestrians, as Saxo intimates, or of its exposure to the air and weather, as the work of human hands. For 500 years after this mission of king Waldemar's, no farther attempt to decipher the inscription appears to have been made. At length, the celebrated antiquary, Ole Worm (Olaus Wormius), who was then engaged in collecting the materials for his great work, the *Monumenta Danica,* sent his amanuensis to the spot, about 1640, with a like intent. No better fortune, however, attended him than had crowned the efforts of his predecessors, and even the drawing furnished by him of the rock (vid. *Mon. Dan.*) served but to give a very false idea of its aspect. The ill success, meanwhile, of Worm, did not discourage later antiquaries from following his example, and Runamo was visited, accordingly, by Biörner about 1720, Mützell in 1747, Langebek and Abildgaard in 1753, Hilfeling in 1777, Sjöborg in 1792, and others, none of whom, however, were fortunate enough to throw any light upon the subject. At length, in 1805, it was visited by the celebrated M. F. Arendt, of Altona, an antiquary, the fame of whose pilgrimages on foot, to many other like monuments of antiquity, is known throughout all Europe, and who, on inspection of the one in question, declared that the much talked of inscription was in reality nothing more than a *lusus naturæ,* the marks which had been taken to be artificial characters being merely accidental fissures and scratches in the rock. From that date, the opinion of Arendt became the prevailing one, while the very few who inclined to entertain a different view of the subject, came to the conclusion, that all hope of ever deciphering the remains of what they still considered the inscription, was vain. Things remained in this state till it occurred to the late Bishop of Zealand, Dr. P. E. Müller, who purposed publishing a new edition of Saxo, to have this interesting monument once more investigated, and, with this view, to ask the co-operation of the Royal Society of Sciences, which learned body, entering with ardour into his views, deputed three of its members, Professors Molbech, Magnuson, and Forchhammer, to repair to Bleking for the purpose.

These gentlemen, accordingly, in execution of the trust confided to them, carefully examined, on the 14th and 15th of July, 1833, the rock in question, which they found to be a flat mass of granite-gneiss, intersected by a vein of Whinstone, (or black Trapp) in which the marks adverted to occur—as well as these marks themselves, which they decided to be veritable characters produced by artificial means, though blended here and there with accidental cracks and fissures that, at first view, seemed not unlike, but on closer investigation were clearly distinguishable from them. The artist who had accompanied the commission from Copenhagen, made an accurate drawing of the whole vein of whinstone (which was formerly regarded by some persons as artificial, and as intended to represent the figure of a snake) and of the characters traced upon it, characters which were perceived at once to be Runes, though it was found impossible to decipher them upon the spot. Having so far succeeded in the object of their excursion, the commissioners returned to Copenhagen, and Professor Magnuson, on whom especially devolved the charge of interpreting, if possible, the inscription, applied himself to the task. Notwithstanding his utmost efforts, however, a period of ten months elapsed during which he made no progress towards its accomplishment, and it is impossible to say how long its completion might have been delayed, had it not fortunately occurred to him, on the 22nd of May, 1834, to attempt reading the inscription backwards, that is from right to left, instead of in the usual way from left to right, upon which he made out at once, with perfect ease, the first word of it, and in less than two hours' time the whole. The inscription was found to be in the Old-northern, or, as it is now called, the Icelandic tongue, and (as much of it as had survived the ravages of time) in regular alliterative verse of the sort called *Fornyrdhalag* or *Starkadharlag*—from the circumstance of Starkadur, or Stærkodder the Old, being held to have composed in that measure a poem of which Saxo has given some extracts, on the battle of Braavalle, shortly previous to which battle it must have been that the inscription here in question was cut in the rock at Runamo.'—Report, pp. 39—43.

Our readers will now doubtless be interested to read the inscription itself, as it is rendered by Professor Magnuson.

'Hildekin received [inherited] the Kingdom
'Gard hewed out. [these characters].
'Ole took the Oath [of fealty to Hildekin]
'Odin Consecrate these Runes!

'May Ring get
'A Fall on the Mould!
'Elves Gods of Fidelity
'Ole hate.

'Odin and Frey
'And the Aser-race
'Destroy—Destroy
'Our Enemies!

'GRANT TO HARALD
'A GREAT VICTORY!'—Report, p. 44.

From the explanation given of this inscription by the Professor, we learn that all the persons whose names are mentioned in it, except Odin, who is invoked to impart a magic power to it; the fabulous Elves and Aser-race, who were the divinities presiding over friendship and fidelity, and the goddess Freya, are historical personages. Hildekin himself, better known as Harald Hildetand, king of Denmark,

'Is recorded to have been a great conqueror, having united to his hereditary states the country of the Vends, or Vandals; a part of Germany, or the Netherlands along the Rhine; as well as a part of England, *i. e.* Northumberland, and Cumberland. It is however probable, that his dominion over the latter was confined to an annual descent upon its coasts in summer, in company with the Picts and Britons, and the exaction of a tribute like that afterwards levied in England under the name of *Danegeld*, in acknowledgment of his sovereignty.' *

Report, p. 43.

The 'Ring' of this inscription is Ringo, (called in the Icelandic Chronicles Sigurdhr Ríngr, or Hringr,) king of Sweden, who disputed with him the crown of Denmark. The 'Gard' (Gardhr),

'who is stated to have cut this inscription in the rock, is also an historical personage, being spoken of by Saxo, as well as in the Saga above referred to, as one of Harald's scalds and warriors. He bears testimony to the fact of Harald's right to the kingdom disputed him by Ring. We learn in like manner from the same sources, that the *Uli* or *Oli* (called by Saxo, *Olo*,) likewise mentioned in it, was a nephew (sister's son) of Harald, who, after having served him in the capacity of admiral of his fleet, forsook him and entered into the service of his opponent, Ring. His perjury is distinctly mentioned in the inscription, and the gods presiding over truth and friendship are implored to abandon him, as being a traitor.

'The Saga before adverted to, expressly states that the army of Harald was seven days on its way to the appointed field of battle in East Gothland, in proceeding to which it must have passed close by, or at least not far from, Runamo.'—Report, pp. 45, 46.

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* 'The chief sources,' says Professor Magnuson, 'from which our information concerning the life and career of Harald is derived, are Saxo's British History, and the fragment of a Saga, the rest of which is unfortunately lost, of the Pagan kings of Denmark and of Sweden, commonly called *Sögubrot* (published by Professor Rafn, from an original MS. in the *Fornaldar Sögur Nordhrlanda*. I. 361—388); both of which authorities not only reflect light upon, and serve to confirm each other, but satisfactorily prove the authenticity of the inscription here in question.'—Report, pp. 43, 44.

The battle of Braavalle itself, the 'most famous battle of Scandinavian antiquity,' as it has been termed, was probably fought between the rival kings towards the close of the seventh, or beginning of the eighth century; some historians assigning to it as early a date as the year 680, others assigning it to the year 730 or 735. 'Warriors from all parts of the North—'Northmen, Saxons, Livonians, Russians, Anglo-Saxons, Fri-'sians, Erse—participated in it as auxiliaries.' It only remains to mention, that the inscription was one of the last works of the faithful Gard; he, as well as his beloved master, finding his death upon the field of battle.

We must deny ourselves the gratification of giving any extracts from the article on the Ruthwell Obelisk, though the most elaborate dissertation in the whole Report, and though the monument itself contains probably the oldest Runic inscription in Britain. It comprises, besides an historical account of the Obelisk, a copious alphabet of Anglo-Saxon Runes; a lengthened and careful analysis of the inscription; a discussion on the language in which it is written—which Professor Magnuson considers 'to be a 'confused compound of Old Northern, Old Saxon, '(subsequently called Low Saxon, or Low German,) Anglo-'Saxon, Frisian, and Belgic'—and an historical explanation of its contents. Whatever may be thought of the decyphering of the inscription, the historical detail which follows, must be admitted to possess great value. On comparing the results of Professor Magnuson's investigations, however, with those of Mr. Repp and others, we must acknowledge ourselves to have been reminded of the great obscurity in which these Runic inscriptions are enveloped. Some of our readers will probably remember the fate of that for instance, in the church of Bridekirk, in Cumberland, which, after being rendered by Olaus Wormius: '*Harold made* '*this heap, and raised these stones, in honour of his mother and of* '*Mabrok ;*' by Bishop Nicholson: '*Here Eckard was converted,* '*and to this man's example were the Danes brought ;*' and by Mr. Hamper, (in the nineteenth volume of the Archæologia): '*Richard he me wrought, and to this form me diligently brought ;*' has since been obligingly clothed with another version by our Danish friends themselves.

What we have already given, will perhaps be considered a sufficient indication of the Society's labours in the discovery and investigation of antiquities, whether monumental or existing in the form of utensils, ornaments, or weapons. On this part of the subject it merely remains to add one observation on the mutual relation of these Scandinavian and British relics.

'The Scandinavian antiquities, whether belonging to the ancient heathen period, or the earliest Christian times, bear,' it is said, 'so great a resemblance to those of Britain and Ireland, that when accu-

rately examined and described, they mutually explain and elucidate each other. This is especially the case with the pagan stone-circles, stone-altars, barrows, &c. The most ancient of such British erections are generally ascribed to the Druids, but it is very possible that these sages of the olden time had more in common with the Drutts, or Drotts, of the North, than a mere similarity of name, or than the rearing of such monuments. The stone erections in the Scottish, Orkney, and Shetland Isles, show themselves to be purely Northern, or reared by people of decidedly Northern extraction. Those still remaining in these islands are particularly well described and explained by Dr. Hibbert.'—Report, pp. ix. x, Introduction.

Besides what we have already mentioned, the Society, as we find from their yearly reports, published in French, of which two are named at the head of this article, is engaged in a great number of important geographical and other investigations, and in the republication of some of the most valuable literary remains of Northern antiquity; some of which have remained hitherto unpublished, others have appeared, but in a very inaccurate manner. In pursuance of the former object, the Greenland district of Julianehaab, and the coasts of Davis's Straits, have, since 1832, been repeatedly searched for antiquities, principally with a view to determine with all possible certainty, the position of the ancient European colony denominated *Eystribygdh*, and that of the bishopric of *Gardhar*, which is stated in the Sagas to have flourished centuries ago. The results are mentioned as being already sufficiently important to reward these researches.

'Geography and Antiquities have hereby obtained many illustrations, which have been mentioned in the Annual [Danish] Reports of the Society, and of which detailed accounts have been given in its published Archæological Memoirs. M. W. A. Graah, captain in the Danish navy, has greatly facilitated these researches by constructing, from his own surveys, and some other sources obtained on the spot, *a special map of the district of Julianehaab*, on which are indicated all the ancient Scandinavian ruins of which there are any certain indications. This map, which is now out of the engraver's hands, will appear in the work on 'The Voyages of Discovery made by the Ancient Scandinavians to North America,' and that on 'The Historical Monuments of Greenland,' which the Society is engaged in printing. M. J. Mathusen, inspector of the colony of Julianehaab, having also proposed to the Society to undertake a thorough investigation of the ruins of a church, and of some other ancient remains, which have been discovered on the northern shore of the Gulf of Ingalikko, and from which some years ago, a stone, inscribed with Runes, was forwarded to the Society, his proposal was referred to a Committee, two members of which had themselves visited the places, and being approved by them, the Society has undertaken to defray the expenses of excavating and investigating these ruins, which, according to the description given of them, are so numerous as to suggest the inference that they are the remains of a city.'—Séance Annuelle, 1836, pp. 2, 3.

Some of the publications of the Society have been already indicated in the foregoing extract. As it would be impossible to give the titles of all the memoirs, dissertations, &c., which are in course of publication by the Society, we will confine ourselves to the mention of such ancient MSS. on Northern Literature as were published by them in the years 1834 and 1835. These include, of the FORNMANNA SÆGUR, vols. IX. and X.; of OLD-NORDISKE SAGAER, vols. IX. and X; and of the SCRIPTA HISTORICA ISLANDORUM, vol. VI. The two former of these contain the original Icelandic text, and Danish translations, published separately, of the Sagas of Hakon Sverreson, Guttorm Sigurdson, Inge Bardson, Hakon Hakonson, and Magnus Sagabœter, kings of Norway, extending from the years 1184 to the year 1274. The latter is a Latin translation of the Sagas of the Norwegian kings, Magnus the Good, and Harald Haardraarde and his sons, extending from 1035 to 1093. Other Sagas are since published and in course of publication.

With respect to the value of these Sagas, it will be at once obvious, that every thing must depend upon the degree of credit they are entitled to as authentic documents. Their genuineness is beyond all question; being at once decided by the language in which they are for the most part written, which, though now confined to Iceland, whence it is called Icelandic, was formerly spoken by all the Scandinavian nations; in a word, throughout Norway, Sweden, and perhaps the greater part of Denmark. Should their authenticity, however, be called in question, it must, like that of other ancient writings, be tried upon the ordinary principles which decide such questions. To us Englishmen this matter is the more interesting, because the Danish Society has announced the publication of a collection of Sagas upon British and Irish history. We will therefore, first lay before our readers an arranged conspectus of these Sagas, and then return to the question of their authenticity. The specification does not pretend to completeness, but it is amply sufficient to convey an idea of the publications comprised in the plan. These are :—

'A. *Separate Sagas.*

'1. JATVARDAR SAGA ENS HELGA, or a History of the canonized king Edward, surnamed the Confessor.

'2. THE SAGAS OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY, Dunstan, Thomas, and Anselm. None of these have hitherto been published; they will therefore be now for the first time brought to light, and be printed partly from ancient parchments.

'3. ORKNEYINGA SAGA, or the history of the Orkney and Shetland Isles, and partly of Scotland, from A.D. 865 to 1231. Of this remarkable work there is only one edition, (Copenhagen, 1780,) chiefly printed from a modern paper manuscript, and by no means from the celebrated *Codex Flateyensis* (written on parchment in the

fourteenth century) which has not at all been used or consulted in its publication, but will form the basis of the new Edition, which will also be augmented by many additions, and various readings from other Codices, which have been neglected in the older edition.

'4. Saga Magnuss Eyiajarls hins helga, containing a minute account of the life of the Jarl Magnus Erlendson, who died in 1110, and was afterwards canonized and generally worshipped in Northern Britain and Scandinavia. This Saga also has only been once published from recent paper manuscripts, but will now be published for the first time from the oldest MS. which is written on skin, and will at the same time be furnished with the additions and various readings which other remarkable transcripts afford. These two last mentioned Sagas give a very luminous description of the state of political society and manners in the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and beginning of the thirteenth centuries of the Scottish isles, and of Scotland itself; partcularly in as far as regards the districts which had been inhabited or subdued by people of Scandinavian origin, from whom the present inhabitants of the Orkneys, Shetland and Caithness, &c., chiefly descend. The life of Magnus was written in 1130, and the above mentioned general history of the Orkneys was compiled, doubtless in part, from much more ancient writings, about 1240. These two works are therefore considerably older than that of any native Scottish historian.

'5. An Account of Helge and Ulf, inhabitants of the Orkneys, from an ancient manuscript written on skin.

'B. *Extracts from Icelandic historical works* of the middle ages, relating to the history of England, Scotland, and Ireland, viz. from the following important works—

'1. Snorre Sturlesons celebrated Heimskringla. Of this work we have four editions in the original language, of which that published at Copenhagen (1777—1783, in 3 vols. folio,) is the most copious and the best, but it by no means satisfies the critical demands of our age, the text being very gratuitously put together from different codices, occasionally even from modern unauthentic transcriptions; and besides, the sources from which the altered readings are taken are frequently not mentioned, so that the age and value of the accounts often cannot be critically determined.

'The portions of this important work inserted in the publication now announced, will be accurately transcribed from the oldest and best skin manuscripts that are extant, and furnished with the requisite additions from other good transcripts.

'2. The Landnama, as it is called, or Landnamabok of Iceland, called also Liber Originum Islandiæ. This work contains the history of the earliest colony and colonists in Iceland. Those portions of it which relate to natives of Britain or Iceland, who during the eighth, ninth, or tenth centuries, had established themselves in Iceland, will here be inserted. Of this important work we have, it is true, three different editions; but in none of them has due attention been paid to this circumstance, that the work consists of three different principal recensions compiled by different authors, the eldest of which ought to form the basis, and the text of the next in age ought to be separated

from the others; whereas only the most recent has hitherto been published. In the present publication we intend to follow, for the first time, an entirely opposite method, whereby the character and age of the accounts may be critically determined.

'3. EXTRACTS FROM MANY OTHER SAGAS AND ANNALS of the kings of Norway and Denmark; also of Icelandic Warriors, Scalds, &c., and other distinguished men, who during the middle ages have had any connexion with England, Scotland, or Ireland.*

'C. Extracts from the ancient *Historians* and *Chroniclers of Denmark and Sweden;* also chronological annotations.

'D. *Remarkable Diplomas* of the middle ages, issued in the Orkney or Shetland Isles, or in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, or Iceland, having reference to Britain or Ireland; of which a great part have not hitherto been published.

'E. *Northern Runes*, inscriptions relating to the expeditions of the Northmen to the British Islands, or which in any way concern those countries or their inhabitants.'—Antiqq. Britt., pp. 3—5.

The hints of information conveyed in the preceding extracts, with regard to the distinctive characters of the MSS. and printed editions referred to, certainly indicate, on the part of the editors of these publications, the requisite ability to form a judgment of their value as authentic documents. It is not, however, a case in which we are obliged to depend on their judgment, or even on that of any British antiquaries, which, though less competent in the present case, some might more willingly follow. The testimony of Donald Gregory, Esq., Sec. S. A., Edinburgh, might otherwise be alleged in their favour; who very justly remarks, 'that the 'most important events of the north and west of Scotland, were 'connected with the Norwegians, and therefore, as might have 'been expected, the best and most accurate account of these 'events is to be found in the Norwegian Sagas, whose antiquity 'would sufficiently warrant their accuracy, were it not further 'confirmed by the remarkable fact, that wherever the same 'events are alluded to in the Irish annals, the account contained 'in the Sagas, even though at variance with generally received 'history, is invariably borne out in the fullest manner by these 'invaluable annals.'

That the Sagas, *as a whole*, have been overvalued by some, as well as undervalued by others, is, on the part of all competent judges, an admitted fact; as true is it that both errors have pro-

* Agreeably to the wish expressed by several British antiquaries, those romances connected with the remote middle ages of England and Wales, which were translated into Icelandic or Old-northern in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, from originals, which in many instances have been long since lost, will be published simultaneously with these extracts, but apart from the historical pieces, and in a separate volume. These translations, as they now exist, are as specimens of language well deserving of publication.

ceeded from a want of discrimination. The term Saga, which is equivalent to 'Story,' or 'History,' has been in fact applied, as the Society's editors have stated, to three classes of writings: 1. Mythic compositions, or the legends of the olden time, respecting heathen deities, heroes, &c., written in the middle ages. 2. Genuine historical writings, belonging to the same period. 3. Compositions, purely fictitious, which are chiefly of more modern date. It will of course be immediately seen, that it is to the second only of these classes that Mr. Gregory's testimony refers, and that the pieces selected for publication, belong, with one noted exception, exclusively to the same class.

Look we however for direct positive evidence which may be adduced in support of these ancient writings, it would seem that the authentic character of some of them, at least, has already been confirmed by the discoveries which have already resulted from the investigations in Greenland. The remains at Julianehaab, and on the northern shore of the firth of Ingalikko, which have been already mentioned, are said to coincide in a remarkable manner with the representations of the Sagas in reference to the voyages of discovery made by the Scandinavians to North America, in the tenth and following centuries, and to the once flourishing bishopric of Gardhar. The Sagas on this subject, and which were announced to leave the press at the close of last summer, have probably by this time, laid this branch of evidence before the public.

The authenticity of some of these interesting documents appears, again, on the testimony both of Danish and of British writers, to have received confirmation of a kind to which scholars are accustomed in these days, and justly, to ascribe the highest value, we mean the consenting evidence of scientific observations. The date, for instance, of King Hakon Hakonson's expedition to Scotland, and of the battle of Largs in the year 1263, is recorded more correctly in the Icelandic or Norwegian Saga, than in the accounts of the native historians themselves, on the evidence of Dr. Brewster's astronomical calculation of an eclipse recorded in the Saga. Similar confirmation has also, it would appear, been rendered to another of the Sagas, by the calculations of the Norwegian astronomer, Hansteen, who found that an eclipse, of which a particular description is given in the Saga, and which is described as being seen at or about the time when the battle of Stiklestad in Norway was fought, actually occurred in 1030, the year mentioned in the Saga as the date of the battle. All persons who are aware of the extent to which astronomical calculations are employed, and what service they have rendered, in fixing the epochs both of sacred and profane history, and particularly of the exactly parallel instance, in which, with a view to illustrate Grecian history, the very same astronomical methods

have been adopted to discover the precise site and date of a battle fought in Asia Minor, which was recorded to have been interrupted by an eclipse, will at once feel that confirmations of this description are of the very greatest weight.

But we must come to a close. Our interest in early British history has drawn us out to a length which we had by no means intended. In reference to the Danish Society, whose publications have furnished the theme of our lengthened observations, and which, having been in operation for some years with most unremitting perseverance and success, stands in no need of our commendation, we have only to add that it is under the immediate patronage of the King of Denmark, and numbers among its members some of the most distinguished names both in native and in foreign literature.

Art. IV. *The Political History of England during the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries.* By Frederick Von Raumer, Professor of History in the University of Berlin. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 550 & 534. Richter and Co., London.

THE author of the work at the head of this article, became generally known in this country somewhat less than two years ago, by a translation from the German of two volumes bearing his name, and entitled, 'History of the Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries Illustrated by Original Documents.' We read those volumes with interest. They consist indeed of little more than passages from historical documents, arranged by the collector with only such slight observations of his own as were necessary to render them intelligible and agreeable in the case of the general reader. But the book seemed to indicate a genuine love of research; and the matter contained in it, could not have been selected, upon the whole, so judiciously, without a considerable acquaintance with the state of knowledge in this and other countries, in relation to the more conspicuous characters and events in the history of modern Europe. We did not part from our author, therefore, without deeming him entitled to the praise of well-directed industry, nor without holding him in some esteem, as a scholar who seemed to be guided in his pursuits by liberal feeling.

Our suspicions, however, as to the strict right of our new acquaintance to so respectable a position as that in which we had been disposed to place him, began to grow strong, when we became aware that he had made his appearance in England, with letters of introduction sufficiently numerous to serve him, one would think, should it be his pleasure, to proceed as far as the planet

Herschel before his return. And when our studious explorer of manuscripts, our man of the yellow parchment and the dusty tome, was said to have so far emerged from his cloistered contempt of the vain pageantry and glory of the living world, as to have become quite the lion in not a few of our gayest circles, hardly more pleased apparently with seeing than with being seen, we were not a little perplexed by such tidings. We were also told that it was not more true that our Teutonic visitor had been gazed at in this place, and in that, and in many more, than that no one knew where he was to be seen next—so mercurial had been the effect of our atmosphere upon him. The magic touch of our shores on the chains of the slave we all know, and those of us who are eloquent of course mean never to forget it; but we had still to learn the potency of our soil to separate between the lettered recluse, and all those habits of quiet gravity, obscure labour, and modest loneliness, which are so natural to his vocation.

Still we were willing to hope the best, and waited until the promised fruit of this quicksilver visit should be laid before us in the shape of 'Letters on England.' Historians, indeed, of all men, are least disposed to conclude that what it is well to do, it is always well to do quickly: but we were not sure of the extent to which a German professor's power of intuition might reach; and we were therefore inclined to think it possible that a glance in passing might suffice, in the case of one of these far-famed personages, to a clear understanding of those questions and differences among us with which our own slower apprehension has been long busied, and with only a very partial measure of success. We were the more confirmed in this expectation of the wonderful, by the assurance that the translators and the printers were prosecuting their labours with a speed that could not be accelerated if the conclusion of their toils involved of necessity the salvation of the empire, superseding at once the doings of reformers and conservatives to the end of time. Judge then, good reader, of our disappointment, when on reading these Letters on England, we find in them, along with occasional remarks, which seem to bespeak the presence of good sense and good feeling, a mass of common-places about England, which a man of discernment in this country would hardly think of uttering in talk, much less of committing to writing, and revising for the press; and when we discover throughout the work, a peremptory method of recording opinions concerning the great questions agitated among us, and the parties into which we are divided, which would lead a man to suppose that there is hardly more consideration required to adjust the affairs of Ireland, than to settle the simplest question in human policy. It may be that in Germany, much of the matter of fact, contained in the work adverted to, would not be without its interest or use; but we have not been able to discover the

attraction or utility of three-fourths of it to any person of ordinary intelligence in England. The book, nevertheless, was puffed off, as the great novelty and treat of the season.

In fact we have felt not a little ashamed, as we have witnessed the manner in which a man of considerable literary and moral worth, has been stilted into a false prominence by some of our literary coteries, and made to mistake the rank in which their folly has placed him for his real position. Von Raumer has few of the qualities which these silly people attribute to him. His mind is rather active than laborious. He is disposed to meddle with many things, but he exhausts nothing. He has busied himself with the surface, but wants both the steadiness and strength necessary to go on any occasion very far beneath it. He is not incapable of making an acute remark, and his style, though by no means of that elaborate and finished character which generally distinguishes what is destined to continue, is clear and natural. But philosophical history—the thing which he particularly affects, and which has respect to the development of character, more than to the mere course of events—is greatly beyond his powers. Those who have taught him to think otherwise, whether in England or Germany, have done him much injury. His disposition to research, and his facility in narration, would make him a good historian of a less ambitious character. The succession of occurrences, and the social institutions, and general manners of a people, he could set forth with vivacity and effect; but he has too much of the elder D'Israeli in him ever to be a good critic on matters of art or literature, and is especially wanting in the comprehensiveness, patience, and vigour of understanding, necessary to compress the masses of historical facts so as to extract their real spirit from them. There is, in truth, more of the Frenchman than of the German in his character; so much of the volatile as to produce frequent confusion from the want of a due attention to dates, and to prevent his making the best use of what he really knows. From this cause he may often be seen to pull down in one paragraph, what he had set up in the preceding, and evidently without the remotest suspicion on his own part of having done so. The power of 'summing up,' of holding a number of varying and conflicting testimonies steadily in view, so as to be influenced justly by each and all of them in forming a conclusion, requires the most commanding powers of intellect, and powers just of that kind in which Von Raumer is deficient. Not a little of this kind of ability is necessary to judge correctly in regard to the reality of the general occurrences of history; much more of it is required when the character of an individual is to be ascertained; and still more when the conclusion to be formed has respect to the character of a people, consisting necessarily of innumerable parts, originating in sources of the most various and subtle description.

We find in the work before us sufficient evidence, both of the favourable and the unfavourable, in this view of the character of its author. This Political History of England, it should be observed, was published in Germany, as part of a General History of Europe, an extended work, on which Von Raumer is still engaged. His translator, however, is careful to inform us that the histories of England and France since the age of Charles V., were viewed by the author as complete pictures in themselves, and that being so viewed, they were both treated as separately as they would have been if published alone. Every thing to be known about England, therefore, from Von Raumer's History of Modern Europe, will be found in these volumes.

When it is stated, that our history from the accession of Henry VIII. to that of Elizabeth, is despatched in 100 loosely printed pages, our readers will not be at a loss to understand the degree of value which may be attached to that portion of the work. The sketch, however, thus given, is executed with considerable spirit, and is not materially inaccurate. But it is of course every way defective, considered as a picture of those times, and the impression it is adapted to produce is in many respects imperfect and erroneous. It is true that Henry was a depraved tyrant, that he made his ministers in succession so many scape-goats to bear away his sins from the sight of his people, and that after the sacrifice of each, he deemed himself at liberty to descend to new and more flagrant oppressions; it is true also that his parliaments generally manifested a base subserviency to his will; and that, notwithstanding all his tyranny and cruelty, he was a popular king. But it is not less true, that his oppressions had respect generally to the priesthood and the powerful, and not to the mass of the people; that the English constitution, as described by Fortesque before Henry's accession, and by Sir Thomas Smith not long after his decease, presents the noble theory of a free government, and that the nation, while submitting for a while to the arbitrary rule of the king in regard to the great and to ecclesiastical affairs, was by no means unconscious of the difference between it in this respect and the people of other countries, asserting its independence on more than one occasion through the medium of parliament. We cannot forget the encounter between the proud Wolsey, with his retinue, and the politic Moore, with the Commons at his back; but that scene, so characteristic of the men, of the age, and the country, and in fact nearly every thing peculiar to the history of England during that period, as compared with the history of a continental monarchy, has been overlooked in this 'Political History of England, written on the plan of 'tracing the progress of human improvement, and the predomi-'nance of ideas.'

Von Raumer is not a disciple of the school of Hume; but his

want of an adequate grasp of his subject, has led him to treat this portion of our history too much as a writer of that school would have done. The existing ideas on ecclesiastical affairs are, however, more fully and correctly given. The following passage relates to the uncertain and conflicting state of opinion during the reign of Henry VIII.

'So long as temporal matters, taxes, privileges, rights of sovereignty, were in question, the clergy and laity placed themselves, in a very natural manner, opposite to each other, and the movements were directed by simple laws. But when the examination of doctrines was gradually entered upon, (respecting which most of the clergy and laity were in the most profound ignorance, and of which, in a great degree, no human mind can attain a perfectly clear view,) many became confused, fluctuated between one extreme and the other; were intolerant, declaring others for heretics, as soon as they had taken up an opinion and adhered to it. The gratification of being allowed to examine and decide, where formerly unconditional obedience was required; the novelty of the doctrines; the pleasure of conquering in the disputes; the zeal and perseverance of the reformers; aversion to the exercises of the old doctrine and to its priests, may be considered as the main reasons of the rapid progress of innovations. On the other hand, the right conceded to the people of examining and deciding matters of such importance, appeared to be prejudicial to the doctrine of temporal prerogatives, and to the new ecclesiastical power of the king; and the insurrections of the peasants in Germany were considered as a confirmation of the anxious suspicion. To this it must be added, that Henry, notwithstanding his having broken with the pope, hated Luther and his doctrines as much as ever; would not upon any account be called a heretic, or give the Roman Catholic princes any further offence. The mere separation from Rome, at which many probably aimed, appeared to some to be excusable, whereas others affirmed that, with the rejection of the papal power, a great portion of the doctrines and usages fell to the ground. Besides, political considerations ought not to decide in preference to others; on the contrary, truth ought to be pursued, regardless of the consequences, and entire confidence placed in the providence of God. But as both parties knew that no direct contradiction availed against the king's obstinate and violent temper, they endeavoured to gain him by excessive, nay, unlimited concessions, by which his influence unexpectedly increased to an almost incredible height, and inspired him with the foolish and tyrannical idea, of limiting the faith of the whole people to a narrow line, arbitrarily fixed by himself.'—Vol. I., pp. 33—35.

When reviewing the conduct of queen Mary, our author remarks, that 'Gardiner and Bonner represented that tolerance led 'to indifference, and that improvements in doctrine, discipline, 'and constitution, advantageous as they might be otherwise, were 'not now to be thought of, *because this would only confirm the* '*complaints of the reformed, and furnish them with new pretexts.*' Such was the argument of Bancroft, addressed to James I., at

Hampton Court—reform nothing, or you will concede that the puritans have been in the right in their controversy with us. And in this feeling have we not the great difficulty of the pious men of our established church at the present day, with respect to the reforms which they must know to be desirable in their communion? It surely cannot be deemed good by them that they should take upon them vows which they never mean to perform; or that they should solemnly express their approval of customs which their conscience must assuredly condemn. But to reform the church would be to give the palm to the dissenter in his controversy with her. This consideration, we suspect, more than any natural or wise dread of change, is the great barrier in the way of any approximation toward the devout men of other communions. We hope ere long to reason this matter at some length with pious Episcopalians, and to do so in the spirit of friendly expostulation.

In this history, the age of Elizabeth occupies three times the space assigned to the three preceding reigns. Yet, if we except the portion which relates to the queen of Scots, every topic is treated in the same hasty and imperfect manner. The character of individuals, of parties, and of events, is given with facility; but much is wanting to bring up the picture to the life, and the misconceptions of the author become more frequent and considerable. The following is Von Raumer's account of the puritans of that age, and will afford us an opportunity of showing the sort of defectiveness and inaccuracy which are of almost constant occurrence in the views presented in these volumes.

'The protestants recognized the king as supreme head, even in ecclesiastical matters; retained the gradation of spiritual dignities, archbishops, bishops, &c., as well as several formalities and ceremonies which appeared to be similar to the old catholic forms. The principles of the puritans, on the contrary, were, on the whole, as follows: civil government is of human, church government of divine origin; therefore the former is every where subordinate, and the supreme decision belongs to the latter. In ecclesiastical matters, only what is absolutely necessary must be prescribed, but the temporal government must not interfere, and especially not order any thing respecting the ceremonies, liturgy, &c. Ceremonies, images, altars, crosses, organs, music, a distinguishing dress for the clergy, &c., are condemnable; likewise singing, dancing, fencing, particularly on a Sunday, which must be kept strictly holy. All gradations of dignities in the church must cease, and temporal offices and parliamentary rights must be immediately taken from the negligent bishops. Ecclesiastical legislation and jurisdiction belong solely to the congregation and synod; every penalty imposed by laymen is illegal, and the oath of supremacy to be rejected. The appointment to offices in the church shall never be made by kings and patrons, but by the choice of the congregations. Whoever defends the late impure and detestable constitution of the

church is not a good subject, but a traitor to God and his word. More violent persons went still further, and said, 'The queen, like every other person, is liable to excommunication by the elders of the church, and an excommunicated person is not to be obeyed, and cannot govern. The ministers are lost atheists, and we must pray to God no longer to suffer the pollution of his sanctuary. All the remains of popish idolatry must be extirpated, and it is by no means unlawful to put those to death who defend such heathenism.

'While advocates of the puritans praised and extolled their simple, serious course of life, their morality and liberal sentiments; their adversaries blamed the above mentioned exaggerations, and affirmed, that the majority were by no means composed of innocent, harmless men, but of ambitious persons; and who, impatient of all control, would willingly dissolve the temporal, as well as spiritual government, and introduce a new one, resembling their own democratic constitution of the church.

'If we impartially compare the accusation and defence, it appears that, in many puritans, there was a laudable endeavour at Christian morality, and that they resisted, with praise-worthy courage, both civil and ecclesiastical tyranny. But, on the other hand, there was in their notions of church and state, too much Jewish strictness and partiality. The cheerful side of life, which is by no means contrary to genuine Christianity, appeared to their gloomy minds to be profane: their too narrow rules paid no regard to the differences which age, sex, property, rank, ability, &c., produce in the world; and while they undervalued much that was of importance, they attached a false value to trifles. Thus, for instance, they gave strange names to their children; 'Reformation—From Above—Enough—Free Gift—Rejoice Again—The Lord is Nigh—More Fruit, &c.;' and plainly showed that if ever the power should come into their hands, they would exercise greater intolerance than they now suffered.'—Vol. I., pp. 292—294.

From this passage the reader will learn nothing as to the relative number of the puritans at the queen's accession, nothing as to the modesty of their claims during a series of years afterwards, nothing as to the causes which led them at a later period to extend their complaints, nor is it in any way intimated that those who suffered under the arbitrary rule of the prelates, did so mostly on account of nonconformity in small matters, which might have been safely dispensed with, and that to such matters the scruples of the majority, even to the last, principally referred. All these points, however, and many more, must come into careful review, before the question respecting the conduct of the puritans under Elizabeth can be understood.

The greater, and much the more intelligent portion of the protestant population of this kingdom, in the early days of Elizabeth, were puritans, or persons at least who were desirous that the ritual of the church should be cleansed to a greater extent from the admixture of papal observances. Elizabeth's first convocation of the clergy was in the fourth year of her reign,

and it was no secret in that assembly that archbishop Parker and the queen were strongly opposed to any change in the religious ceremonies. Warm debates, however, arose on that subject, and the obnoxious ceremonies were saved by a single vote only—the division being as fifty-nine to fifty-eight, and nearly half of this minority were from the ranks of the dignified clergy. It would not be difficult to demonstrate that the most learned and distinguished portion of the hierarchy were at that time on the side of puritanism; and of the feeling of the parochial clergy, some judgment may be formed from the fact, that three years later, one-third of the clergy of the metropolis resigned their cures rather than appear in the apparel imposed by the queen and her commissioners. Father Parsons, whose testimony is good evidence on this point, states, that the puritans were everywhere a more numerous and formidable body than the conformists, especially in the great towns. But the puritan majority submitted to the conformist minority, partly from the mixture of fear and affection with which they regarded the queen, and partly from deeming that submission a much less evil than the return of the catholic, their common enemy, to power.

Von Raumer, who overlooks these material facts in the history of the puritan controversy, is no less at fault in regard to the time when it assumed its more uncompromising spirit, the causes which produced that change, and the extent in which its extreme dogmas prevailed among its partizans. Elizabeth ascended the throne in 1558. Her systematic persecution of the clergy on account of their vestments, began in 1565; and it was not until the impolitic and unjust courses then adopted had been prosecuted for five years, the hardships attending them having spread an exasperated feeling very widely both among the clergy and the laity, that Cartwright became distinguished as the leader of a class of puritans who had learnt to extend their objections from the worship of the church to its polity, demanding such a reform of its government as would have rendered it rather presbyterian than prelatical. Violence had thus produced violence, to the great sorrow of moderate men both among the puritans and in the queen's government, when Whitgift became primate, and exceeded the severity of Parker. But after all the expulsion and coercion to which he resorted, Whitgift saw, in the last year of his life, a petition presented to king James, bearing the signatures of nearly a thousand puritan clergymen, praying for reform. But for what reform did they pray? Not for that overthrow of the church and state, and that exclusive establishment of their own polity, which their enemies affirmed to be the fixed object of every man among them, but (and no doubt to the great regret of those enemies) for some slight changes in matters of ceremony. Extravagant and intolerant maxims were no doubt avowed, but

it was by men who had been goaded to such extremes by oppression, and it then became the policy of the government to impute those extreme opinions to the whole, and to deal with them accordingly. The coercive measures of the government were the *cause*, not the *effect*, of those tenets among the puritans which were most hostile to the hierarchy.

All this Von Raumer might have known by a little attention to some of the works which he quotes,* and which we must suppose he has read, and, knowing these things, he should not have passed them over. Some of the puritans were unreasonable enough to maintain that no person exposing the Gospel to scandal, by open immorality, should be permitted to unite in the communion of the church, whatever might be the station of the offender, which, we presume, is what Von Raumer principally intends by stating that they paid '*no* respect to the differences produced in the world by age, sex, rank, ability,' &c. &c.! The accusation of giving their children strange names, as—Reformation, From Above, Free Gift, &c. &c., has only a slight foundation in truth as applied to the puritans of any age, and none at all, we believe, as applied to those of the times of Elizabeth. The well-known story of the Essex jury, from which Hume and Zachary Gray, in their fanatical hatred of fanaticism, derived so much pleasure, is the evident source of our author's notion in this matter. But those who will be at the pains to trace that story to its source, will find it to be a pitiful invention, published for the first time in the eighteenth century, and applied to the puritans of the time of Charles I. Cromwell's first parliament, commonly known by the name of Barebone's parliament, is so described by Hume and others, as to insinuate the conclusion that the body then assembled consisted of a herd of vulgar natures, all bearing names of this fantastic description. But it so happens that the names of those persons have come down to us, and, with the exception of the one man, named Barebone, and whose Christian name was 'Praise God,' there is no more of this peculiarity of puritanism observable in the list than might be found in one of those majorities of late so frequently at the heels of that very puritanical personage—Lord Lyndhurst. We advert to this fact, not as meaning to affirm that the puritans were altogether free from the weakness, or the ill-regulated taste, imputed to them in this respect, but in order to show how small a portion of what is asserted or insinuated, by a certain class of writers, on this and on similar topics is deserving of credit.

Now these additions and corrections, with respect to the character of the puritans under Elizabeth, as set forth by Von

* Neal, Hallam, Vaughan's Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty, &c. &c.

Raumer, are a fair specimen of the kind of supplement which is necessary in regard to almost every question of importance in our history as treated—or rather touched upon, in the work before us. The modern history of England is one of those subjects that could not be treated justly and efficiently in the way of abridgment, even by a Bacon or a Bossuet. Its revolutions were not the effect of mere court intrigue, as in the case of the other old monarchies of Europe, but originated in causes affecting the whole community. They were great changes, resulting from the influence of great public principles. The parties thus called into existence were formidable, from their numbers and ramifications, but still more from their intelligence, and prepared to endure much, and to dare much, in favour of the objects before them. Characters the most various, and the most strongly marked, were thus brought into prominence, and developed by means of circumstances the most diversified and complex. It is strictly necessary that the historian should be acquainted with these circumstances, that he should know them familiarly, that he should be capable of estimating them according to the degree of credit due to the parties reporting them, and, above all, that he should be competent wisely to observe their influence on the men whose passions, principles, and conduct were affected by them. When the leaders and the masses of a community, instead of moving like a battalion, in implicit obedience to their chief, are wont to concern themselves thus with the aspects of the times, and to yield to the pressure of circumstances more than to individual authority, history in such a case ceases to be of the description that may be set forth, with any desirable result, in the manner of outline, or, in other words, to be of the kind that may be 'made easy.' Little is to be inferred at such times from single acts, or expressions of the moment, in regard to the character of individuals or of parties. There is too much of hurry, unexpectedness, and perplexity, connected with the movements of public affairs, to allow it to be possible that individuals, or bodies of men, should be at all times in full possession of themselves. It is from all the great facts of their history, and from a multitude of subsidiary circumstances which give to those facts their particular complexion, that the conclusions of the historian must be deduced, if they are to be correct, and to make any tolerable approach toward the whole truth.

But in this Political History of England we have a work on no such plan. Its design is to present only the more considerable and characteristic events of the time, for the purpose of bringing out its peculiar spirit; but as the events have not been adequately presented, the said spirit, though invoked, does not come. The premises of our logician are defective and faulty, and his conclusions are like them. In fact we have become not a little sus-

picious of this philosophical manner, as it is called, of writing history, even when undertaken by men of the first ability. It is no doubt highly gratifying to be persuaded that we belong to that class of minds which may well leave the full and regular narration of events, on the old classical model, to the dull heads which are content to employ themselves mainly with that matter—our own powers being such as to render it enough that we should throw a rapid glance over the revolutions of the past, in order to perceive both the spirit by which they were animated, and the lessons they afford to the future. The temptation here commends itself equally to our indolence and our vanity, and not less, perhaps, to our feelings of partizanship. It is to be more intellectual than the ancients, and with less labour; and being at liberty to take very general views of other times, a little ingenuity may suffice to make them speak almost any language to our own. Men of extraordinary power and integrity may guard in a great degree against these dangers; but the success of such authors must always call forth a crowd of imitators, and the result is often lamentable, leading the superficial to conclude that there can be no certainty in history, nor any real benefit in the study of it, since all sorts of reports may be made concerning its transactions, and every kind of inference deduced from them. What we want, is not so meagre an account of facts as may leave the appearance of plausibility to the most ill-founded speculations; but rather that the full narration of the ancients should retain its proper dignity, as constituting the real body of history, and that to this body there should be given as much as possible of the soul of intelligence and utility. Among those writers who complain of the want of this soul in the ancient historians, there are very few indeed whom a wise man would recommend to attempt any thing in the way of philosophy themselves beyond what will be found in those models, upon which, in the fulness of their complacency, they are disposed to look down as falling so much below their own wonderful conceptions. Many writers, who might have obtained some permanent credit as historians, have altogether failed in consequence of having imbibed the notion that they were capable of doing these things more intellectually than Thucydides or Tacitus.

If there is much in the account which Von Raumer has given of the affairs of England, previous to the accession of the house of Stuart, to call forth remarks of this nature, the same kind of objection may be made with even greater propriety to the manner in which he has disposed of the reign of James I. The author, indeed, observes, that in this part of his narrative he has only treated of 'the principal matters, without strict regard to the 'order of time,' this period being viewed as merely introductory to the reign of Charles I. But it should be remembered that it

was an introduction of more than twenty years' duration, and one in which political principles and parties acquired that complexion and power which served to render the history of the twenty years that followed so memorable. Then, especially, all the existing controversies, with respect both to the church and the state, became allied more or less with the dogma of divine right.

Von Raumer has justly observed, that this pretension on the part of the crown, naturally disposed the advocates of popular government to assert the sovereignty of the people on similar grounds. And we may safely conclude that we should not have heard so much during the seventeenth century, of the voice of the people as being the voice of God, had not kings announced themselves as his peculiar vicegerents, and as being responsible to him alone. But our author might have gone further into the philosophy of the controversies of those times, had he been sufficiently familiar with the subject to perceive that the alleged effect of the novel doctrine of divine right as applied to kings, was precisely the counterpart of the effect which was produced by it as applied to bishops. The one taught the popular leaders to connect a sort of divine right with the sovereignty of the people; and the other taught the puritans, both in Scotland and in England, to lay claim to the same exclusive authority in favour of their discipline.

In the age of Cranmer it was the legally established doctrine of the Church of England, that the only permanent orders found in the New Testament are those of priest and deacon, all others being a matter of purely civil institution. Lord Bacon describes the steps by which the ruling clergy receded from this ground, until checked by finding themselves on the threshold of the Vatican. 'First, those ceremonies which were pretended to be 'corrupt, they maintained to be things indifferent, and opposed 'the examples of the good times of the church to that challenge 'which was made unto them, because they were used in the late 'superstitious times. They then were also content mildly to ac-'knowledge many imperfections in the church: as tares come up 'amongst the corn; which yet, according to the wisdom taught 'by our Saviour, were not with strife to be pulled up, lest it 'might spoil and supplant the good corn, but to grow on together 'until the harvest. After they grew to a more absolute defence 'and maintenance of all the orders of the church, and stiffly to 'hold that nothing was to be innovated, partly because it needed 'not, partly because it would make a breach upon the rest. 'Hence, *exasperated through contentions*, they are fallen to a 'direct condemnation of the contrary part as of a sect. Yea, 'and *some indiscreet persons* have been bold, in open preaching, 'to use dishonourable and derogatory speech of the churches

'abroad (presbyterian churches), and that *so far as some of our 'men, as I have heard, ordained in foreign parts, have been pro-'nounced to be no lawful ministers.'** Bancroft, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was the first protestant disputant in this country who became so 'bold and indiscreet' as to affirm that men not ordained by bishops were no ministers; and the doctrine of which Bacon had heard but distantly and indistinctly at the close of the sixteenth century, was to become so general no long time afterwards, as to call forth the antagonist power of the league and covenant, and to sow those seeds of ecclesiastical discord and intolerance which are still so rife among us. Nor can there be peace, nor ought there to be peace, so long as this arrogant dogma, which unchristianizes three-fourths of the Protestants of Europe, from the times of Luther downwards, shall be maintained. Bacon adverts to the effect of this pernicious doctrine on the opinions and temper of the puritans in England, one extravagance naturally producing another, but he did not live to see the same effect result, upon a larger scale, from the same cause, in Scotland.

The best portion of Von Raumer's work is that which treats of the controversy between Charles I. and the three parliaments convened and dismissed by him soon after his accession. On the remaining chapters we could offer much comment, but must desist. The struggle which extends through the whole of that reign is not to be seen in its true light without a careful attention to the character of that unhappy prince, as both the nature and issues of the conflict resulted mainly from his personal qualities. And the character of Charles I., like that of the parties who were most active in his reign, is not to be learnt from the extravagant commendations bestowed upon it in some quarters, nor from the indiscriminate censure to which it is subjected in others. In his person this monarch was of a middle stature, and well proportioned; sufficiently active to be capable of bearing much fatigue, and of making, upon occasions, vigorous exertion. His features were rather handsome than otherwise. His fair complexion in youth, darkened with years; and over the whole countenance there was an expression of thoughtfulness and feeling which gave it an air of melancholy—an aspect, however, which seems to have been derived more from the manner in which he was accustomed to regard the past and the present, than from any want of a sanguine temper in relation to the future. Charles gave many proofs of courage; but that virtue, (if such it may be called) from the want of being guided by a more sound discretion, frequently partook, in civil affairs, of the nature of rashness. There was also much dignity in his demeanour, but coupled generally with a

* Advertisement, touching the Controversies of the Church of England.

degree of coldness and reserve which strangers felt to be repulsive, and which served to keep up a stately distance between him and the persons who were most in his confidence. His temperance and chastity, when we call to mind the scenes in which he had passed his youth, will appear among his most praiseworthy qualities; and his economy, without descending to meanness, or bordering on avarice, was a marked improvement on the example set before him by his predecessor. Nor could this prince be charged with cruelty, except in a few cases, when his favourite projects were opposed in a manner which aroused his resentment and alarmed his policy in a greater degree than was ordinary. In all these respects, had his lot been cast in private life, Charles I. might have obtained general esteem; but while a stranger to adversity, there would have been little in him in that condition, any more than in his real history, to have made him an object of affection.

In religion the defects of his character were more manifest, in consequence of the degree in which it was connected with superstition and intolerance. But his ruling passion was a love of arbitrary power. Not that he was intent on exercising such power in the more extravagant acts of tyranny. Like his feeble and pedantic father he was pleased rather with the possession than the abuse of power. One effect of this passion was to stimulate his efforts in support of episcopacy; and the ardour with which it was cherished served also to make him less and less scrupulous in regard to truth and sincerity, whenever the gratification of that feeling was the end pursued. So earnest and so fixed was his desire to possess larger powers than the constitution had ceded to him, that nothing short of the constant pressure of necessity sufficed to keep him within those limits:—the moment in which such pressure was withdrawn being that in which he always showed himself determined to resume whatever he had appeared to relinquish. Nor was it by such acts only that Charles taught his subjects to regard him as a prince not to be trusted. If he did not avow the favourite maxim of his father—that to rule by craft is indispensable to ruling well—it is certain that he never ceased to act as though guided by that notion, his public declarations and proceedings, with hardly an exception, and, even to the last, being contemporaneous with secret correspondence and negociations by which they were falsified. Even on the scaffold he expressed himself on the subject of popular government, in terms which show that he died as he lived, swayed by sentiments alien from some of the most essential elements of the English constitution. 'Sovereign and subject,' he observed, 'are clean different things;' all government being a matter belonging to the former, and 'in nothing pertaining to the latter.'

So much more important had the middle class in England become during this reign, that the nation was in no temper to sub-

mit even to those more moderate exercises of the prerogative which had been sometimes resorted to by the less arbitrary of our princes; but Charles, in defiance of this spirit, was not content to take his precedents from the most lawless of his predecessors, but would have raised the exceptions supplied by such occasional inroads of the prerogative into the place of the rule provided by law. Concessions, indeed, were at length made, but they were made so late, with so much visible reluctance, and in connexion with so many indications of bad faith, as to cause it to be no matter of surprise with any reflecting man, that each in its turn became no more than a point from which still further demands were to be made. Whenever parties have proceeded to such lengths as Charles and the leaders of the Long Parliament had done, even before the sword was unsheathed, *all ground for mutual confidence having failed*, there can be no hope of a settlement, except by means of conquest on the one side or subjection on the other. The opponent that cannot be trusted must be rendered harmless.

We cannot conclude without a parting word to Von Raumer and his translators. Our professor himself is not blameless in allowing these volumes to appear in an English dress. The view which they afford of English history may not be without its use in Germany, but a little reflection should have sufficed to convince the author that the English reader is by no means in want of the assistance which he has here proffered him, guides of much greater competency being already at the service of such persons. And, speaking generally of Von Raumer's ability, we should say that, could he be content to become more the *forgotten* of the reviews, the magazines, and the newspapers; could he be prevailed with to separate himself to some less extended subject than the History of Modern Europe; and could he be brought to think it not beneath him to treat some less ambitious theme in a less ambitious manner—in the full and sober style of the true historian, and not in this loose fashion which is thought to be philosophical, we should then venture to promise him a more creditable reputation than he now possesses, and one much more permanent than he is at present likely to obtain.

But Von Raumer's translators are greater delinquents in this matter than himself. They, at least, must know how much they have been catering for a childish love of novelty in the circle which is known by the name of 'the little vulgar;' instead of employing their capabilities in introducing the English scholar to some of those truly great men with which Germany abounds. The intelligent English student will remember the labours of Mr. Talboys, of Oxford, with admiration and gratitude, when those of Mr. Lloyd, and, we are sorry to add, of Mrs. Austin, as expended on 'Letters' about England, and on this 'Political History,' will long have been forgotten.

Art. V. 1. *Minutes of the Sixth Annual Assembly of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, held at the Congregational Library, Finsbury Circus, London, May 9th, 10th, and 13th,* 1836; *together with the Report of the General Committee, and other Documents connected with the Transactions of the past Year.* 8vo. pp. 32. London.

2. *Account of the Proceedings of the Twenty-fourth Annual Session of the Baptist Union, held in London, June 20th, 21st, 22nd, and 24th,* 1836; *with the Report of the State of the Denomination; the Annual Letter to the Churches, and an Appendix.* 8vo. pp. 68. London.

THE contemptuous indifference with which the clergy and gentry of the Established Church have been heretofore wont to regard the nonconformist denominations confounded under the vague name of Dissenters, is beginning to give place, in the minds of the more intolerant, to feelings of angry alarm at the array they are now found to present; and, in those of the more liberal members of the Establishment, to a more bland and condescending curiosity. So complete has been the separation produced by the church and state system between the established and non-established sections of the Protestant community in this country, holding substantially the same faith—the non-intercourse laws framed by sacerdotal bigotry have been so faithfully observed under the influence of the bigotry of *fashion*—that, of the religion of the Dissenters, the greater part of those who profess and call themselves Churchmen, have remained almost as ignorant as of the religion of Tibet or Japan. Some instances that we could give of the utter want of information prevailing among the higher classes, upon this subject, would scarcely be credited. Mr. Pitt is reported to have inquired upon one occasion, whether all the Dissenters were Socinians; and another prime minister, whom we do not feel at liberty to name, inquired not long ago of a deputation, how Dissenters' marriages were *now* conducted! A county member expressed his astonishment, some time back, at learning that Dissenters had any theological academies. We have been credibly informed of instances in which curiosity has been expressed to *see* a Dissenter; as if the sectarian mark were to be visibly detected in the features! And we shrewdly suspect that, among the 'gowned rabble' of Oxford, who testified their obstreperous orthodoxy by their hisses and groans at 'the Dissenters,' few had much more distinct or intelligent notions of what the term really denotes. In fact, Dissenters have been regarded less as a sect than as a caste, whom it was all very well to tolerate as hewers of wood and drawers of water, but a very vulgar thing to have any knowledge of, much more to be seen in their company.

The British and Foreign Bible Society has, no doubt, in many circles, lessened the force of the unintelligent prejudice against the Dissenters; not merely by bringing pious members of the Establishment into personal contact with good men of other denominations, but also by affording opportunities for the display of an ability and eloquence on the platform, that were previously confined to the narrower though more elevated sphere of the pulpit. In public speaking, eminent Dissenting ministers have been unexpectedly found to possess much the advantage over the majority of the clergy, who are disqualified by their defective theological education, and by the trammels of their ecclesiastical habits, for the free and extemporaneous eloquence that commands attention in the senate or at the bar. Of late years, indeed, pulpit eloquence has been much more favourably estimated and sedulously cultivated within the pale of the Establishment than formerly; to which the necessity of vying with the Dissenting preachers has not a little contributed.

Other circumstances have conduced to inspire a more respectful estimate of the talent to be found in the Dissenting body, as well as of their relative strength and political importance; but, of their ecclesiastical institutions, their theological tenets, their peculiar views, modes, and principles, all that distinguish them in a religious point of view from churchmen, the most vague and inaccurate notions yet prevail even among persons otherwise well informed. The very appellations that historically distinguish them, as Presbyterian, Independent, or Congregational, General or Particular Baptists, are regarded as the cabalistic terms of sectarianism, which it is scarcely worth while to take the trouble to understand. We cannot, indeed, say much in favour of the euphony of our denominational nomenclature. That same uncouth adjective, which is now creeping into use, belongs to what Southey would term the *uglyography* of names. Nor is the term congregational much more happy. The different technical use of the same familiar words, is a source of still greater perplexity. Basil Hall complains of the difficulty he had, in making himself understood by the people of the United States, on account chiefly of the different associations respectively attaching, in America and in England, to the same phrases. He seems to have been puzzled as much by the American acceptation of the term *state*, for instance, as some Episcopalians are by the dissenting acceptation of the word *church*. When the *soi-disant* churchman speaks of going to church, he means the parish building so denominated. When, however, he uses the phrase, 'Our Church,' 'The Church,' or 'Mother Church,' he means, not the parish church, but 'the Church as by law established,' and which he deems part and parcel of the constitution of these realms. But he hears Dissenters speak of their churches,—'congregational churches;' and, as he

knows that their meeting-houses are not so denominated, he is at a loss to understand what sort of a church that can be, which is neither an architectural one, nor a political one, nor any thing answering to the ideas *he* has been accustomed to attach to the hallowed appellation. It will scarcely occur to him to recollect, (nor, if it does, will it strike him as very natural), that, in one of the articles of his church—who reads the articles?—a church is defined as 'a congregation of faithful men.' What sort of a church *that* must be, he has probably never reflected.

The word church is used by Dissenters very much in the sense in which it was employed by the framers of the Anglican articles; yet Dissenters distinguish between a church and a congregation. How is this! The Editor of the Christian Observer, in a recent number of that publication, has dilated at considerable length upon this conventional distinction, which is stigmatized as 'non-scriptural,' 'presumptuous,' and 'delusive.'* It may be worth while, therefore, to offer a few words in explanation of the circumstance so very harshly animadverted upon.

That 'the church, in scripture, means the congregation of the 'faithful, and the congregation of the faithful means the church,' we are fully prepared to admit; and we regret that Tyndale's honest vernacular rendering of the Greek word, ἐκκλησία, was ever set aside by the pedant king for the 'juggling' term, church. As both words may be indifferently used, and have the same import, 'a church and congregation' would seem to be tautological, as denoting one thing, rather than conveying a distinction. With such tautology, by the way, legal phraseology abounds, the second term being generally designed to fix more precisely the meaning of the first. We by no means feel sure that the nonconformist phrase, 'church and congregation,' had not a similar origin, and that, the word church being equivocal, congregation was not added to mark the sort of church intended. The phrase 'congregational church,' is equally tautological, in itself considered; and had the word church retained its primary meaning, it could not have been necessary so to qualify it as implying a collective body, a church composed of a congregation. But, though the two words are strictly convertible, as representing the Greek term in one of its senses, they are not both equally adapted to express every sense of the word ἐκκλησία, which may undoubtedly mean either an assembly of any kind, a body of persons congregated, or an organized congregation, a society. Now the latter is what is generally understood by the term church. It is more than a congregation of hearers or an assembly of worshippers accidentally collected: it is a society of persons accustomed and

* Christian Observer for September, 1836, p. 549.

agreeing so to associate and assemble, under their recognized officers. But, as the public assembly is not confined to members of the organized society, the rest of the hearers or worshippers are included under the term, congregation; meaning thereby, the remainder of the customary assembly.

Thus explained, the tautology vanishes; and nothing very offensive would seem to be implied by the distinction which has grown into usage. Our Christian Observer, however, will have it, that this distinctive use of the word church is very unscriptural. 'By what text,' he demands, 'does a dissenter prove that the 'church is a body distinct from the congregation? And if no 'text can be found that proves it, by what right, upon his own 'principles, is this non-scriptural invention introduced into the 'Church of Christ?' It is pleasant to be thus challenged by a church-and-state man to justify our usages by scripture authority; and we readily take up the glove.

Of course it cannot be meant, that we are to produce a text by which any *etymological* distinction between church and congregation is recognized. To ask this, would be sheer trifling. But a text suggests itself, which will sufficiently answer our purpose, and which we shall transcribe. It occurs 1 Cor. xiv. 23: 'If, therefore, *the whole church* be come together into one (place), and all speak with tongues, and there come in those who are unlearned or unbelievers, will they not say that ye are mad?' Now we presume that, by 'the whole church (ἡ ἐκκλησία ὅλη), who are here described as convening ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, it will be admitted that we must understand a collective body accustomed so to assemble, not the assembly itself. It must have been an *ecclesia* before it met *in cœtu sacro*. Yet, at ver. 18 of the eleventh chapter of this epistle, we find the word 'church' used in the sense of an assembly*—συνερχομένων ὑμῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. Upon this passage, Dr. Bloomfield remarks:—'Expositors are not agreed whether 'ἐκκλησία means *ecclesiâ* or *cœtu*, *i. e.*, assembly. The former 'interpretation is maintained by Grotius, Fuller, and Mede. . . . 'There is more reason to suppose (with most of the recent com-'mentators) that the expression means *cœtu* (*sacro*), *conventu*, as-'sembly: a sense more suitable to the Apostle's argument; which is 'to warn them against dissensions in an assembly met together for 'the worship of God. Besides, συνερχ. ἐν ἐκκλησία here cannot 'well differ in sense from the repetition of the same thing, συνερχ. 'ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, at ver. 20, which can only be understood of the 'assembly.' Here, then, we have clearly the church as a body distinct from the assembly or congregation. Into the latter, those who were not of the church, ἰδιῶται, persons uninstructed in

* So εκκλησια is used, Acts xix. 39.

Christianity, and ἄπιστοι, heathen strangers, might enter; and they might remain so as to form part of the assembly; and they might repeat their attendance and frequent the assembly, if disposed to do so. We beg to ask, whether their even becoming a customary part of the congregation, supposing them to have made no open profession of their having embraced Christianity, would entitle them to be regarded as a part of the *ecclesia*. Our Christian Observer will scarcely maintain the affirmative; and he is therefore bound to admit that we have met his challenge. We have produced a text which shows that Dissenters, in distinguishing between *ecclesia* and *ecclesia*, in its different acceptations, represented by the words church and congregation, have not introduced any non-scriptural invention into the Church of Christ.

But we are told, it is either presumptuous or futile 'to restrict '*the congregation* to attendants on divine worship, baptized or 'unbaptized, and *the church* to a body of persons who are not 'the whole church outwardly and visibly.' We admit that, '*if* 'intended to discriminate which members of an auditory are the 'true spiritual Israel of God, and which are not, the distinction 'would be presumptuous;' but such is *not* the intention; nor could any person acquainted with the usages of Dissenters, nor any *candid* observer, suppose this to be the case. The distinction marks nothing beyond a fact; it recognizes, as in close connexion with the *ecclesia*, or [society, a stated congregation of attendants who, from a variety of reasons, have not joined the society. They may be of another communion; they may be occasional attendants; they may decline a closer connexion. To suppose, as this Christian Observer appears to do, that Dissenters use the term congregation as one of '*moral classification*'—of 'unchristian exclu-'sionism,' implying 'those who are without,' is more than erroneous; it is disingenuous; because the very way in which the terms 'church and congregation' are associated, and the word congregational is employed, proves that no such idea is conveyed by the distinction. The church forms part of the congregation—is included in it; and it is by ellipsis that those who are not members of the society are denominated the (rest of the) congregation.

Not content with founding upon his own blunders this charge against the Dissenters, our Christian Observer proceeds to quarrel with them for presuming to use the word church at all, in describing their religious societies; on the ground, that 'it is invi-'dious, as respects other bodies of Christians, and especially where 'there is an established church.' He complains that the expression, the church at Hounslow, or the church at Hemel Hempstead,*

* The phrase 'the church *of* Hemel Hempstead,' which, the writer says, he met with in a tract, must, we are persuaded, have been a typographical

virtually unchurches and excommunicates all who do not belong to that particular society. By parity of reasoning we must suppose, that, when St. Paul sent his salutation to the church in the house of Nymphas (Col. iv. 15), or in that of Philemon, or of Priscilla and Aquila (Rom. xvi. 5), he thereby excommunicated all who did not belong to those Christian companies! Dissenters are not accustomed, indeed, even to use the phraseology here attributed to them, but to designate 'the church' referred to, as meeting in such a chapel, or in such a place, or by some other adjunct, to qualify the term employed. All the alleged 'invidiousness' of the phrase is attributable to entire misapprehension. In fact, it is difficult to acquit the writer of something worse; so easy would it have been for him to ascertain the utter groundlessness of his representation. We know no class of Baptists, Independents, or other dissenters, who ever affected to confine salvation, or the visible church, to their own narrow communion, and to abandon all others to the uncovenanted mercies of God. Bigotry exists in all communions; but not such popery as this.

The Christian Observer would fain, however, lay claim, on behalf of *his* church, to a more enlarged liberality, because all persons are considered as belonging to it, and comprehended in it, who have been baptized, *dissenters always excepted.* 'The Jewish 'congregation,' we are reminded, 'was the mass of circumcised 'persons, and the Christian congregation is the mass of baptized 'persons, not being virtually, voluntarily, and judicially excom-'municated. Whether, being thus members of an outward and 'visible church, they are also truly and spiritually members of 'Christ's mystical body, must be determined on far other grounds.' Now, as to the superior liberality exhibited in this use of the word church, as including the mass of society, it will be sufficient to advert to the fact, that it is precisely on a par with that of the papists, who are still more anxious to extend their pale as wide as possible, while they allow of no salvation beyond it. But, while thus charitable in her judgment of all who conform, it so happens that this tolerant church of England has always managed to exclude from 'the visible church' the greater number of pious believers in this country, who have fallen under her 'virtual or judi-'cial' anathemas. Let us now examine the scriptural authority for this use of the term *ecclesia.*

There is no question that this word is occasionally employed in the New Testament to denote the universal fellowship of believers,

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error. Such a phraseology as, the church *of* such a place, or even 'the Baptist church *of* such a place,' or 'the Congregational church *of* such a place,' is at variance with the universal practice of the dissenters; so that all the writer's pathetic declamation, built on the contrary assumption, falls to the ground.

the body of Christ, the 'holy nation.' We meet also with the expression, 'the church of God at Corinth,' the 'church at Jeru-'salem,' the 'church of the Thessalonians;' denoting all the believers in those cities. According to this use of the word, the church at London would imply all the faithful residing in the British metropolis; and the church in England would include 'all 'that are sanctified in Christ Jesus' throughout this country. The Christian Observer contends that all the baptized should be comprehended within the church. Well, then, do we find Episcopalians ever employing such language as this—'the church of God 'in London,' or 'in Liverpool,' or 'in England,' meaning 'the 'mass of baptized persons' professing Christianity, of the various denominations? The validity of nonconformist baptism has been acknowledged: are baptized nonconformists recognized as part of the church—the national church? Not by *churchmen*. Then what becomes of the argument drawn from the parallel between the Jewish congregation and the Christian congregation? If Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Moravians, Wesleyan Methodists, do not visibly belong to the Christian congregation, they are not Christians. Nevertheless, strange to say, they do not belong to the national church! And yet, here is a Church of England writer finding fault with Dissenters for distinguishing between the church and the congregation of the faithful, such a distinction being, he says, presumptuous and unscriptural, while the constant usage of his own communion '*unchurches*' every congregation of faithful men that does not conform to the ecclesiastical polity of Queen Elizabeth!

So much for the writer's consistency. Will he excuse us, if we now turn his own words upon himself, and, changing the terms, admonish him, that '*if* the' *churchman*, 'by the word 'church, does not mean abstractedly God's church, but his own 'ecclesiastical society, for admission into which such and such 'tests have been agreed upon, then we find no fault with his 'using his best judgment in laying down rules, and deciding, with 'charity and sobriety, upon character and qualification, for he ought 'to do so; *but he ought not to limit scriptural words to this con-'ventional proceeding.*'

When Dissenters speak of the Church of Christ, of the Catholic Church, they assuredly never for a moment confine their thoughts to their own communion; nor do they contemplate it as circumscribed by any political boundaries, nor as defined by any ritual modifications, nor as composed of any ecclesiastical societies. The Church Catholic is not the aggregate of churches, national or congregational, but of believers united severally and vitally to their Divine Head. If Dissenters do not and cannot acknowledge an establishment to be a scriptural church, they do not the less readily recognize as members of Christ's church all the pious

within its communion. They deny that the church of England is the church of God—that it forms any part of it: it is the church of man, the church of the king, a political corporation, an ecclesiastical polity, a state apparatus, a worldly society. To draw the line between 'what is the church and what is not'—between the church and the world—may be difficult in times like these, when the boundary of Christian profession becomes so indeterminate. But, if the Establishment is the church, where is the world? They are identified. Dissenters do not imagine that any 'ecclesiastical line of demarcation' can altogether coincide with 'the line of spiritual demarcation;' or that the subtile spirit of the world can be excluded from any sacred inclosures; but their societies are at least founded upon the principle of a distinguishing sanctity of character, and have no other object than to promote it. Scriptural in their constitution, and purely spiritual in their design and aim, they present the nearest approximation that human infirmity admits, to the primitive 'communion of saints.' Still, 'churches of Christ' as they claim on this ground to be deemed—in which respect they have the advantage over political corporations or state churches,—these congregations do not, strictly speaking, *constitute* any part of THE CHURCH CATHOLIC, which is composed of no ecclesiastical organization, but of living stones, laid by the Great Architect, each and all mysteriously united to the Divine Corner-stone. Of this Church, and of this only—visible in no rites of worship, but only in the lives of the faithful, represented by no forms of polity, uttering its voice in no synods, recognizing no human head, peculiar to no country, or nation, or age—of this only Dissenters speak, without reference to any institutions of their own, when they employ the general term, or more commonly, the specific phrase, THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

Very different is the practice of Episcopalians; and here, more than perhaps on any other point, the language of churchmen and dissenters will be found to betray a significant difference of religious dialect. When the former speak of THE CHURCH, rarely, if ever, do they intend the church catholic. No; it is OUR church,—the national church. But are the whole congregation of baptized persons within its pale referred to under this designation? Far from this being the case, the mass of baptized persons are the subjects of that church, who owe her fealty and homage. 'The church 'hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in con-'troversies of faith.' This is obviously a church of which the people—the congregation—form no part: it is something quite distinct from the body of Christ. The term church is not here used in a concrete sense, as when denoting the aggregate of believers, but in an abstract sense, for which Scripture affords neither precedent nor countenance. OUR church is, in fact, no other than a magnificent abstraction, clothed with mysterious and all

but divine attributes, the Alma Mater, the Isis of the churchman's imagination, towards whom he often discovers a scarcely less idolatrous fondness than the papist shows for his Madonna. To this all-holy, all-perfect queen-regent are ascribed acts of authority and beneficence as real as can be performed by human agents. Is it asked, who ordained the rites and ceremonies of the episcopal worship? The answer is, The church. Who composed the creeds and articles? The church. '*She*,' we are told, 'has 'framed and set up, and surrounded by the highest human sanc-'tions, a pure and scriptural standard of doctrine, and all the 'needful formularies connected therewith.'* *She* has done all that in her lay, by her creeds, rubrics, and canons, to save men; and, if people are deluded by taking the language of her formularies in a more absolute sense than *she* intended, and according to their obvious import, 'the crime is not *hers*.' *She* can do no wrong. In this way are human authority and human sagacity enthroned in the very temple of God.

It may be urged, that this is mere figurative language, harmless metaphor. But if idolatry itself commenced with the worship of emblems and the deification of abstract ideas, it is very possible that anti-christian error may lurk under the flowers of rhetoric. Between *this* idea of the church, which makes its essence to consist in church polity, and the scriptural idea of the church, which is that of a spiritual society, the distinction is as wide as between truth and error; nor could this be more strikingly apparent than in the different shapes which either allegorical personage assumes. In the New Testament, the church of Christ is symbolically portrayed as a chaste virgin, the affianced bride of the Lamb, awaiting the day which shall present her to her Lord. How different is the idea conveyed by this beautiful symbol, from that of a venerable matron, issuing edicts, and demanding homage and obedience! The former personification is designed to express the passive and feminine qualities of subjection, dependence, chastity, devotion: the latter, those of authority, prerogative, antiquity, prescriptive right. The one is the symbol of the universal congregation of worshippers, the innumerable company gathered out of every nation, and kindred, and people: the other is the symbol of secular power and sacerdotal domination over God's heritage. No language approaching to that in which the churchman does homage to the ideal object of his veneration, is ever used by the sacred writers in speaking of the body of Christ. In the New Testament, the church pays homage, but never receives it. In her mystic character she has no power or authority, nor is any claimed for her. In the words of Hooker, 'so far forth as

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* Essays on the Church, p. 165.

'the church is the mystical body of Christ and his invisible 'spouse, it needeth no external polity.'* It is not then, nor can be, the spouse of Christ that claims the power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith. It is 'a body 'politic' which alone admits of these ideas. Once more, in the scriptural prosopopœia, the unity and catholicity of the church are the principal features of the allegory. That unity and catholicity are destroyed by giving personality to a part, instead of the whole; and a national church, so personified, becomes the very incarnation of schism. Instead of one church, having the Lord for its only Head, we have presented to us a goodly company, not of virgins, but of mothers, wedded to the rulers of this world, and dowried with its possessions. These mother churches cannot be looking for the Bridegroom: from Him they have nothing to expect. They are institutions of this world, and with the fashion of this world will pass away.

Oh, what a subtle magic do abstractions exert over the strongest minds, when they become enshrined as the idols of the intellect! How far is the pious churchman from suspecting that, in boasting of his church, he is the dupe of a popish fallacy, which has given the name of Christ's body to a thing of worldly elements. Let him analyze his idea of 'our church'—that church which he is perpetually affirming to be in danger—that church which clings so fondly to the state; into what will it resolve itself?—Church government. What is episcopacy? A form of church government. What is the Establishment? A scheme of church governments. We tell the churchman plainly, that the object of his fond idolatry, before which he would have all dissenters fall down prostrate, as before the golden image in the plain of Dura, is nothing more nor less than a scheme of ecclesiastical polity, an empty frame-work of government. Government is an excellent thing, worthy of all reverence; but what has the church to do with it? 'Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over 'the Gentiles, exercise lordship over them, and their great ones 'exercise authority upon them. But so it shall not be among 'you.'† There is the authority of a witness, and the rule of a teacher; a moral authority and pastoral rule properly belonging to Christ's ministers. But government is a political thing; and, whether exercised by monarch or pontiff, prince or prelate, parson or magistrate, is the same in kind. It may be called ecclesiastical or spiritual, when administered by ecclesiastics; but the power of a bishop is every whit as political, as secular, as earthly as that of a lord lieutenant or lord chief justice. Such government is no element of Christian institutions: it belongs to Cæsar alone.

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* Eccl. Pol., Book iii. § 11. † Mark x. 42.

Church government ought to mean, the government of the church; but when the church is a political body, the government of that body must be by political means. 'The means of civil 'society,' Warburton remarks, 'are *coercive power,* which power 'the religious hath not:' and he argues, that 'the administration 'of each society is exercised in so remote spheres, that they never 'can meet to clash.' An Establishment, however, is a political institution, based on coercive power. Ecclesiastical courts differ in no respect but their unconstitutional character, from courts of exchequer or common law. The business of such courts is purely secular; the means adopted, precisely as compulsory as in civil proceedings. In fact, the church being identified with the state, and coextensive with the nation, the government of the church must be the same thing with the government of the nation; and a nation can be governed only by political authority. A church may claim to manage its own affairs; but, if those affairs are political affairs, involving national interests, they cannot be withdrawn from the cognizance of the civil magistracy. An established clergy are nothing but an order of magistracy holding of the crown. Of such a church, the king is the only legitimate head, 'unto whom the chief government of all estates of this 'realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth 'appertain.'* Dissenters freely admit, that it is the just prerogative of princes, 'that they should rule all estates and degrees 'committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical 'or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and 'evil doers.' In this respect, they recognize no distinction between clergy and laity, between ecclesiastical and civil. As soon as a church becomes a corporation, it is a creature of law; and its religious objects cannot alter the fact, that it is a political institution, coming as such under the cognizance of the state.

The church government of the Dissenters has, on the contrary, nothing in it of a political character, because their churches are not political corporations. This is the glory and the reproach of nonconformity! They have no hierarchy, no church-courts, no synod, *no church!* Archbishop Magee is thought to have made a very clever hit when he remarked, that 'the Roman Catholics 'have a church without a religion; the Dissenters, a religion 'without a church; but the Establishment has both a church and 'a religion.'† Take the word church in the sense of a church polity, and it is true, that, while the Roman Catholics have a

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* Art. xxxvii.

† Mr. Hall is reported to have admired this saying for its plausibility and cleverness. 'It is false, and yet it seems to contain a mass of truth. It is an excellent stone for a churchman to pelt with.'—Hall's Works, Memoir p. 119.

church, not without a religion, but without an establishment, and the episcopalians of this country have a church with an establishment, the dissenters have neither church nor establishment, but a religion that requires the support of neither. They have churches numberless; as, in other days, there were 'churches 'throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria,' which, 'walk-'ing in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, 'were multiplied.'* But they have no church, which they can call 'our church,' and laud and dignify in terms of fervid eulogy, and array in all the majesty of personal attributes. The first Christians were derided by the heathen, because theirs was a poor, beggarly religion, without a temple, without altar, without a priesthood, without a church! The reproach has descended to the nonconformists of these latter days. If, by a church, we must understand what the churchman understands by his 'mother church,'—a power and domination over the churches which Christ has not set up or authorized,—an abstract church lording it over the churches collective,—a *political totality* fatal to the spiritual character and independence of all the parts, and warring against the catholicity of Christ's body,—then may it ever be the glory of Dissenters, that they do not form a church, have not such a church, and cannot have. Far better to exist as mere scattered, isolated fragments of the mystical body of Christ, which, as such, 'needeth no external polity.'

Some of our Christian observers, however, have taken it into their heads, that Protestant Dissenters have begun to be dissatisfied with this state of things; and that the formation of the Congregational and Baptist Unions, is the result and symptom of this dissatisfaction. They imagine it to be an incipient movement on the part of the ecclesiastical atoms of dissenterism towards organization. We must transcribe the amusing remarks of the Christian Observer upon this head.

'The Independents, or Congregationalists, have lately shown, that, with all their abstract preference for a rope of sand above a well-cemented system of ecclesiastical regimen, they find that some agglutination is desirable; and accordingly, though reprobating presbyteries, synods, and, above all, episcopal jurisdiction, they have invented a new species of machinery, under the name of 'The Congregational Union of England and Wales;' which has regular conferences in London, and holds an 'Annual Assembly,' or Synod—or, to use its own ecclesiastical word, 'Convocation' ('our Great Convocation!')—from which it issues addresses 'to the ministers and churches of the same faith and order throughout the empire;' advising, exhorting, in-

* Acts ix. 31.

structing, or rebuking, as it judges fit, upon the most minute matters of doctrine and discipline. What is this but a virtual abandonment of the independent principle? what is it but the formation of an ecclesiastical œcumenical council? for, though no authority is claimed, and the advice and remonstrances of the 'Convocation' profess to be fraternal, not judicial, yet the very issuing of such an address by such a body is an assumption of jurisdiction; and it implies, contrary to the first law of the Independent system, that it is not desirable that each congregation should be abandoned altogether to its own wisdom and discretion. The dominion of the church of Rome itself grew up by steps as specious, and usurpations at first as unalarming; nay, to this hour the sovereign pontiff professes to be only the servant of the servants of God. A few leaders and delegates meet in a metropolis; they consult together, and issue encyclical letters to their provincial brethren: after a time their power is sensibly felt; enthralment commences, and independence ceases: for though its name may continue a little longer, the influence of the convocation will begin to press increasingly, even to the remotest members: to resist its wishes will become impracticable; to rebel, would be to incur a weight of odium far too heavy for an individual or an isolated society to sustain: the societies will therefore no longer be isolated, but become planets revolving round a central orb: in a word, the congregational system will merge into a system resembling that of the presbyterians, the methodists, the quakers, or some yet stricter rule.'

We agree with a writer in the Congregational Magazine, who has called the attention of his brethren to this jesuitical attack,* that the mischievous purpose of the paragraph is too apparent to be mistaken. It can have been with no friendly view towards Dissenters, that this sneering gentleman counsels the 'congregationalists' to look with a very jealous eye at a central convocation, and to send back its addresses unopened. Had he really thought it likely to be 'a death-blow to congregational independence,' he would have sounded no alarm, betrayed no angry jealousy, indulged in no witless sarcasms. If the Protestant Dissenters read this paragraph aright, they will see in it the ill-concealed alarms of an enemy, wishing to excite jealousy and to perpetuate isolation among them; and they will gather from it additional reasons for upholding a Union which, even in its infant state, has been thought to bode no good to systems of a worldly and compulsory nature.

The writer's vulgar caricature of Congregationalism, betrays at once his ignorance and his bad faith. Congregational Unions, instead of being an innovation, are as old as Congregationalism itself. Instead of being 'a virtual abandonment of the inde-

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* Congregational Magazine, October, 1836, p. 626.

'pendent principle,' they are the consistent and natural result of that principle. The proofs of this statement are so numerous and accessible, that there is no room for doubt or difference of opinion. No sooner had the Independent divines of the Westminster Assembly assumed the form of a distinct denomination, than they issued a 'Declaration of the faith and order owned 'and practised in the congregational churches in England, agreed upon at a meeting of 200 elders and messengers at the Savoy, convened by circular invitations, in December, 1658. The Baptists had put forth a confession of faith as early as 1620. In the preface to the Savoy Declaration, the lawfulness and propriety of holding such conventions in cases of difficulty or difference, is asserted; provided that such synods are not regarded as invested 'with any church power properly so called,' or with 'any jurisdiction' over any churches or persons, so as to warrant their imposing their determinations on the churches or their officers. When the presbyterian and congregational ministers of the metropolis united in 1691, they issued a declaration of their faith, under the title of 'Heads of Agreement,' which appears to have met with very general adoption. The wish to impose these terms of agreement, is expressly disclaimed. 'All pretence to coercive 'power,' it is explicitly stated in the preface, 'is as unsuitable to 'our principles as to our circumstances.' The purpose was, to maintain 'harmony and love' among the churches, by promoting a closer Congregational Union. Accordingly, in the same year, a general meeting of the ministers of Devonshire was held at Topsham, of which the eminent John Flavel was chosen moderator; at which the ministers present declared their full satisfaction with the Heads of Agreement, and their thankfulness to their brethren in London. A similar meeting of the United Brethren of Gloucester, Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, was held at Taunton, in the September following. A meeting of the dissenting ministers of the county of Southampton was held at Fareham in the same year; on which occasion Mr. Samuel Chandler preached a sermon, which was afterwards published, 'On the Nature and Advantages of a General Union among Pro-'testants.' Similar associations were formed in Cheshire, Lancashire, and other parts. In the year 1741, we find Dr. Doddridge dedicating a sermon to the associated ministers of Norfolk and Suffolk; and Mr. Harmer, the learned author of the 'Illustrations,' remarks upon this fact, that 'the practice is not only 'consonant to the Agreement of 1691, but is founded on the 'nature of things, and is *agreeable to the avowed sense of our old 'Congregational divines.*' The 'Communion of Churches' is the subject of a distinct chapter in Dr. Owen's Treatise on the 'True 'Nature of a Gospel Church;' and his language affords decisive

evidence of the views of the founders of Independency.* In further proof that the principle of '*consociation*' has been a distinguishing feature of Congregationalism, we might appeal to the constitution and practice of the American congregationalists; to the 'Platform of Church Discipline,' agreed upon at a synod assembled at Cambridge (Mass.), in 1648; and to the associations of churches which have ever since been kept up in New England. In short, no one who has any acquaintance with the religious proceedings of the Independent and Baptist denominations in this country, can be ignorant of the fact, that county Unions, and district associations of ministers and churches, have always existed among them; that the practice of holding annual conventions, and issuing 'encyclical' letters to the associated churches, is of very long standing; and that the Congregational Union, instead of being 'a new machinery,' is nothing more than the exhibition on a larger scale, of that union which has always more or less been maintained among our churches.

The only novelty in the plan of either Union, is its being a *denominational* one, or embracing the churches of each denomination throughout the kingdom. Had not such a union already subsisted *in fact*, any scheme for producing it must have proved wholly abortive. But circumstances had previously led to so general and so intimate a combination among the churches of each body, for the support of societies and institutions in which they had a common interest, that it only remained to make a formal declaration of the unity thus ascertained to exist, or to give a more outward and visible form to the spirit and principle of union. Nothing has contributed so powerfully to produce this unity of feeling, and to bind together the members of the general body, as the missionary spirit which has been awakened throughout the religious community, and the amicable rivalry of the several denominations in the great Christian enterprise. Our missionary societies have been rallying points, not of party zeal, but of all the vital energy and genuine piety pervading our respective com-

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* 'No church is *so independent* as that it can always, and in all cases, observe the duties it owes unto the Lord Christ, and the church catholic, by all those powers which it is able to act in itself distinctly, without conjunction with others. And *the church which confines its duty unto the acts of its own assemblies, cuts itself off from the external communion of the church catholic;* nor will it be safe for any man to commit the conduct of his soul to such a church. . . . . That particular church which extends not its duty beyond its own assemblies and members, *is fallen off from the principal end of its institution.* And every principle, opinion, or persuasion, that inclines any church to confine its care and duty unto its own edification only, yea, or of those only which agree with it in some peculiar practice, making it neglective of all due means of the edification of the church catholic, is *schismatical.*'—Owen's 'True Nature of a Gospel Church,' pp. 250, 251.

munions; and what has thus been drawn, as it were, to a centre, has been sent back again, as a diffusive principle of life, to all the extremities. This reaction of zeal has tended to produce a general revival of religion; so that, in fact, never were our churches in a more healthy state. Admitting that some false excitement may attend the stir and bustle of our public meetings, and the stimulating addresses of the platform, there is nothing illusive in the interest thus created in the great objects to which the united efforts of all Christians are now directed; and the permanent effect cannot, therefore, but be highly beneficial, in familiarizing the mind to wider and more elevated views of the duty and prospects of the church of Christ. In engaging in the work of foreign missions, we have learned, as it were, the lesson of Christianity afresh; and the church has gained strength in the very act of bracing herself for exertion. So completely has the missionary spirit now blended itself with dissenting institutions, that it may be regarded as the vital principle of Dissent, the decay of which would infallibly be followed by the decline and wasting away, or falling to pieces, of the denomination which should be deprived of it. And it is this spirit which more especially constitutes the churches of each denomination one body, operating as a principle of cohesion, or 'bond of peace.' Yet, instead of making each sect more sectarian, it has done more to promote a catholic intercommunion of different sects, than all the forms of concord, or plans of comprehension, that were ever devised.

For many years, the annual meetings of the several missionary societies have exhibited the heart-cheering spectacle of a metropolitan convocation of each denomination; convened, not to decree articles of faith, not to adjust, by a usurped authority, intestine controversies, not to issue canons of excommunication, but to concert or sanction plans for the propagation of the faith of Christ. The London Missionary Society (though not strictly confined to the denomination) has been substantially a congregational union, and the Baptist Missionary Society a baptist union; and out of these annual assemblies or convocations, the unions appear to have naturally arisen. They have grown out of the fraternal feeling called into exercise by these periodical conventions, which has suggested the desirableness of giving a permanent and visible form to the denominational union. The avowed general objects of the Congregational Union are: '1. To promote evangelical religion, in connexion with the congregational denomination. 2. To 'cultivate brotherly affection and sincere co-operation in every 'thing relating to the interests of the associated churches. 3. To 'establish fraternal correspondence with congregational churches, '*and other bodies of Christians,* throughout the world.'* That

* The objects of the Baptist Union are stated in similar terms.

these are legitimate objects, cannot be questioned; and as little reason is there to doubt, in our opinion, that these objects are likely to be effectively promoted by the formation of these unions. It has been their fate, however, as it has been that of all good institutions, to be assailed with objections, sneers, and sinister prognostications, from more than one quarter, and upon opposite grounds. We have given a specimen of these, in the uncandid strictures of the Christian Observer. Mr. Beverley, in his recent 'Letters on the Visible Church of Christ,' has attempted to throw ridicule on the Congregational Union, for *not* being a machinery of that description which the Christian Observer insidiously represents it as likely to become.

'The Congregational Union,' says this gentleman, 'an experiment of very recent origin, cannot be expected to introduce a better order of things; for it is the fundamental rule and principle of this *quasi* parliament, that it shall not, in any case, be considered a court of appeal! I do not seek to scare this assembly in its infancy, with left-hand vaticinations; but I may, perhaps, hint my fears, that a parliament thus ushered into the world, without power and prerogative, and even, in its weakness, so suspected by some, that they keep aloof from it as a stalking horse of despotism, will never be able to do much good to the churches, nor give much trouble to ecclesiastical historians, in recording its illustrious or even its useful deeds. It seems not improbable, that its chief effect will be to congregate numerous Christians, who dare not trust one another to compose the differences, and remedy the disorders of their particular communities. So far from declaring that this assembly shall not be a court of appeal, it ought rather to be determined, that whenever *the majority of a church* desire to appeal to the Union, the appeal shall be heard, and the appellants bound by the decision; taking good care first that the Congregational Union were a full and free representation of the whole body, unbiassed by the preponderance of clerical influence.' Beverley, pp. 216, 217.

There is nothing new in this ill-considered suggestion. Six years ago, Mr. Walter Wilson published some 'Remarks upon 'the present state of the Dissenting Interest, with Hints for its 'Improvement by means of a Consolidated Union;'* in which he strongly urged the adoption of a 'representative system of church 'government,' or a modified presbyterianism, as one means of 'constituting the dissenting interest one firm and compacted body.' His plan was carefully drawn up, but it met with no better reception than Mr. Beverley's flippant recommendation is likely to obtain from all dissenters who understand their principles. It was objected to, 'first, as avowedly a system, *not of union, but of* 'control; secondly, as adapted to lead to a rash, busy, and mis-

* Eclectic Review. Third Series. vol. v. p. 415.

'chievous intermeddling with the concerns of pastors and their 'congregations; and thirdly, as tending *to secularize our churches*, 'and to create a power which has ever been found more mighty 'for evil than for good.' 'Presbyterianism,' it was added, 'has 'had its fair trial, and it will not thrive in this country.'

It cannot be too explicitly understood, that the Union (we speak of both the Congregational and the Baptist) is not *a scheme of church government*. Its object is not to set up *a church*. It is based upon the recognition of the distinctive principle of Congregationalism, that every separate church is complete and independent *for the purpose of jurisdiction*. All legitimate church power, according to the fundamental principle of Independency, is held to be inclusive in each particular church, and *to be limited to it*, so as to be incapable of extension or delegation to any synodical convention or representative assembly. In this respect, Dr. Barrow, Lord Chancellor King, Mosheim, Neander, and other high authorities, being witness, the Independent Churches are strictly conformed to the primitive polity.

Any apprehension that the congregational system can 'merge 'into a system resembling that of the Presbyterians, the Metho-'dists, the Quakers, or some yet stricter rule,' can arise only from ignorance of the distinctive features and essential character of that system. Presbyterianism is essentially a system of church polity, resting upon coercive power, and trenching upon the province of civil government. It is not in its forms that it differs from independency, so much as in the nature of the jurisdiction to which it lays claim. The Society of Friends is at once a religious and a political corporation; the privileges of membership are hereditary; and its constitution and government present little that is analogous to the churches of the Congregationalists. As to the Wesleyan system, it is further removed, perhaps, from Congregationalism than Presbyterianism itself. Mr. Beverley's picture of Methodism, although too much in the broad style of caricature, is not very far from the truth.

'The Wesleyans do not pretend that their arbitrary oligarchy of priests resembles the order established in the primitive churches. The constitution of John Wesley is an edifice built up entirely by the imagination of man, and, in this respect, has no more claim to our reverence than the fabric of Jesuitism or the government of the Papal hierarchy: it may be useful and clever, and to certain ends may wisely apply certain means, but this is all we can say of it, if we examine it either by the gospel or any decent code of morals; and it is extremely probable, that persons who understand the trick of government might contrive another constitution more clever and more artful than that which at present 'feels along the line' of Wesleyan Methodism.

'The master secret of the society is the consignment of a boundless power to an oligarchy of clergymen, whilst the people are allowed to

play with the forms of power, in the reality of which they have no share. Conference is a camarilla of priests, who, with closed doors, make all the laws by which the society is regulated, and to the high prerogative of expulsion or suspension of any member of the society, add the still more important one of voting, levying, and applying all the taxes, without consulting the people. In other words, absolute power is vested in the hands of a self-elected oligarchy: a form of government the most arbitrary and powerful that can be imagined, as may be seen by comparing John Wesley's system with the now fallen government of the state of Venice.

'With all this apparatus of dominion, there is, however, a large allowance of the forms and semblance of power to the people; they have their district meetings, class-meetings, stewards' and leaders' meetings, and in various other ways are permitted to put forth their energies without opposition, so long as those energies are employed in a way agreeable to their masters. And it is this dexterous arrangement which makes Methodism popular with the multitude; for every one who has any desire to be active may immediately find a field for his activity by taking a part in the complicated business of his sect, and in some way or other may so occupy himself as to appear to his own eyes, at least, of some importance. All the while, however, there is the jealous eye of authority anxiously watching the busy movements of the incorporated workmen; and if perchance they trench on forbidden ground, if they question a decree of Conference, if they demand any reform, or resist any ordinance of their superiors, or even, by remote tendency, seem to desire an enlargement of popular influence, immediately a stern and inexorable Superintendent quashes all their proceedings, and makes them feel that though Conference only sits once, and that for a short time, every year, yet it never slumbers nor sleeps so as to drop the sceptre which it received from John Wesley's hands. In vain is it for the remonstrants to battle out their cause, however clearly justice may be on their side, through all the various courts of appeal which Methodism seems to offer to its oppressed members:—some bar of authority, some interstice of the net of power, embarrasses them at every turn; and, at last, a grand and verbose epistle from Capreæ cuts off the remonstrants, as putrid limbs of the body, and consigns them to the dogs and sorcerers, who are for ever shut out of the walls of Wesleyan Methodism.' pp. 171—173.

We say, then, that any jealousy of the Congregational or the Baptist Union, as a scheme of jurisdiction, is utterly groundless; first, because their constitution does not admit of any jurisdictive power being vested in them; and secondly, because such power is unknown to Independency, nor would any controlling power be submitted to. They are unions, not of ministers, but of churches, represented by their pastors and lay delegates; and it is impossible that their annual meetings should otherwise than faithfully reflect the sentiments and feelings that animate the general body.

Having, we trust, satisfactorily disposed of this insincere or cap-

tious objection, we shall very briefly advert to one or two more of a different description. The most plausible, or at least that which seems the best entitled to respectful attention, is grounded on the idea, that these Unions, being denominational, seem to erect the standard of sectarianism. Many good men, whose liberality of opinion makes them almost feel ashamed of belonging to any particular section of the church of Christ, have even warmly deprecated any plan for giving greater compactness of organization, or more of a visible unity, to the denomination to which they ostensibly belong. We respect the feeling, but regard it as springing altogether from mistaken views. We have already remarked, that the same expansive spirit of missionary zeal, that has tended to knit together, in closer union, the several churches of the same denomination, has also brought into more cordial intercommunion the different denominations. It is a grievous mistake, to imagine that the churches of the same faith and order must, by drawing closer together, separate themselves in mass more widely from other communions. Were it proposed to circumscribe the denomination by new and arbitrary terms of communion, to impose restrictions upon the ministry, to exact conformity to articles of faith or some solemn league and covenant, or to set up any ecclesiastical polity, there might be reason to fear that the effect would be to widen and inflame our sectarian differences. The recent proceedings of the Synod of Ulster hold out a warning in this respect, which may well deter congregationalists from trusting any clerical body with either legislative or jurisdictive powers. But, as regards other denominations, the consolidation of our own union is a step towards a more fraternal correspondence with the other parts of the Christian body.

To establish such a correspondence is, as we have seen, one specific object of the Congregational Union; and the result has justified the expectations of its founders. Bodies of evangelical Protestants heretofore separated by trivial differences and sectarian jealousies, have publicly joined in the mutual recognition of each other as sister communities. A more catholic feeling has been superinduced, before which the rigid rules of ecclesiastical etiquette have given way. We hail these practical concessions as a token for good to the common cause. Little is gained by isolated instances of liberality. Were an Episcopalian of the church of England to recognize in the fullest manner the validity of nonconformist ministrations, by admitting his dissenting brother to his pulpit, and were cases of this liberality to become frequent, and to be connived at by those in authority, we should still have made but small advance to a catholic communion of evangelical denominations. Yet, nothing beyond this seems practicable, till the associated churches of each body are enabled to act as a denomination, and to receive and reciprocate in their

united capacity the fraternal recognition of other protestant bodies. We must be seen to agree among ourselves, before we can invite others to a closer agreement with us. We must organize our own union, before we can hope that any more general approximation to unity can be brought about. We must, in a sense, become more visibly and distinctly sectarian, in order to become ultimately more catholic.

The Baptist Union avow it to be their object, 'to promote 'unity of exertion in whatever way may best serve the cause of 'Christ in general, and *the interest of the Baptist denomination* '*in particular.*' This last clause may be thought by some persons to savour of sectarian narrowness: but how can we better promote the cause of Christ, than by promoting the spiritual prosperity and efficiency of any one portion of the Christian body? A cordial attachment to the distinctive principles of our own denomination, and a peculiar anxiety for the religious interests of that section of the church, is perfectly compatible with the most enlarged liberality of feeling towards other communions. Latitudinarians are often the greatest bigots; and of all sectarians, your *no-denomination* men, ecclesiastical non-descripts, are generally found the most schismatical in spirit, the most exclusive in their preferences, and the most peremptory in their opinions. Nothing is gained by the substitution of *cliques* for sects. The most circumscribed denomination is, after all, a wider circle than the little sphere of an ecclesiastical coterie. In the United States, the absence of the artificial distinctions of rank, has led to the arbitrary subdivision of society into a ridiculous and vexatious gradation of *castes*. Something of this kind would be the result, were it possible to break up our sectarian distinctions in the present state of the church: we should only substitute party divisions for denominational ones.

We hear it asked with a sneer, what has the Union done? Its alleged inefficiency is dwelt upon with something like exultation; and in the tone of sarcasm which Mr. Beverley has caught, it is predicted, that ecclesiastical historians will not have much trouble in recording its illustrious or even its useful deeds. In the spirit of Sanballat, these observers of our building are heard exclaiming, 'What do these feeble *dissenters?* 'Will they fortify themselves?'—In reply to all such sneers and vaticinations, we might refer to the contents of the Reports before us, as showing that the objects of these Unions have been efficiently promoted by the progress which has been made towards collecting statistical information, and organizing a more general combination of effort among the churches, as well as by the demonstration presented to the world, of the substantial unity of sentiment and correspondence of feeling which pervade our deno-

minations. It is something gained, to have wiped away the reproach cast upon our dissenterism, as opposed to all harmonious co-operation or social 'agglutination.' It is something achieved, to have triumphed so far over the antiquated prejudices and ultra-Independent jealousies which have too long kept us from acting up to our principles.

We must confess, that we are not anxious to see a much greater degree of *executive* efficiency exerted by the committees of these Unions. The more rigidly they restrict themselves to the specific business from time to time confided to them by the General Body, the better. The Union can properly *act* only in its annual conventions. In the interim, the objects of the Union will be best carried into effect by means of the district associations throughout the country, to revive and assist whose local operations ought to be one main business of the central committee. Some of these associations may have sunk into a state of inaction and disorganization. In other districts, they yet remain to be formed. In not a few stations of obscure usefulness, faithful ministers are toiling amid many difficulties and discouragements, uncheered by the sympathy and sanction of their brethren. To such individuals the Union will extend a helping hand; and brought into connexion with the general body, they will no longer be depressed by the feeling of isolation. Many have returned to their distant stations from the annual assembly with gladdened hearts and recruited spirits, thanking God and taking courage from what they have witnessed and participated. But a system of itinerant visitation, such as has been found so beneficial in maintaining the activity of our auxiliary Bible Societies and Missionary Societies, will be indispensably necessary in order to consolidate the denominational Union. The country associations must be visited, and information be obtained by local inquiry. There would be constant employment, in this way, for the undivided labours of a secretary or other officer of the Union, who ought not to be penuriously remunerated for his services. No pastoral charge could be equal in importance to this official trust, or would require more distinguished wisdom, experience, and ability. Being invested with no jurisdictive power, with no authority to bind or to loose, to ordain or to depose, this delegate would exercise no functions at variance with the most rigid principles of Independency. Some of the old nonconformists, indeed, were accustomed to make almost diocesan circuits in visiting the churches which they had planted or watered. Thus it is recorded of the Author of the Pilgrim's Progress, that, 'by the visitations that he made, 'which were two or three every year, some, though in jeering 'manner no doubt, gave him the epithet of Bishop Bunyan; 'while others envied him for his so earnestly labouring in Christ's

'vineyard.' We want *such* bishops as Bunyan; and by such visitations as his, our churches would be richly benefited. But we must not indulge in any further suggestions. What these Unions are destined to effect, will, after all, mainly depend upon the amount and quality of piety, if we may so speak, that shall be thrown into the working of the system. Those plans and institutions come nearest to the arrangements of the Divine wisdom, although the furthest removed from human policy, which depend most absolutely, for efficiency and permanence, upon the living and conservative principle.

Art. VI. *Report of Select Committee on Negro Apprenticeship. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 13th August,* 1836.

THE recent history of Colonial legislation has amply verified the predictions of the abolitionists, and shown the folly of those ill-judging and misguided statesmen, who calculated on the co-operation and honesty of slaveholding law-makers. The uniform procedure of the colonists for some centuries might have preserved reflecting men from expecting any thing like straight-forward and efficient legislation from them. So long since as 1792, Mr. Canning lifted up his warning voice against any such confidence; and in language, not less just than eloquent, said, 'Trust 'not the masters of slaves in what concerns legislation for slavery! 'However specious their laws may appear, depend upon it they 'must be ineffectual in their application. It is in the nature of 'things that they should be so. Let then the British House of 'Commons do their part themselves. Let them not delegate the 'trust of doing it to those who cannot execute that trust fairly. 'Their laws can never reach, can never cure, the evil. There is 'something in the nature of absolute authority, in the relation be-'tween master and slave, which makes despotism, in all cases, 'and under all circumstances, an unsafe and unsure executor 'even of its own provisions in favour of the objects of its power.' But Mr. Canning's warning and the experience of ages were alike disregarded by Lord Stanley and his supporters: and the result has been what every impartial man expected. The apprenticeship system has been so far adopted as was necessary to secure to the colonists the monstrous grant of twenty millions, which in an hour of prodigal liberality the imperial government voted them. Needy and bankrupt planters, together with interested noblemen, merchants, and others, have clamorously demanded their share of the national grant, and have then turned round and insulted the

people of this country by refusing to devise such measures as are necessary to the beneficial working of the new system. Another chapter has been written in the history of evasive and tortuous legislation; the phraseology and the forms of freedom have been employed to conceal the practice of slavery, and thus perpetuate the wrongs which had aroused the indignation of the British public. The statutes which have been passed, in professed conformity with the letter, have grossly violated the spirit of the imperial act; and the negro population, while avowedly invested with new rights, have been mercilessly deprived of a large proportion of the few comforts which they possessed under the old system. A transition state has been created by the humanity of the mother country, which the colonists have endeavoured to render as miserable as was possible, so that it yet remains a problem whether the *present* condition of the negro be preferable to that from which he has emerged.

This state of things was foreseen from the first. The advocates of immediate and entire abolition in the very heat of the struggle, maintained that any scheme which fell short of a complete recognition of the freedom of the slaves, would either be found impracticable, or be administered in the spirit of the old system. They therefore protested both against the apprenticeship and against the power delegated to the colonial legislatures; and when their memorials and petitions were rejected, they threw the whole responsibility of the measure upon the government, and forewarned them of what would follow. Their predictions did not remain long unfulfilled. Information of the most painful character soon reached this country through a variety of respectable channels, stating that slavery was abolished only in name, and that a thousand methods were adopted to annoy and irritate the black population. So strong were the representations made to the friends of the negro, that they again took the field, and at a public meeting held at Exeter Hall, May 15, 1835, resolved, that a committee of inquiry was absolutely necessary, to investigate the state of the *law* and the *practice* under the new system in the colonies. In pursuance of this resolution, Mr. Buxton, June 19, 1835, moved for a committee: but after an interesting debate, he consented to withdraw his motion, in consequence of certain statements made and pledges given by Sir George Grey.

From this period evidence of the sinister policy of the colonists began rapidly to accumulate, and Mr. Buxton was therefore enabled, in the early part of last year, to lay such a case before parliament, as to obtain, on March 22, the appointment of a select committee 'to inquire into the working of the apprentice-'ship system in the colonies, the condition of the apprentices,

'and the laws and regulations affecting them which have been 'passed.'

That committee have directed their attention principally to Jamaica, and have made a report on so much of the evidence laid before them as affects that colony. Their report, and the evidence on which it assumes to be founded, are now before us, and if we followed our own inclinations we should immediately proceed to these documents. We are tempted, however, to defer such an examination to our next number, and in the meantime to employ a few pages in pointing out to our readers the position of the question at the time the committee entered on their inquiry. This is the more important, as it will throw light on the intentions of the British government, and acquaint the English public with the measures which have been adopted to frustrate their benevolent design.

It will be remembered, that when Lord Stanley introduced his resolutions, on which his bill was afterwards founded, to the attention of the House of Commons, he not only explained its principles, but adverted to its details, and the spirit in which he intended it should be carried into effect. We make one extract from his lordship's eloquent speech, explanatory of his views and intentions, which it will be important to bear in mind.

'He proposed that every negro should, from that day—or perhaps he ought to have said from the day in which this act should be passed —not after a year or two, but forthwith, be entitled to claim to be put in such a situation as would prepare him to enjoy all the rights and privileges of a free man—a situation in which he would no longer bear about him any taint of a servile condition—in which he would be released from the atrocious system of irresponsible corporal punishment in which he would be in the full enjoyment of all his domestic ties and comforts—in which he would not be compelled to see his nearest and dearest connexions insulted by the whip, or by the threat of the whip—in which his evidence would be received in all courts of justice either for or against his employer, as freely as that of any other of his Majesty's subjects—in which his right to property, of every description, would be as undisputed as that of any other of the king's subjects—in which he would enjoy every right and every privilege of a free man, subject only to this restriction, that he should be under a contract to labour for a certain time industriously for his present owner, who would then only be his employer. Perhaps it would be as well for him to meet here the objection, 'How will you deal with the multitudinous restrictions with which the colonial legislatures have fettered the slave?' He would sweep away all those restrictions at once *by decluring the negro a free man.* From the moment he was declared a free man, the restrictions which applied to him as a slave would cease to apply to him in his capacity of a freeman. The negro, being no longer a slave, would be entitled to contract marriage; his evidence would be indis-

putable; his right to property would be admitted; he would be entitled to seek the religious instructor he liked best; and, in a word, as he had said before, he would enjoy every privilege of a free man, upon the condition of consenting to labour for a given time upon a particular soil. He could not believe that even if the matter stood thus, and thus only, this proposition could be considered such an infraction on the freedom of labour as would justify or hold out a temptation even to the most eager, the most anxious advocate of unqualified emancipation, to hesitate in giving his assent to the boon of freedom, coupled as it was with such trifling restrictions.'

In conformity with these statements, the twelfth clause of the Slavery Abolition Act expressly declares, 'that all and every 'the persons, who, on the 1st day of August, 1834, shall be holden 'in slavery within any British Colony as aforesaid, shall upon and 'from and after the said 1st day of August, 1834, become and be 'to all intents and purposes free and discharged of and from all 'manner of slavery, and shall be absolutely and for ever manu-'mitted:' subject to the condition of an apprenticeship for a limited period, during which they should be liable, being prædial apprenticed labourers, to perform any labour for their employers not exceeding in the whole, in any one week, forty-five hours. (See clause 5.)

On the 19th of October, 1833, Lord Stanley addressed a circular despatch to the Governors of the Crown Colonies, in which his lordship distinctly states, that his Majesty's government will not allow them to sanction any ordinance imposing greater burdens on the negroes than those of the Imperial Act.

The whole of his lordship's dispatch is important, as fixing the principles and pointing out the spirit in which his Majesty's government expected the colonies would act. His lordship states that,—

'On effecting throughout extensive dominions of the crown so vast a change as that from slavery to freedom, his Majesty's government (and parliament agreeing in their views) deemed it indispensable to provide for a transition state, of longer or shorter duration, but of which they fixed the maximum, during which the present master and slave should continue bound to each other by mutual obligations, securing to the one a limited portion of labour, and to the other a certain maintenance and protection; and the principal objects of these enactments was, to make temporary provision for the continued cultivation of the soil, and good order of society, until all classes should gradually fall into the relations of a state of freedom. Of the obligations of this intermediate condition, some were directly imposed by parliament, some were by the same authority expressly forbidden to be imposed; others again were left within certain limits, to be fixed by the local legislatures. But as these legislatures were expressly authorized to fix the term of this apprenticeship, provided it did not exceed a certain duration, so it is clearly within their province, should they deem it

safe and prudent so to do, to dispense with it altogether, and to pass at once to a state of unrestricted freedom. I do not anticipate the probability, and I should be disposed to doubt the prudence of such a course; but, in the event of the legislative council coming to such a decision, you will not, on that account, hold yourself bound to refuse your concurrence in an ordinance framed upon that principle, as being repugnant to the act of the imperial parliament. But you will distinctly understand, that you will not be authorized to consent to any ordinance creating an intermediate state of a different description, or subjected to the restrictions of a different nature from those contemplated by parliament. The term of apprenticeship may be *shortened;* the hours of compulsory labour may be *fewer;* the burden imposed may be made *lighter;* but no distinctions must be drawn between those at present free, and those at present slaves, of a different character from, or to a greater extent than those which have been sanctioned by parliament. As you will consider yourself precluded, by your instructions, from sanctioning any ordinance which may prolong the duration of the intermediate state, or impose any heavier burdens upon those who are in that state, so you will likewise withhold your sanction from any ordinance perpetuating or continuing after the termination of that period, any distinctions or exclusions arising out of a previous servile condition.'

But how stands the fact? We will not inquire whether the just expectations of the friends of the negroes have been complied with, but whether the moderate requirements of the noble lord have been honestly met.

By the imperial act, the negroes were guaranteed in return for their labour as apprentices,

First, 'Such food, clothing, lodging, medicine, medical attendance, and such other maintenance and allowances as by any law now in force in the colony to which such apprenticed labourer may belong.'

Second, 'The enjoyment, for their own benefit, of that portion of their time during which they are not required to labour in the service of their respective employers.'

Third, Protection from 'any cruelty, injustice, or other wrong or injury which may be done to or inflicted upon any such apprenticed labourer by the persons entitled to their services.'

Fourth, Exemption on the part of the female apprenticed labourer from corporal punishment 'by whipping or beating her person.'

Fifth, The transfer of the power of punishing the apprenticed labourers from the local magistracy, planters, &c., to stipendiary magistrates specially appointed by the crown.

Sixth, Unrestricted liberty of access in their own time to the religious teachers they may prefer.

Seventh, The right to purchase their discharge from apprenticeship, even against the will of their employers.

It will be seen, by the 16th clause of the Imperial Act, that

unless these advantages are fully secured to the negroes, by colonial laws, or orders in council, such laws, or orders in council, are 'declared to be absolutely null and void, and of no effect.'

On the 12th of February, 1834, Lord Stanley announced to the Marquis of Sligo, that 'adequate and satisfactory provision' had been made by law, in the colony of Jamaica, for giving effect to the British act. His Lordship stated, however, at the same time, that his majesty's government had not overlooked the existence of various defects in the act, which had been thus sanctioned. They were aware, also, that by withholding his majesty's approbation of the act, they would have been furnished with an argument, of almost irresistible force, in favour of such amendments and alterations as they might propose. 'But,' adds his lordship, 'although they will not be compelled, by the motives to which I 'have alluded, to acquiesce in the suggestions which will be 'offered to them, for the purpose of remedying the imperfections 'of the act, they will nevertheless receive and adopt them in *that* '*spirit of confidence and good will*, which I trust will henceforth 'always be found to exist between the colony and his majesty's 'government!'

How far the Jamaica assembly were entitled to the generous confidence thus reposed in them, might be satisfactorily shown, did our limits permit, by a critical review of their remedial enactments, which professed to meet the suggestions offered by Lord Stanley, in so conciliatory and even so deferential a tone. It may suffice to observe, that all the most important of the propositions—all those which would have been of general application, and have conferred practical benefit on the apprentices, were contemptuously disregarded. In proof of what we advance, we would instance the third suggestion, limiting the master's right of imprisoning his apprentice (a right unceasingly abused) to such cases as would justify, under existing laws, the temporary restraint of persons of free condition. And again the eighth item in his Lordship's list of defects, respecting the appropriation of fines imposed on the master, for wrong and injury to the apprentice, and proposing, that out of those fines, the special magistrate should be empowered to award compensation to the injured apprentice, instead of the whole amount, as at present, being appropriated to the public service.

And lastly, the concluding suggestion, urging the necessity of some specific regulations, bearing the 'strictness of legal obligation,' for enforcing the due and regular supply of food, clothing, &c. during the term of apprenticeship, and which, by the tortuous and treacherous wording of the first act, had been virtually left unprovided for.

These flagrant instances of bad faith, (and they are by no means all that might be quoted), abundantly testify that the confidence,

so courteously expressed, in the integrity of the Jamaica legislators was most miserably misplaced. Yet, defective as was the act in question, and scanty as were its beneficial amendments, it was limited in duration to the 31st of December, 1835.

The Earl of Aberdeen, who was then Colonial Secretary, in his despatch to the Marquis of Sligo, dated 15th January, 1835, noticed the limited time for which it had been passed in the following terms:—

'I have great satisfaction in announcing to your lordspip, that his majesty has been graciously pleased to accept the act for the amendment of the slavery abolition act, as a satisfactory compliance with the advice conveyed to the local legislature by Lord Stanley in obedience to his majesty's commands. I remark, however, that the operation of these amendments is, by the final clause, limited to the 31st December of the present year, although the act of which it is an amendment will continue in force till the expiration of the apprenticeship. This is a very serious ground of objection, nor can his majesty's government consider the legislature of Jamaica as having fully acquitted themselves of the duty to which they were called, until the amendments shall have been rendered as enduring in point of time as are the original enactments.'

How the Jamaica legislature have deserved the confidence thus placed in them, or acquitted themselves of the duty to which they were called, will be seen hereafter. We proceed with our remarks. Not content with the power over the apprentices, which they had secured for themselves, by the acts they had already passed, the Jamaica legislators, true to the principles which had ever governed them, passed a third act, 'to amend and explain and 'repeal part of 'the Slavery Abolition Act,' and for other purposes,' which contained provision to render compulsory manumission, already in a great degree neutralized, almost impossible; to deprive the negro of the limited protection allowed him by the two preceding acts; to reintroduce the old system of irresponsible punishment, and the establishment of penal gangs, and other modes of punishment, on estates; still further to vex, irritate, and oppress the negroes, by unwarrantable punishments, interference with conjugal and parental intercourse, suspension of friendly meetings and amusements, and a wanton destruction of the negroes' property: last of all, to reintroduce the outrageous and disgusting practice of flogging females.

This act unfortunately received the sanction of the Marquis of Sligo, in December 1834, and continued in force until a recent period, when it was disallowed by his majesty's government, after having inflicted on the apprenticed labourers a vast amount of evil.

When this subject was brought before the House of Commons, in the session of 1835, Sir George Grey said, that the objections properly raised against the first Jamaica act, were remedied by

the second or amending act; and that the third act had been disallowed. On the 31st December the second act expired; and the first act, with all its defects—we should rather say manifest violations of the letter and spirit of the British act—remained the law.

The Marquis of Sligo earnestly recommended the renewal of the second Jamaica act, in the form in which it received the sanction of his majesty, to be in force during the remaining period of the apprenticeship. Did the Jamaica legislature comply with this reasonable request? No. They refused to renew their amending act, unless still farther clogged with such provisions, as would make the condition of the apprenticed labourers worse than it was before their emancipation took place. They actually introduced into it some of the very matter which had been contained in the disallowed act; and this was done, says one of the public prints of the island, in order to show that the assembly is independent, and can do as it pleases!

Another important measure, namely the Police Bill, they refused to pass for a longer period than one year; notwithstanding the powerful reasons adduced, and the urgent solicitations of the Governor in its favour, who declared it to be essential to the safe and satisfactory working of the apprenticeship. It also appears, that clauses restricting the rights and privileges of the apprenticed labourers, to a most unwarrantable extent, were introduced into this bill also; and it was anticipated, that if no other reason existed, this would prove fatal to its becoming law.

'This kind of legislation,' says a Jamaica paper, 'is doubtless considered very proper by some of our wiseacres. Fortunately, there are others to be consulted, the British government and the people, who it appears paid, or agreed to pay, twenty millions to put the negroes into a much worse condition than that in which they previously were. The specimen of enlightened legislation alluded to, is, to use Mr. Leslie's favourite mode of expression, quite refreshing. It will prove to the philanthropists of Great Britain, the absolute necessity of putting an end to a state of probation, which is daily becoming more irksome and oppressive than the late one of slavery, and to the government the propriety of narrowly scrutinizing every enactment emanating from the legislature of this colony.'

Upon a careful and thorough examination of the subject, it was found, that the law for the government of the apprentices was in the highest degree objectionable. Its character may be gathered from the following statement, submitted to the attention of Lord Glenelg, in a memorial presented by the anti-slavery societies on the 14th August, 1835.

'The regulations for the purchase by the negro of the remaining term of his apprenticeship, are vague and insufficient.

'The power placed in the hands of vestries, with regard to the sup-

port of aged and infirm negroes, may be cruelly and unjustly exercised.

'The regulations respecting the mode of appraisement of the value of the negro, are in a high degree arbitrary and unjust.

'No remedy is provided for the parent, child, or other relative, who by any omission or mistake of the special justice, shall have been separated from his family!

'The regulations with respect to food, maintenance, and allowances, are extremely unsatisfactory, and open to great abuse.

'Enormous discretionary powers are unreasonably confided to single special magistrates; in some cases, no less than that of dooming to uncompensated servitude, until the age of twenty-one years, every child born of slave parents, not of the age of six years at the commencement of the period of apprenticeship, or born of apprenticed parents any time within it, if adjudged by such magistrate to be not sufficiently provided for.

'The apprentice may be compelled to work for the benefit of his employer for a longer period than is necessary to indemnify for the loss of time incurred by the apprentice's absence, extending to three days' labour for half a day's absence.

'Though provision is made to compel the apprentice to indemnify the employer, no provision is made for compelling the master to indemnify the apprentice for loss arising from any act of his.

'No provision is made with regard to the hours of consecutive rest, which are in all cases essential to the negro; whereas, as the law now stands, the fifteen hours of extra labour awarded as a penalty, may be so apportioned, as to force the labourer to continue at work for forty-two hours in succession.

'A single act of inebriety taking place in the apprentice's own time, may be punished by the forfeiture of four days' labour for the advantage of his employer.

'For the indefinite offence of 'insolence,' thirty-nine stripes may be inflicted.

'For the careless use of fire, or the mere cutting off a cane-stalk, the negro may be punished by three months' imprisonment, or fifty lashes.

'A power is given to a single special justice to condemn a labourer summarily to six months' hard labour, for any riot on the part of three or more apprentices.

'For carrying a knife in his pocket, the apprentice may be punished by thirty-nine lashes, and the forfeiture of the 'offensive weapon' to his owner.

'The enactments relative to the arrest of negroes by estate constables, and the time they may be kept in confinement, are indefinite, and open to great abuse.

'The negro, for making complaints which may be deemed groundless, may be punished by the forfeiture of double the length of time occupied on the occasion of making them.

'A special justice may substitute a longer period of solitary confinement for hard labour, than that awarded by the original judgment.

'Power is given to a single special justice to sentence any apprenticed

labourer, convicted of 'indolence,' 'neglect,' or 'improper performance of work,' in addition to punishment by flogging, hard labour, or solitary imprisonment, to continue at work for any such number of hours or days, in his or her own time, for the benefit of the person entitled to his or her services, 'as the justice of the case may seem to require,' not exceeding fifteen hours in any one week; so that for an act of 'indolence,' or 'neglect, or 'improper performance of work,' a single special justice may, by possibility, deprive a whole gang of labourers of fifteen hours of their own time in each week, during the whole six years of their apprenticeship, or even beyond that period.

'This extraordinary enactment, which your petitioners conceive would have been sufficient alone to warrant the total rejection of the act, has been passed over, even without observation.

'Your petitioners believe such an unlimited discretion could never have been contemplated; though it is understood, in point of fact, that under this, or similar clauses, punishments have been recommended, if not awarded, within the last year, which are to take effect in 1841.

'Regulations are adopted relative to the removal of apprentices from their provision-grounds, which are both harsh and unjust.

'The regulations with respect to the provision grounds, and the substitution of allowances in lieu of them, are indefinite, and liable to great abuse.

'The enactments relative to the hours of labour are indefinite, and also liable to great abuse, and to the infliction of great hardship on the apprentice.

'The powers given to the special magistrate, as they regard the manager and the apprentice, are unequal and unfair. In the latter case, this power extends to six months' imprisonment, to fifty stripes, to the right of depriving him of fifteen hours' labour in any week during the whole period of the apprenticeship, and also of prolonging that apprenticeship one whole year; whilst his authority over the manager extends only to a maximum penalty of 5*l.* currency, or five days' imprisonment, which he is not *required,* but merely *empowered* to inflict.

'The remedy given to the apprentice, of proceeding against his master by action at common law, is nugatory in his hands, as he has not the funds to enable him to do so.

'The enactments, authorizing the extension of the term of apprenticeship in certain cases, for one whole year, are carelessly worded, and liable to abuse.

'The assessment of damages are left to a *single* special magistrate.'

It is unnecessary to touch specifically on the Jamaica Vagrancy Act, because it has been disallowed. We may, however, observe, that it amounted virtually to an imprisonment of the negroes in their respective parishes; with the perpetual privation of arms, and even of such necessary implements as may be drawn within the meaning of 'offensive weapons,' the use of which, and even

of the freeman's right of locomotion, were made to depend wholly on the arbitrary construction of a colonial magistrate. By the restrictions put upon migration, the *time*, *industry*, and *talents* of the negroes were virtually placed at the disposal of the territorial proprietor; upon whom the negroes were thus rendered absolutely dependent for their very subsistence. And by the erection of an inquisitorial surveillance over the minutest *movements*, *circumstances*, and *conduct* of the negroes, accompanied with the power of *examining upon oath* the party accused, as to the *matter of accusation*, and of inflicting loss of *property* and *personal liberty*, with *corporal punishment* at *discretion*, a magisterial despotism would have been established, which, if permitted to continue, would have left the friends of slavery little to regret at its extinction.

The Jamaica Highway Act contained several most oppressive enactments against the apprenticed labourers; indeed every attempt was made, where it could be done, to foist clauses into their acts oppressive to the negroes.

Upon a careful review of this subject, we are constrained to say, that His Majesty's government committed a great error in sanctioning so imperfect a piece of legislation, as the first Jamaica act; which is found wholly inadequate to secure the rights and immunities given to the apprenticed labourers, by the slavery abolition act; and that the House of Commons committed a still greater error, in confiding to the colonial legislature the power of making such subordinate arrangements, as might be deemed needful for carrying their intentions into effect. Unguarded confidence in them was not warranted by any previous act of theirs; and the consequence has been, that the decision of parliament has been in a great measure stultified, and the negroes, hitherto, little if at all benefited by the change. At all events, the House of Commons ought never to have parted with the power of exacting a rigid compliance with its solemn decisions.

In 1833, Mr. Buxton told the house how the planters would act; and begged them to reserve half the compensation fund, till the liberation of the negroes was completed. They trusted the planters, and refused his proposals. Again he told the house, in 1835, that the act passed by the Jamaica legislature was not 'adequate and satisfactory,' and begged them to keep the compensation in their hands till it was made so. Credulous still in the good intentions of the planters, they refused his proposition; and what is the result? The representative of his majesty in that colony found himself unable to carry the wishes of his majesty's government into effect. On the 4th August, 1835, the Marquis of Sligo called the House of Assembly together, for the purpose of re-enacting the Police Bill, and the act in aid of the abolition law, both expiring at the end of the year. In reference to the

former measure, his Excellency said, 'the police has been of such 'great public utility, as to render *its continuance absolutely essential* '*to the preservation of tranquillity, and the maintenance of proper* '*discipline on estates.*'

The house was impracticable; and after a short sitting of six days, during which they prepared a disrespectful reply to his message, he found himself compelled to dissolve it.

On the 13th October, the governor convened the new House of Assembly for the despatch of business; and it was expected that but little difficulty would be experienced in carrying those measures, which he had previously recommended to their adoption. The members of the new house, however, positively refused to comply with his Excellency's requisition. Disappointed by their factious opposition, his lordship, on the 16th December, sent them a message, in which he says,

'His Excellency is instructed to draw the particular attention of the assembly to the series of liberal and conciliatory measures which have marked the demeanor of the British government towards this colony during the last four years; the loan of £500,000 sterling; the dispensation from the pledge, first for one year, and subsequently continued to the present time, as to the military supplies, the acceptance of a very imperfect abolition bill, and the declaration, that it was adequate and satisfactory, in the reliance that the legislature would make the necessary amendments, and as a consequence of that declaration, the immediate recognition of the title on the part of the colony to share in the compensation fund, which is at this moment in course of payment.

'If all these sacrifices, demonstrating, as they do, the anxious desire of government to deal with the assembly upon terms of liberality and mutual confidence, are to be met by a continued resistance to the adoption of the important measures so earnestly urged upon them as connected with the abolition of slavery; if the question of a police bill is to be annually revived as long as the apprenticeship continues, his Excellency cannot admit the policy of foregoing another year's military supplies, nor would his Majesty's ministers be able to assign to the Lords of the treasury or parliament any satisfactory ground for continuing an indulgence on this point, the repetition of which has failed to produce a corresponding disposition on the part of the assembly, to conciliate and co-operate in giving effect to the great objects which parliament and the British people have so much at heart.

It was thus rendered evident, that all attempts to conciliate the planters were vain. To the last moment they will struggle to maintain their power. Habituated to the exercise of despotic authority, they deem it essential to their welfare; and listen to the language of freedom with a deep-rooted abhorrence, which Englishmen are incapable of appreciating. The hope of the negro is consequently founded on the enlightened and Christian people of this country. His expectations have hitherto been

bitterly disappointed. He has been mocked by the language of freedom, and then goaded to madness by a sense of present oppression. The cup that was handed to his lip, and of which he was about to drink with such feverish delight, has been dashed to the ground, by the folly of British statesmen, and the malignant chicanery of colonial legislators. Little has in fact been done to restore his rights, much less to recompense his wrongs. The crimes and the cruelties of ages are yet unatoned; and unless British justice and British energy interpose, even the year of jubilee, now so near, and so devoutly looked for, will close upon this ill-fated race, without witnessing their restoration to the rights and immunities of the human family.

Art. VII. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The second volume of the History of Protestant Nonconformity, by the Rev. Thomas Price, is in the press, and will shortly appear.

The Twelve Minor Prophets in Coptic, with a Latin Translation, by the Rev. H. Tattam, M.A., F.R.S., has been published by the University of Oxford, the same able scholar is now preparing Ezekiel and Daniel in the same way, from Coptic MSS. in the Royal Library in Paris.

Literature and Art.—Bent's List of New Books and Engravings for 1836, with their Sizes and Prices, exhibits a decrease of New Publications last year, the number of books amounting to 1250 (1500 Volumes), exclusive of New Editions, Pamphlets, or Periodicals, being 150 *less* than in 1835. The Number of Engravings is 93 (including 40 Portraits), 17 of which are engraved in the Line manner, 66 in Mezzotinto, and 15 in Chalk, Aquatinta, &c.

Speedily will be published, the First Part of an entirely new work, entitled Mechanics of Fluids, comprising Hydrodynamics and Hydranlic Architecture, illustrated by Practical Examples, and numerous Engravings in Wood and Copper-Plates.

In immediate preparation, a History of British Birds, in 2 vols., by Mr. Yarrell; and a History of British Reptiles, in 1 vol., by Mr. Bell. These works, with the British Fishes, now complete, and British Quadrupeds now in course of publication, will complete a Uniform Series of the Vertebrate Animals of Great Britain, in 6 vols.

In the press, a volume of Sermons, by the late Rev. Samuel Summers, of Bristol. To be published by Subscriptions. Names received by the Rev. T. S. Crisp, Bristol, Rev. E. Steane, Camberwell, and the Rev. T. Price, Finchley.

Just ready for the press, a small volume on the Nature, Constitution, Officers, Government, Discipline of a Christian Church, Character of its Members, Objects at which they should aim, Duties which grow out of their Relation, &c., by George Payne, L.L.D., Exeter. This little work will support the principles of Congregationalism; but is intended to be explanatory, and practical, rather than controversial.

Mr. H. Herring is on the point of publishing "The Napoleon Medals;" a series of 1200 Medals, struck in France, Italy, Great Britain, and Germany, in Commemoration of the principal Events of Napoleon's Life, and engraved in the same style as the "Great Seals of England," by the Process, Achilles Collas, or *new French Machine.*

Mr. Crofton Croker has announced the Life of Roger Boyle, first Earl of Orrery, who performed so conspicuous a part in the reign of Charles I., under the government of Cromwell, and in effecting the restoration of Charles II.

In the press, and will appear early in February, Proofs and Illustrations of the Attributes of God, from the facts and laws of the Physical Universe, being the foundation of Natural and Revealed Religion. By the late John Macullock, M.D., F.R.S., &c.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

For MARCH, 1837.

Art. I.—1. *Proposals for the Creation of a Fund to be applied to the Building and Endowment of Additional Churches in the Metropolis.* By Charles James, Lord Bishop of London.

2. *Annual Report of the Incorporated Society for promoting the Enlargement, Building, and Repairing of Churches and Chapels.* 1836.

3. *Congregational Magazine.* Supplement, 1832.

4. *Congregational Magazine.* Supplement, 1835.

5. *Congregational Magazine.* January, 1836.

6. *Missionary Register.* December, 1836.

THE object of the present article is simply to ascertain (principally by an appeal to statistical facts) the comparative capabilities of the voluntary and compulsory methods of supporting and diffusing religion. In that mighty expansion of the nation, which has taken place within the last sixty years, its spiritual necessities have far, very far outgrown the means which the Established Church can supply, at least as its revenues have been or are likely to be distributed. This is universally admitted, and indeed is most loudly affirmed by the Church itself, which is every year more strenuously appealing to that *voluntary principle*, which so many of its advocates have inconsistently proscribed. Now it is the principle of those who advocate the compulsory system, that it is the duty of an establishment to provide for the spiritual wants of the *whole* population, and they assert that the voluntary system is totally inadequate for this purpose. We are far from pretending that either has as yet accomplished the object; but we inquire what has been the *measure* of their respective exertions to meet the increased demands of the nation; what the *degree* of their present efficiency; and above all, what are the symptoms of health and vigour, or of decrepitude and decay, which severally charac-

terize them? That the voluntary system is now in greater activity and energy than it ever was before, is universally admitted. Can this be said of the opposite system? Is it not on the wane? Is it not notorious that while the population and the spiritual wants of the nation are increasing beyond all precedent, the difficulties of obtaining parliamentary grants, or of throwing the support of religion on taxation, are becoming every day more and more manifest; and that if comparatively little has been done in this way during the last fifty years, still less will be done in the fifty years to come? While the population may increase indefinitely, is there any, the slightest chance, that the aids of the legislature will be indefinitely extended too? What then becomes of the theory? Must it not be given up as impracticable?

It will be observed, that in this article we confine ourselves *to this single point*, and do not enter upon the question of the expediency of an establishment *in general*. It is true that the question of the expediency of a State Church is in our opinion intimately connected with the question now under discussion, and will be ultimately decided by it; but it is obvious that they *may* be viewed separately, since the voluntary principle is already extensively acted upon by the Church itself, and we have not the slightest doubt will be acted upon more and more vigorously. We do not compare what is done by Churchmen with what is done by Dissenters; but what is done by the *voluntary* system (whether operating within the Church or out of it) with what is done by the *compulsory* system. We add that our observations are confined to England and Wales.

But what do we mean by the voluntary and compulsory modes of supporting religion? We answer, that by the latter we mean that system which throws the support of religion upon *taxation;* the system which compels men to contribute to the maintenance of forms of faith and worship to which they may be indifferent, or to which they may be conscientiously opposed; by the former, we mean the system of appealing for the support of religion to *moral inducement alone*. The voluntary system consequently will include even endowments so far as they are *voluntary;* in a word, all the various forms in which money is voluntarily contributed for this purpose: it includes the large and the small donation; the occasional and the stated subscription; the widow's mite and the rich man's guineas; the daily, weekly, monthly, yearly contribution; the pound note which is given to the casual applicant, or the splendid bequest which is destined to endow a theological college or aid the magnificent enterprises of missionary philanthropy.

We have been thus particular in explaining what we mean by the voluntary system, because many have hastily supposed that endowments are *in their very nature* opposed to it. Now it is

plain that the only system that is *opposed* to the voluntary system is the compulsory, while endowments may clearly be either voluntary or compulsory.

Whether endowments are likely to be on the great scale and in the majority of instances beneficial, is another question. Many, judging from their past most disastrous history, may think them so inexpedient, and so fearfully liable to abuse, as to view them with universal suspicion. On this question we do not enter at present, although we may just hint in passing that we think there are some hitherto untried modes of employing them *in conjunction with other forms of the voluntary principle*, by which they might be rendered of very considerable utility. At the same time we again say, that at present we enter not into this discussion. All we are anxious to show is, that as far as endowments may by any possibility be supposed capable of any useful application, the voluntary principle is not incompatible with them; *voluntary* endowments being, in fact, only one of the many modes in which that multiform and mighty principle exerts itself.

Taking the words 'voluntary principle,' in this just and only consistent sense, a large though indeterminable portion of Church property itself is the fruit of the voluntary system; that is, it is property originally made over by free gift or bequest to ecclesiastical uses; and if the consideration of it at all affected the object of our present inquiry, we should have just as much right to adduce at least a large portion of it as a proof of the energy of the voluntary system, as our opponents have to adduce another large portion of it as a proof of the efficiency of the compulsory system. But this has nothing to do with our present object; which is to inquire what the two systems have done, and what they are now annually doing, to meet the demands of the times, the frightful wants of a rapidly increasing population. Supposing the revenues of the Church (if they had been properly economised instead of being so tremendously abused), adequate a century ago to meet the wants of the nation, has the compulsory system exhibited any thing of that expansive character, that power of prompt and immediate self-adaptation, requisite to meet the exigencies of the case? or has it done a fourth of what has been and is *annually* effected by the self-sustained energies of the voluntary system. Let it never be forgotten that the theory of the compulsory system is, that an establishment is bound to provide religious instruction for the whole population.

Before we enter on the calculations necessary for ascertaining these points, we would beg to indicate some few of those many advantages of the voluntary system, which would appear at once to stamp its superiority to the compulsory.

The *first* is, that it is in more obvious harmony with the spirit and character of Christianity itself. Without descending to the

examination of particular passages of Scripture, we would simply ask the inquirer to reflect on the general aspect of the gospel considered as a moral system. The only homage it seeks, and we may add, the only homage it will condescend to receive, is that of the heart and of the will. It openly declares that a constrained obedience is totally worthless. Is it likely then, we ask, to sanction a *mode* of supporting it so utterly alien from the character it designs to form in the hearts of men, and the principles of action it enjoins on them? or that while it demands of those who *have become* its disciples a purely voluntary obedience or none at all, it can approve as a means of *making* them its disciples, the involuntary, constrained support of its enemies and deriders? Upon such an hypothesis, Christianity is supposed to be aiming at a purely spiritual and moral dominion; but in order to attain it, is not unwilling to appeal to compulsion,—to taxation and civil penalties. In other words, there is a flagrant discrepancy between the ends it contemplates, and the means by which it would compass them.

Let it moreover be considered, that as such is the character of Christianity, so, in the earliest and best days of its history, it strictly adhered to that character. When it achieved its greatest and most splendid triumphs, it depended only on its self-created and self-evolved energy; while engaged in the conquest of the world, in the demolition of every form of heathenism, it relied for the support of its ministry, and for the organization of that aggressive system by which it reclaimed province after province, and kingdom after kingdom from idolatry, solely on the free-will offerings of the faithful. It is often said in reply, that miracles have ceased, and that the civil government now supplies their lack of service. It must be confessed, that the substitute is but a poor one; very much worse, we presume, than that of a wooden leg for one of flesh and blood.—But we answer, first, that we are now speaking of the mode of raising the necessary *funds;* and though miracles were twice employed to multiply 'loaves 'and fishes,' we never heard that they were wrought to multiply gold and silver. Secondly, that the state of things to which we are referring, continued long after miracles had ceased in the Christian Church. If then Christianity in her best days and amidst her most splendid triumphs appealed to no other source of support than her own self-derived and self-sustaining energies, we again ask, is it not fair to presume that this is the method she most approves, and that she designed that her conquests should ever be achieved in the same self-consistent manner; that there should always be the same beautiful harmony between the end and the means, between the character of the system itself and the instrumentality by which it was to be supported; and that, seeking only an entrance into the heart, she would not commence

her appeal to it by awakening its worst jealousies and suspicions, or by exposing herself to the sarcasm that it was seeking the *love* of mankind—by compulsion! Surely, surely she would not so belie her own professions, and indirectly frustrate her own objects.

That the voluntary system is, in *general* estimation, more accordant than the compulsory with the principles and spirit of Christianity, is plain from this fact, that while there are hundreds of thousands who affirm that the compulsory support of Christianity is utterly opposed to that spirit and those principles, we never heard of an individual who was senseless enough to maintain that the *voluntary* support of it implied any such violation. That the one, therefore, is not at war with the principles of Christianity, is agreed; that the other is not at war with it, a large and daily increasing party deny.

A *second* advantage of the voluntary system over the compulsory, and which arises from its being more in harmony with the character and spirit of Christianity, is, that it places itself above suspicion, and deprives the man of the world of what have always been his favourite and most effective arguments; those, we mean, which have been drawn from the rapacity and secular spirit of the Christian Church. The infidel cannot scoff at it as a system founded on injustice and sustained by plunder; he cannot taunt it with cheaply supporting itself at the expense of the disaffected or the unbelieving: and surely to those who consider how necessary it is that Christianity, whose element is peace, should work in peace; who consider the tremendous evils which have resulted from the desperate contentions with which the compulsory system is fraught; how necessary it is that a religion which professes to contemplate only a moral and spiritual ascendancy should be placed above even suspicion, that it should not subject itself to the charge of employing any other weapons than those of 'ethereal temper,'—to those who consider these things, this advantage alone of the voluntary system will justly appear to outweigh all the dear-bought, and at best equivocal advantages, of the opposite. If it be true that 'where envy and strife are, there is confusion and every evil work,' is it nothing to gain for Christianity a fair field of action? Is it nothing to be able to say to the unbelieving and disaffected, 'of 'our own have we given? We covet no man's silver or gold; with 'what can you upbraid us?' Or can it be denied that the spectacle of a religion sustaining itself by its own exhaustless energies, and the glorious demonstrations which it thus gives of its own inherent vigour, are more likely to make a deep and favourable impression on the unbelieving world than a system which depends upon taxation? The Independents, Baptists, and Methodists can say what the Establishment *cannot:* 'We sit beneath '*our own* vine, and *our own* fig-tree, none daring to make us 'afraid.'

A *third* advantage of the voluntary system is, that it involves in *its very working*, not only the permanent support and diffusion of Christianity, but the development of Christian character and principle in *those by whom it is worked.* Its immediate object is aggression upon the world; but in the accomplishment of this object, it re-acts most beneficially upon its own supporters. "It is twice blessed, it blesses him who gives and him who takes." Personal religion is not a mere collection of abstract principles—but of principles in action; to be worth any thing in the estimation of the gospel, these principles must be practically developed, and wrought into the soul by habit. Christianity, therefore, must necessarily have made provision for the due exercise of these principles; and can we conceive of a more magnificent or appropriate sphere for their exercise, than is provided by its leaving to its disciples the task of fulfilling its own beneficent designs? Does not this duty tend to bring immediately before the mind of the sincere Christian, at every step, the claims which his religion has upon him, the obligations of practical benevolence; to make benevolence *a habit*, and to accustom it by continued exercise to more sublime efforts. Let us contrast with all this the operation of the compulsory system. We have *seen* its influence in innumerable instances. We speak, therefore, from facts which have fallen under our own observation; and we doubt not, our readers can verify our assertion by a similar experience of their own. The tendency then of the compulsory system is to remove to an immense distance all ideas of individual responsibility, the claims which Christianity has upon each man's spontaneous and strenuous exertion. He has compounded with the law for the amount which his own benevolence should contribute to the support of religion, and he thinks that when he has paid the miserable modicum demanded of him in the shape of church-rates and taxes, he has done all that he needs to do. To this cause alone can we attribute the lamentable fact, constantly insisted upon by members of the Establishment, that, in numberless places in which the population has far out-grown the means of religious instruction which the Establishment supplies, no effort, from generation to generation, has been made by the state church to remedy the evil; the fact is, that the church, if it has felt the evil at all, has been waiting and waiting for some parliamentary grant, or some more vigorous appeal to church-rates. And even where the Establishment *has* exerted itself by a partial application of the voluntary principle, it has usually been the result of some previous movement of Dissenters. In an immense majority of cases the Church has been already anticipated by the efforts of the schismatics. Even if the amount, however, paid by law, were as great, and as promptly furnished, as that drawn from the voluntary system, the great argument now insisted on in favour of the

latter, would remain entire: we mean, the beneficial reaction on the characters of those who support it. The opportunities of developing and maturing Christian principle would still be all on the side of the voluntary system.

A *fourth* advantage of the voluntary principle consists in its *expansive* character. It tends to strengthen and propagate itself. The voluntary system, and the habits of energetic philanthropy which it tends to foster and mature, mutually act and re-act upon one another. The more deeply the claims of Christianity are felt, the more active will be the voluntary system; the more energetic the voluntary principle, the more constantly and immediately those claims will be brought before the mind; while every fresh success in the great struggle with the world, will bring another and another portion of the human race under the influence of the same motives, 'to the help of the Lord against the mighty.' Thus the power of the voluntary system goes on increasing in a sort of geometrical ratio, and it is altogether impossible to calculate the amount of that influence which only a few years hence will be brought to bear on the destinies of man. The case is just the contrary with the *compulsory* system. As we shall shortly show by an appeal to facts, the day of its greatest energies is past; it is collapsing; contracting its capabilities just when its greatest efforts are required. Its resources and its energies have continued to diminish in an inverse ratio to the demands made upon them. The difficulties which oppose its energetic operation, are daily increasing; and it must be so, unless the whole nation heartily approved not only of that *particular form* of religion which it was called to support, but of *such a mode* of supporting it. Under such circumstances the most magnificent grants, and most ample revenues, might be lavished on this object. For reasons already stated, we should even then deny that such revenues, however ample, could be attended with results so beneficial as the same amount of money raised by the voluntary system. But as it is, there is no chance of such revenues being realized at all. Parliamentary grants are of rare occurrence; they are obtained with greater difficulty, at longer intervals, and in smaller amount—while the very existence of church-rates is extremely problematical. Can there be any doubt, on the part of any sagacious observer of the times, that whatever the Church of England may have received in days that are past, the time will shortly come when not another shilling will be granted her from the pockets of the people? But we need not wait a single moment to determine the *virtual* impracticability of the compulsory system; it is demonstrable now. The *theory* of that system is, that an establishment is bound to furnish the whole population with the means of religious instruction. The inadequacy of the present means is

admitted on all hands; now, if a number of commissioners were appointed by government to determine fairly on the amount of the deficiency, and were then to make a demand on the legislature for the necessary grants, is there a churchman so sanguine as to imagine, for a moment, that such grants could be obtained; or is there one so uncandid as not to allow that, in the present state of this country, the application would be utterly absurd? We say nothing here as to the *injustice* of the compulsory system, though that is in fact the prime cause of its failure. We are simply arguing that, whether good or bad, it is *effete;* virtually and practically inefficient.

We have often thought that the futility of the usual objections against the voluntary system on the score of its inefficiency, may be met by a very plain and simple argument. As far as we know, it has never been insisted upon by the writers on this subject—a fact which, we confess, somewhat surprises us, since it has the peculiar merit of being founded on premises which Churchmen and Dissenters both admit. It is conceded then that Christianity will be universal; that it is to be 'the glory of all lands;' that it shall triumph over all the forms of heathenism, and supplant every other creed and worship. Now, how is it supposed this mighty conquest is to be achieved? Did it ever enter into the head of any man, even of the most frantic advocate of the compulsory system, that this was a proper subject for the deliberations of Parliament, or that we were to have Parliamentary Missionary Societies, as well as a Parliamentary Church. Or, is it expected that the age of miracles will be restored for the purpose of securing the universal triumphs of Christianity? No; but all, at least all sane people, believe that it will be effected by that energy which is *inherent in Christianity itself*, by that energy which itself creates and evolves in the very progress of its principles, and which is even now operating on the world with a constantly cumulative force. This it is, and this alone, which, independent of all aid from the intermeddling state, is securing the translation of the Scriptures into every language and dialect under heaven; sending Missionaries to the remotest corners of the earth; scattering immortal blessings on every shore and over every clime; and making England 'the riches of the world." This it is which is causing the thrones of darkness to tremble, and shaking to the dust the ancient fabrics of superstition and idolatry: and yet, though it is admitted to be equal to all this, it cannot, it seems, secure or retain the dominion it has acquired in any given province, without the aid of the civil power! It can conquer, but it cannot hold its conquests! It can introduce, by the energy of the voluntary principle alone, a pure and heavenly faith into the regions of the darkest heathenism; yet it cannot perpetuate its sway where it

has been introduced, except by calling in to its aid the compulsory system! In other words, it can accomplish the greater, but cannot accomplish the less!

It is true the civil support of Christianity may be put upon other grounds than the supposed *inefficiency* of the voluntary system, although these grounds, in our opinion, are quite as weak as the rest; but we are now, be it recollected, arguing with those who *do* justify an establishment on such grounds; while they, nevertheless, admit that in one form or another, this inefficient principle is to effect the moral subjugation of the world. Let us hear no more then of the inefficiency of that principle, unless its opponents mean to abjure the belief of the ultimate universality of the gospel, and of all those precious promises by which the Bible secures it to us.

The only considerable objection against the voluntary system (and it has often been vehemently insisted on) consists in its alleged inability to meet the wants of rural and thinly peopled districts. It is affirmed that the proper sphere of its operation is the city or the large manufacturing town, and that it can do little or nothing in villages or hamlets. It may be justly answered, first, that the full strength of the voluntary system is not yet developed; that it is every year augmenting its *self-produced* revenues and extending the field of its operations, and that it is unfair, therefore, to represent it as inadequate to any of the demands that may be made upon it, until its exertions, like those of the compulsory system, have reached a limit. Secondly, that it is not pretended by the advocates of the voluntary system that every village and every hamlet can, by its own voluntary efforts, fully supply its spiritual wants, but that such deficiencies may be supplied by the voluntary efforts of more wealthy and densely peopled districts. In this way already have the deficiencies of hundreds of such remote places been supplied. A large and populous town is usually a centre of holy effort and zeal, from which radiate light and knowledge to the surrounding country. In a vast majority of cases the new-born zeal of the church (as usual, behind the voluntary system,) on behalf of those much compassionated spots, has been first roused by the aggressive efforts which the voluntary system has previously made upon them. It has been the attempts at spiritual colonization from the neighbouring town—the establishment of a Sunday-school by a band of devoted and unpaid teachers, who travel four, five, six miles, and often, as we well know, a much greater distance, to their weekly toil—the rumour that a house has been hired, and licensed for the unauthorized preacher, and the unwelcome glare of the lights which stream from its windows of an evening over the wintry waste—it is these things, which in hundreds of instances have awakened the slumbering zeal of the church, and

urged her to the reluctant task of meeting and counteracting the voluntaries; it is these which have, in numberless cases, been the sole causes of Church Sunday-schools, and an additional service in the parish church; it is such things as these which have often compelled the clergyman to exchange his meagre sermon for one of decent dimensions, or, hard necessity! to preach twice instead of once; while, unaccustomed to such Herculean labour, he has been obliged to lay in a fresh stock of lithographed, manuscript or printed discourses.

But though we believe the energy of the voluntary system, when fully developed, abundantly sufficient to meet the demands of the whole population, by supplying from the rich the wants of the poor, and from cities and towns the necessities of villages and hamlets, it may be a question what peculiar forms and combinations of the voluntary principle can be rendered most efficient for this purpose. And here the question returns to which we referred at the commencement of this article, as to whether endowments—voluntary endowments of course we mean—might not be susceptible of a very beneficial application. They must, however, be combined with other forms of the voluntary principle, and applied in some hitherto untried methods. When relied on alone, all experience serves to prove, that they are of very equivocal benefit, and in the greater number of cases, operate only as a dead weight upon the system they are designed to serve. But might it not be possible to guard against all such evil results, and to secure the advantages they are calculated to confer, unmixed? For example, there are many villages and hamlets in which the annual sums raised by the voluntary system, even when the people are willing to exert themselves to the utmost, will not average more than fifty or sixty pounds a year. It is plain that this sum, though as much, it is true, as is often given by the rich incumbent of the Church of England to his starving curate, is utterly inadequate to support a respectable minister. It is equally clear that the necessary amount must be made up from some extraneous source. We rejoice to know that the deficiency is often supplied in point of fact, by county associations—by public funds, collected for this very object—by the aid of neighbouring churches or wealthy individuals. Still there are many cases where this aid is not obtained, or not permanently; while in all cases it is desirable, if possible, to place the village pastor beyond these precarious contingencies. Now the question is, whether in such cases the system of *voluntary endowments* might not be rendered extensively beneficial without the slightest danger? Let us suppose some benevolent individual casting his eye upon some place which could not by its utmost efforts raise more than fifty or sixty pounds a year, and then vesting in the hands of the county association an equal sum, to be *annually* granted to that place so

long as the people should continue to raise the same amount,—where would be the danger? The endowment in each case would merely compensate for inevitable deficiencies on the part of the people, and of course would vary in amount in proportion to the extent of those deficiencies, being larger where they could do little, and less where they could do much. So far from repressing the voluntary system, it would rather tend to maintain it in full activity, since the very condition of enjoying the endowment would be that the voluntary spirit of the people must be always exerted to the utmost; while the number and the respectability, the public character and the divided interests of the party to whom the administration of the funds would be intrusted, would form so many guarantees against any abuse in that quarter. We confess that the only considerable argument which at present strikes us against such a plan, is founded on the sudden changes which, in a state of high civilization like ours, often occur in the condition of small places; changes which transform hamlets into towns, and villages into cities. To this it may be replied that there are numberless places, the peculiar locality and other circumstances of which render such changes immeasurably improbable; that at all events such revolutions cannot occur for centuries; that, even if they should then occur, so small a sum of money would have been well laid out in the maintenance, during so long a lapse of time, of a respectable, well-educated, and efficient ministry; and lastly, that even in the event of so improbable a revolution, the smallness of the endowment would render it perfectly innoxious. When a village becomes a large and thriving town, it requires not one, but several places of worship, and its voluntary energies are not to be repressed by an endowment of fifty or sixty pounds.

We shall now proceed to lay before our readers a comparative view of what is done by the compulsory and voluntary systems, to supply the increased and increasing wants of the country, of the means (additional to those the Church has long possessed) which they furnish to meet the exigencies of our times. We do not pretend that we can do more than approximate to the truth; we maintain, however, that our calculations are sufficiently correct to justify the conclusions to which we have arrived, and that in general the statements on which our reasonings are founded are rather below than above the truth. This will perhaps be denied; we can only say that we are willing to abide the issue of a more extended and accurate ecclesiastical survey of the country. We are perfectly convinced that when such a survey is made, it will be proved, that if we have erred at all, we have not erred on the side of exaggeration. Nor let it be supposed, that by an appeal to the results of such a survey, we have put off the decision of the question *sine*

die. The materials for a full judgment will be presented to the country much sooner than is generally imagined. The indefatigable labours of the editor of the Congregational Magazine, to whom is to be ascribed the merit of having first drawn the attention of the country to these important subjects, have already done much to remove the obscurity in which, a few short years ago they were involved. He has now been engaged, for some years, in these extensive and interesting investigations, publishing the results from time to time with the assistance of a large number of correspondents, both in the metropolis and in the country, and approximating every year more nearly to exactness. In prosecuting the inquiry, he has united great diligence with great sagacity; and considering the immense labour involved in the enterprise, and the extreme difficulty of obtaining materials in the first instance, has entitled himself to the warmest gratitude of all dissenters. The Congregational and Baptist Unions are also doing much to facilitate more accurate inquiries on these interesting subjects. The latter, in its recent report, has furnished a mass of highly important and valuable details with respect to the condition and progress of the Baptist denomination. We feel confident that these bodies will not rest till the religious statistics of all the voluntary communities in the kingdom have been as fully illustrated as the subject will permit; till all the ramifications of this great system have been accurately traced, and its operations, in every department, made, as far as is possible, matter of arithmetical calculation. On this must after all depend the full demonstration of the efficiency of the voluntary system. The day when that demonstration may be triumphantly appealed to, will doubtless be hastened by the inconsistent zeal of the church itself, which is appealing more and more loudly to the very system which so many of its indolent and selfish partisans deride.

The statements and reasonings of the following pages are founded on facts, taken from the various sources to which we have already adverted.* Our task, for the most part, has been simply that of combining and reasoning upon those facts; of attempting to work out the problem, as to the gross amount raised by the voluntary system, from the scattered data before furnished. At the same time, we must remark, that in some instances, where we could not obtain the necessary data from any published documents, we have instituted fresh investigations for ourselves. We have already intimated, that we cannot pretend to do more than

* The principal facts have been extracted from parliamentary documents; from the report of the 'Incorporated Society for promoting the enlargement, building, and repairing of churches and chapels;' from the reports of the Congregational and Baptist Unions; from the Congregational Magazine, (which has furnished us with by far the most important of our details); and from individuals on whose accuracy and honesty we can fully rely.

approximate towards the truth, since our reasonings are sometimes necessarily founded on data less comprehensive than could be wished. But we again affirm our conviction that we have rather understated than overstated fact, and that we are willing to abide the issue of a more extensive and accurate survey.

It will not of course be expected, that we should be able to specify *all* that is given for the support of religion by the voluntary system. Its modes of operation are so multiform; its absolute total is made up of so many small sums; individual efforts and private munificence enter so largely into it, that all we can pretend to do is to furnish a tolerably accurate estimate of the *principal* items of its vast expenditure.

The chief articles of its expenditure then are as follows. 1. The support of ministers, stated and itinerant. 2. The building, repairing, and enlarging of chapels; the purchase of ground; legal expenses; insurance; parochial rates; cleaning and lighting; in many cases, the salary of a clerk; in some others, the salary of an organist; the building, repairing, and enlarging of Sunday schools, or the hiring of rooms in which to hold them, &c. 3. Various religious and charitable societies, in connexion with each of the larger places of worship, as 'district visiting, tract and sick 'societies;' relief to the poor members, raised by contributions on every sacramental Sabbath, &c. 4. The support of academical institutions, for theological students; and lastly, extensive aid to the missionary and bible societies, &c. We shall presently see, that with regard to many of these objects, the church is also acting extensively on the voluntary system.

But to begin with the dissenters. What then is the number of their congregations? The Congregational Magazine for December, 1835, on evidence which we think cannot be impugned, states them, including Independents, Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Roman Catholics, and the Home Missionary stations, at 8,414. The last are stated at 453.*

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* It is true that many of these Congregations are small; but on this subject the editor of the Congregational Magazine well remarks:—

'It appears from the best authorities, that the number of Episcopalian churches and chapels in England is 11,825, giving to the established denomination 3411 more places of worship than are possessed by all the other denominations united. It is possible that some ardent Churchman will not be satisfied with this, and will protest against the introduction of our Home Missionary stations, and other such humble places of worship, into the account at all. We cannot, however, admit that protest, and shall show reasons why their number ought to be much increased.

'It doubtless has a very imposing sound to talk of 11,825 churches and chapels, but what will our readers say, when we prove that more

I. Now the first question is, what is the annual cost of maintaining a perpetual ministry in all these congregations?

The salaries of dissenting ministers vary from £50 to £600. There is a class, though a comparatively small one, whose income does not exceed that of the lowest grades *of curates in the establishment*, that is from £50 to £70; a far larger class whose incomes vary from £70 to £100; a class larger still whose income varies from £100 to £200; a considerable number whose salary ranges from £300 to £400; some whose income amounts to £500, and a few (we admit this number to be inconsiderable), whose income exceeds it. It is to be observed, however, even with regard to the lowest class, that their small salary is often augmented by other means (though still strictly supplied by the voluntary system) than the contributions of the people to whom they minister. We refer to the various societies and funds insti-

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than half of them are not equal to our Home Missionary stations in the number of their worshippers!

'It is generally known that the population of the parishes is very unequal, but few who have not attended to the subject would expect to find it to the extent which the following summary of the parishes and townships of England demonstrates, and which we extract from the Report of his Majesty's Commissioners on the Poor Laws.

Parishes, with a population of						
From ..	.. 2	to	.. 10	souls		54
From ..	.. 10	to	.. 20	..		145
From ..	.. 20	to	.. 50	..		511
From ..	.. 50	to	.. 100	..		1117
From ..	.. 100	to	.. 300	..		4411
From ..	.. 300	to	.. 500	..		2843
From ..	.. 500	to	.. 800	..		2042
From ..	.. 800	to	1000	..		733
From ..	1000	to	2000	..		1409
From ..	2000	to	3000	..		402
From ..	3000	to	4000	..		199
From ..	. 4000	to	5000	..		122
From ..	5000	to	10,000	..		239
From ..	10,000	to	50,000	..		116
From ..	50,000	upwards		..		10

'Thus it appears that there are 6308 parishes in England alone, that have only an average population of 120 souls each. Now it must be remembered, that about three-tenths of that number are children under ten years of age, and other two-tenths are made up of the sick and the aged; it is therefore obvious, that if we assume that all the villagers are disposed to go to church—but alas! how unlikely an assumption!—there will not be an average of more than sixty persons who *can* attend public worship in each of these parish churches.'

tuted for this very purpose, as the Congregational Funds;* the Baptist Home Missionary Society;† the Baptist Fund;‡ the general Home Missionary Society;‖ together with the large sums distributed in aid of this object by the county associations;§ Not to mention several other lesser funds, or the large contributions often given by wealthy individuals towards the support of village pastors. There is besides, in not a few instances, a house or garden, or both, attached to the chapel, and in some others an endowment. What then, upon the whole, may be presumed to be the *average* income of these ministers?

The fullest statistical information that has yet been given, is with reference to the Congregational Churches, and it is with relation to them therefore more particularly that our calculations have been made. Their Churches are estimated, in the Congregational Magazine, at 1840. We have pursued a threefold mode of ascertaining what may be the average sum they raise for the support of their ministry from all the above mentioned sources, and in each case have arrived at very nearly the same result.

First, we have calculated the incomes of all the ministers in a certain county with the circumstances of which we are well acquainted, and *by no means noted* either for wealth, population, or *dissent*, and we find the average somewhat above £120.

Secondly, we have taken certain districts in *various parts* of the country, neither the very richest nor the very poorest, including neither cities nor any *very* large towns, nor containing only villages and hamlets; but districts in which moderate towns and populous villages are intermingled; and here too we find the average about £120. Not trusting simply to our own calculation, we have requested some friends to pursue the same course with respect to such localities as they are well acquainted with, and the result has generally been the same.

Thirdly, upon an inspection of the lists of the Congregational Churches published in the Congregational Magazine for 1835, we observe there is about one tenth, or about 180 congregations, which may be presumed to raise £300 a year and *upwards*. Many of them raise £400, some £500, and a few £600. But we are willing to average them at £300. Now, if one tenth raise £300, it is natural to suppose that there is at least an equal proportion which raise any given smaller sums But we will *not* suppose this. *We will suppose that two*

* We include under this, the revenues of two or three Societies, whose income we are unable to ascertain.

† £1,856 9 4 ‡ £2,901 1 1 ‖ £5670 4 7

§ The last report of the Congregational Union mentions, that by a return from twenty counties alone, it appears that not less than between five and six thousand pounds had been annually expended in Home Missionary purposes. All the above-mentioned money does not go to ministers, but the far greater part does.

tenths raise absolutely nothing : that one tenth raise but £50, and another £80 each; that a sixth tenth raise but £100; a seventh but £120; an eighth £150; a ninth £200; the tenth £250. This again will give an average of something more than £120 for the whole.

We have reason to believe that this average might be affirmed of the congregations of all the denominations. But in order to meet the cavils which might be urged against the uncertainty of such calculations, we will fix the average of the £8414 congregations at £10 less, or at £110. This will give a result of £925,540; and *less* than this we are confident it is not.

II. The next point to be determined is the amount raised for the various purposes mentioned under the second head; that is, for building, repairing, and enlarging chapels and Sunday-schools, and for all the incidental expenses incurred in the maintenance of public worship. The cost of chapels varies from £500 to £5000; while some have cost not less than £10,000 and £12,000, and two or three £14,000 or £15,000. What may be the average sum raised by each congregation for these purposes it may be difficult to say. In a very interesting paper inserted in the Supplement to the Congregational Magazine for 1832, entitled "An Account of Five Congregations of Protestant Dissenters in Country Towns in near Vicinity to each other," the writer states that the *annual* sum raised for building alone by these five churches, *for the last twenty years*, has averaged £538, giving a yearly average in each of £107. 12s. The writer of that article is well known to us; and a more judicious, dispassionate, sober-minded man, does not exist. But as these congregations average an ordinary attendance of 900 or 1000, it may be objected that this is by no means a fair average; and we admit it: 'for though,' as the writer says, 'in cities and large towns the amount would very 'greatly exceed that stated, in villages and other districts it would 'fall greatly below it.' But then it is to be taken into consideration that this £107. 12s. includes only *one* of the many items classed *under this head;* and indeed very far from the *whole* even of that: for it is to be observed, that a very large portion of the sum raised for building is obtained, not merely by congregational collections, but by private application to the wealthy and benevolent in our cities and large towns. There is always a number of ministers soliciting contribution for the poorer places of worship with which they are connected; and many of our readers know benevolent individuals whose occasional contributions for this purpose alone, would considerably exceed a guinea *per diem*. But as we have already stated, the above mentioned sum only includes *one* of the many items we have classed under this head. What then, are the incidental expenses of maintaining public worship in each of these 8,414 congregations? We

know that in many metropolitan churches those expenses considerably exceed £100 a year. One congregation, whose average does not exceed 450, and of which we have received an account from a person perfectly acquainted with all its expenditure, pays for this purpose alone £90. *

Now we have seen that the average sum raised by five country congregations, for building purposes alone, was £107 12*s.*; and we know that there are many congregations which pay considerably more than £100 for merely *maintaining the beneficent machinery* they have set up. But, in order to be quite safe, let us suppose that the congregations, generally, raise little more than *half* the above-mentioned sums, for building, repairing, and enlarging chapels and schools; and to meet the *inevitable* expenses connected with the *constant* maintenance of public worship; this will yield a total of £1,000,000.

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* We are tempted to give the account of the sums annually raised by these 450 persons:

Incidental Expenses	£90	0	0
Fund for Poor Members	80	0	0
Sick Society	20	0	0
Missions	60	0	0
Sunday-school	19	11	0
Building Fund	61	10	0
Fund for Poor Ministers	29	4	6
Academics	20	0	0
Pastor	380	0	0
Christian Instruction Society	5	0	0
	765	5	6

Thus this congregation raises a sum averaging more than a guinea and a half a head, *children* included. It is proper to observe, that this congregation does not contain a single individual of great wealth in it.

We proceed to give another from a source on which we can most fully rely:—

The average attendance is about 750. The sum these 750 persons raised during the past year (1836) was £2,600; thus averaging nearly £3. 10s. for every man, woman, and child. The writer of the account states, that the sum would be much larger if he had added the sums given in the way of annual subscriptions to the Bible and Missionary Societies, as well as to the Societies, Academics, &c., connected with the denomination to which the church belongs. 'None of these subscriptions,' says he, 'have been taken into the account.' He has confined himself to the congregational collections.

From equally authentic sources we have been informed of many churches, neither the largest nor the wealthiest amongst the Dissenters, and located in different parts of the kingdom, whose annual contributions to the cause of religion generally, exceed one guinea per head, children and even infants included. Such is the energy of the voluntary system. Some of these churches are Congregationalists, and some Baptists. Can any thing show more conclusively than these statements the energy of the voluntary system, or mark more emphatically the infamous injustice of compelling those who thus voluntarily exert themselves, to contribute to the support of a system which they disapprove, and from which they derive no benefit?

III. But, as we have already stated, many of these congregations have various local societies connected with them, as 'district visiting societies, societies for relieving the sick, and tract societies.' To these must be added, the expense of vestry libraries, of purchasing books for Sunday-schools, and the liberal aid given to poor members; to which last object the collections made at the Lord's Supper are generally devoted. It may be said, that many congregations contribute little or nothing under these heads. We admit it: and, for the sake of argument, will suppose that two-thirds of the whole number of churches raise *nothing* for any of these purposes, although those who are acquainted with the Protestant Dissenting congregations well know, that this is far beyond the truth. What, then, do the remaining third, consisting of 2804 congregations, raise? It will be seen, that the congregation of 450 individuals, the items of whose expenditure we have given in the preceding note, raise £119 11*s.** for such purposes. We will again, for the sake of argument, suppose, that these 2,804 churches raise only the half of this, or £60; a statement, we firmly believe, also below the truth. The gross sum then raised for these purposes will be £168,240.

IV. The next article of expense is the theological academies. These, together with the two Congregational schools for the education of sons of ministers, and one or two other institutions of a similar kind, annually cost £30,000, *beside the expenses of buildings.*

V. The next item consists of the sums raised in aid of the great *voluntary* societies for the spread and diffusion of the gospel at home and abroad. It is true that Churchmen themselves contribute to many of these societies; nay, some of them belong exclusively to the Church. But this does not affect our argument; our design being, not to show what this or that denomination does for the support and propagation of the gospel, but what the *voluntary system* does, whether out of the Church, or in it, as compared with the *compulsory* system. The statement of the revenues of the following societies we have taken from the Missionary Register for December, 1836, edited by a venerable and excellent clergyman. That publication has also given an account of the societies instituted for education; we have confined ourselves exclusively to societies having a religious object, and supported by the liberality of England and Wales. If it should

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* The items are:

Fund for poor members	80	0	0
Society for relieving the sick	20	0	0
Sunday School	19	11	0
	119	11	0

be said, that some of these societies are partly supported by Scotland, Ireland, and foreign sources, we reply, that England and Wales more than repay the debt in the support they give to various societies *not* included, simply because they are not of home origin. Some of those societies, indeed, almost exclusively derive their income from England and Wales.

It is proper to add, that we have excluded the Home Missionary, and all similar societies at all connected with Dissenters, on the ground that we have already taken them into the account in estimating the cost of maintaining the ministry.

The account then stands as follows:

	£	*s.*	*d.*
British and Foreign Bible Society	86,819	8	7
Merchant and Seamen's ditto	545	15	2
Naval and Military ditto	2,570	9	1
Trinitarian ditto	3,326	19	2
Sunday School	279	11	4
Sunday School Union	8,287	5	6
London Jews' Society.....	14,925	12	10
London Missionary Society	55,865	2	11
Baptist ditto	16,392	2	11
General Baptist ditto	1,552	1	1
Church ditto	68,354	10	6
Wesleyan ditto	62,039	16	2
United Brethren	13,625	3	9
British and Foreign Seamen.....	1,924	15	1
Episcopal Floating Church	293	0	0
Sailors' Home	2,123	8	8
Church of England Tract	497	12	8
Prayer Book and Homily.....	2,154	18	8
Religious Tract Society	62,256	13	11
Christian Instruction Society	1,061	17	9
Gospel Propagation Society.....	31,352	0	9
Christian Knowledge Society	78,473	6	10
Church Pastoral Aid Society	2,182	10	4
District Visiting Society	359	2	3
Continental Society	1,432	9	5
London Hibernian Society	10,412	9	10
Irish Society of London	2,270	9	8
London City Mission	2,714	0	0
Lord's Day Observance Society	800	12	11
Metropolitan City Mission	82	0	0
Reformation Society.....	2,876	9	6
Total	537,351	17	3

But we have not yet done with the revenues of the voluntary system. The Church itself has, of late years, extensively adopted, and, as we have already remarked, is every day more and more strenuously appealing to it. Witness the

late "Proposals for the creation of a Fund to be applied to the Building and Enlargement of additional Churches in the Metropolis, by Charles James, Lord Bishop of London;" and which are a naked, undisguised appeal to the so oft despised voluntary principle. Many of the parochial clergy, within the past few years, have issued proposals of a similar character to their parishioners.* The forms the voluntary system has assumed in the Church itself are various. The numerous Episcopal chapels† in which the support of the minister has been thrown upon the pew-rents; the sums for building churches raised by King's letters;‡ the extensive contributions to the "Incorporated Society for building, repairing, and enlarging Churches and Chapels;"§ the subscription lately set on foot by the Bishop of London, and which has already realized upwards of £100,000, are all so many exemplifications of the voluntary system, and, at the same time, so many confessions of the inefficiency of the compulsory; for surely, if the latter (the theory of which is, that an establishment is bound to provide religious instruction for the whole nation) had not been found insufficient, the former would never have been resorted to. It is, of course, impossible for us to estimate, with any exactness, the annual total raised in this way by the Church; that the sum is continually increasing will admit of no doubt: and, even as it is, we think we should be doing injustice to the zeal of our brethren if we were to fix it at a farthing less than £500,000.

The total, then, of the items we have enumerated, will stand as follows:

	£	s.	d.
1. For the maintenance of the Ministry in all the Protestant Dissenting Congregations; including the Funds of certain Societies, Charities, &c.	925,540	0	0
2. For building, repairing, and enlarging Chapels and Sunday Schools; purchase of ground; legal expenses; insurance; parochial rates; cleaning and lighting; servants; in many cases, the salary of clerk, or organist: and various other incidental ex-			

* Some of these curious documents we have now before us, and, if our space would permit, should much like to cite from them.

† In Manchester alone, there are not less than eighteen or twenty supported in this way; and in Brighton we believe as many as eight or ten.

‡ These, be it observed, have no compulsory power whatever; and are, in fact, only the use of the King's personal influence; a species of influence most exactly in accordance with the voluntary system.

§ In the year ending the 31st of March, 1835, the society made grants to various places of £21,171; and, in the following year, of £17, 417.

penses connected with the maintenance of public worship..... :	1,000,000	0	0
3. Various local religious and charitable societies, in connexion with each of our larger places of worship: as district visiting and tract societies; societies for relieving the sick; vestry libraries; also purchase of books for Sunday-schools: and liberal aid to the poor members raised by the sacramental contributions, &c.....	168,240	0	0
4. For the support of Theological Academies, the Congregational schools, &c.....	30,000	0	0
5. The sums raised by Churchmen and Dissenters, in aid of the great voluntary societies for the support and spread of the Gospel at home and abroad.....	537,851	17	3
6. The sums raised by Churchmen for the support of their own worship on the voluntary system; estimated at.....	500,000	0	0
Total.....	3,161,631	17	3

On this statement we have but two remarks to make; the first is, that though we believe our survey is tolerably extensive, we cannot pretend to have comprehended all that is done by the voluntary system. Much is done by private and individual effort, much that the world knows nothing of; many of its channels run below the surface, and their course is known only by the effect they produce on the spots they secretly irrigate; by the fertility of the soil, and the richness of the verdure.

Secondly, let it be observed, that all this has been done amidst the depressing influences of the opposite system. That system has checked the full development of the voluntary principle in two ways; it has compelled Dissenters to pay for the support of a religious worship which they disapproved, and has *repressed the energy of the Church herself;* has made Churchmen, with their immense and often boasted wealth rest, for the most part, contented (till very lately) with the miserable sums raised by Church-rates, or furnished by Parliamentary grants. They are now, we admit, bestirring themselves to better purpose; and we *rejoice* in the fact. The funds they are now raising in the metropolis alone, by appeals to the much derided voluntary principle, for building new churches, show what may be done, even by *beginners.* We shall not be so ungracious as to inquire, whether the desire to outdo the Dissenters has at all tended to awaken this newborn zeal; we only hope that these efforts *may* throw into the shade every previous demonstration of the energy of the voluntary principle; but then our inconsistent friends must not be surprised if we set their zeal against their arguments, their prac-

tice against their theory; if we point them to their splendid lists of donations and subscriptions, and say—'Thus ye confute yourselves; these too are the fruits of the voluntary system, and by appealing to that system you acknowledge that the compulsory system is inefficient.'

Let but the immense wealth of the members of the Church be fairly *let loose*, as it ultimately will by the voluntary principle, and let but Dissenters be freed from the harassing yoke of religious *taxation*, and we doubt not that the results of the system will be such as not only to throw into the shade (as they already do) the meagre *additional* means which the compulsory system has furnished to meet the exigencies of the last fifty years, but far to exceed the whole revenues of the Establishment put together.

Let us now proceed to consider what the compulsory system has done for the support and diffusion of religion, by way of meeting the enormously increased demands of the last and present generation.

As we have already said, it is most strenuously maintained by the Church itself, that the revenues of the Church, under any conceivable mode of distribution, have long been utterly inadequate to the spiritual wants of the nation, while it is the well-known theory of an Establishment, that it is bound to supply adequate means of religious instruction to the whole community. Now, for a long series of years, while population was doubling and trebling; while villages were becoming towns, and towns cities; and while commerce and manufactures were establishing themselves in once secluded and thinly-peopled districts, the compulsory system did almost nothing. When, at last, a Parliamentary grant was obtained, the returns, which the commissioners required to be laid before them previous to their commencing operations, served to show the state of religious destitution in which the venerable mother had long left so many hundreds of thousands of her spiritual children. They disclosed a state of things truly appalling.*

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* Some few instances of the degree in which the compulsory system had failed in accomplishing its *avowed* object we here lay before our readers. They are copied from the above-mentioned returns, ordered by the ecclesiastical commissioners. From this document it appears that, in the following places, such was the proportion (or rather disproportion) between the population, and the church and chapel room in 1821:

	Population	Churches or Chapels	Accommodation.
Birmingham, St. Martin	60,416	4	6056
Blackburn	53,350	1	1900
Marylebone	96,040	3	3611
Nottingham	32,712	1	1000

In the mean time, the voluntary system was in a state of great and constantly-increasing activity; and there is but too much reason to believe, that, on this, as on all other occasions, it was "the progress of Dissent," and the irregular exertions of the "Sectaries," which first roused the slumbering zeal of the hierarchy. The paralytic limbs of the "venerable mother" were stimulated into something like sensibility, by these mustard cataplasms. As in some cases of suspended animation, the Church required to be well *chafed* into life again.

What, then, we again ask, is the amount which the compulsory system, or the system of *taxing* the whole community, annually raises to meet the increased spiritual necessities of the nation. The first source of revenue we shall mention shall be the Church-rates. And here we will not insist on the notorious fact, that in many places, they have been refused altogether, or that, in many others, they have been cut down to a very small amount, or that they are in most grievous ill odour throughout the nation. We will suppose them to produce as much as in former years. We will, moreover, suppose, that the *whole* annual amount, like the annual amount yielded by the voluntary system, goes to meet those religious wants of the nation which have grown up since the ordinary revenues of the Church became inadequate for that purpose. The sum thus realized, according to the statement in Lord Althorp's speech in 1834, is between £500,000 and £600,000.

The next shall consist of Parliamentary grants. About twenty years ago, the Church obtained a grant of a million; and, a few years afterwards, it was increased by half a million more. This is all spent; and the Bishop of London himself tells us, "he is not sanguine as to the success of any appeal to Parliament for aid

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Old Street, King Square, St. Lukes' .	. 40,876	1	1200
Stepney	. 49,163	1	1500
St. Pancras, Somers' Town, Regent Square	. 71,833	1	300
Ramsgate	. 6,031	0 (!)	0 (!)
St. George's in the East . .	. 32,528	1	800

On the utter want of proportion between the religious necessities of the population and the means which the Establishment affords; on the astounding, and, if the subject were not so serious, the ridiculous inequalities in the distribution of the means it does possess; on the utter absence of any principle of self-adjustment, or adaptation to the fluctuations of population (for the system, one would think, is based on the supposition, not only that the population shall never increase, but that the relative proportions of the population of different places shall always remain the same); and on the extent to which the voluntary system has supplied the deficiencies of the Establishment, the reader will find some admirable observations in a powerful and elaborate article, entitled "Dissenting Meeting Houses," inserted in our January number—the last of the many valuable articles, on these and kindred subjects, contributed by the late Editor of this journal during his long and able superintendence.

towards the erection of churches in the country at large. Certain it is, that the Parliament is becoming more and more unwilling to vote any such supplies. But, just for argument's sake, we will suppose that the above-mentioned one million and a half was granted only fifteen years ago, and, moreover, that the same sum will, at equal intervals, continue to be granted. This would allow a sum of £100,000 a year.

The third item is the "Regium Donum," which amounts to the sum of £1650. It has sometimes been pleaded by Dissenters, that this is not a Parliamentary grant at all, but, as its name imports, a "royal gift." We sincerely hope, however, that in order to obviate all ground of reproach, this paltry grant will soon be *refused*,—and refused on *both* sides.

The sum, then, which the compulsory system annually raises, by way of supplying the deficiences of the revenues of the Establishment will stand thus:

Church-rates.....	£550,000
Parliamentary grants at the rate of....	100,000
Regium Donum.....	1650
Total.....	651,650

Or something more than half a million; in other words, a little more than the sum which the voluntary system raises merely for the various great religious societies, independently of the remaining two millions and a half which it devotes to the support of ministers, the maintenance of public worship, and the diffusion of Christianity throughout the land.

Such is the magnificent provision which the compulsory system makes for the nation; a system the theory of which is, that an establishment is bound to supply the means of religious instruction to the whole community, and that, too, quite irrespectively of the feelings and wishes of the dissenting portions of it! The Church had much the same revenues when the population was not half what it is now; and, now that the population is doubled, the Establishment, on the compulsory system, provides the stupendous sum of £500,000 a year to meet the exigency!

If it be said, that a large portion of the population reject the services of the Establishment, and that it cannot therefore be expected that the Establishment should provide places of worship for that portion, we reply, that the theory of a compulsory provision of one sort of religious instruction for the whole community, admits of no such limitations. It is often, and consistently, though most absurdly said, by the advocates of establishments, that they are bound to provide religious instruction for all, whether particular portions of the people avail themselves of it or not. It is a sacred duty to set up a church in every district, though "the people be not gathered;" and to provide a clergyman, although he

should preach to empty walls! This is one of the very arguments urged by the Scotch in their recent application for Parliamentary grants. It can be proved, in many cases, that there is ample accommodation in the chapels of the different denominations for all that portion of the population which can frequent a place of worship at all. But this will not do. It is not *Established-Church-accommodation*. Nay, is it not often said to Dissenters, when they object to the compulsory support of a form of worship they disapprove, "Well, but there is the church, if you like to enter it." Now this, if it were true, would be but a sorry argument; but we deny that it is a *fact*. In a vast number of cases, there is *not* the church. The compulsory system has *not* provided (as it professes to do) the means of religious instruction for the whole population; and it is the actual *results* and *capabilities* of the system we are now examining.

It may, perhaps, be rejoined, that we ought to be very much obliged to the Establishment for not having *compelled* us to pay *more* for churches which we should never enter, and for the maintenance of a worship which we could not approve. We reply again, that this is no argument, since we are examining the *results and capabilities* of the system. Has it been, is it now, will it ever be *practicable?*—And, as to gratitude in this matter, we rejoin that we *are* as grateful as any men can well be—for a benefit which the benefactor never *intended* to confer.

It may be urged again, that if the sum which the compulsory system provides to meet the spiritual wants of an increased and increasing population, is so small and insignificant, this is a proof of the moderation of the Church, and should rather excite our applause than call forth our censure. We answer, that we do not blame it for doing so little in this way, and heartily hope and believe, that it will hereafter do still less; but that we are canvassing the *capabilities and results* of the system; and, as to the moderation of the Church, we have not the slightest doubt, that it is the moderation of a man who has an excellent appetite,—*but very little to eat.*

If it be said, that since the compulsory system is confessedly doing so little, we have produced a good argument why it should now ask for a few millions more; we reply, that we admit it, if the advocates of the system can prove *that the system is good, and induce the legislature and the country to concur with them.* But we once more say, it is the actual *capabilities and results* of the system we are now talking about.

There is this remarkable difference between the voluntary and compulsory systems, that while the former is every year increasing in energy, and extending the sphere of its operations, the compulsory is, by universal admission, becoming less and less practicable. Proposals for new grants are viewed with increas-

ing jealousy by the legislature; a very large and increasing party in the nation oppose on principle any such application of the public money; the shameful injustice of calling upon those who so liberally support their own form of religion, to contribute to a church which they do not approve, and which has wealth enough, properly distributed, to meet the wants of its own members, is becoming more and more odious. So notorious is all this, that the Bishop of London, as we have seen, admits that he is "not sanguine as to the success of any appeal to Parliament for aid towards the erection of churches in the country at large;" and, despairing of the success of any application to parliament for this purpose, thinks it '*not impossible*,' 'peculiar circumstances' might '*even now*' be considered to 'justify legislative 'interference, for the purpose of making adequate provision for the 'spiritual wants of the metropolis, at the expense of its inhabitants;' and how does he propose to levy the necessary sum? By resorting to the old scheme adopted in Queen Anne's reign, and in the early part of the reign of George III.; that of imposing a duty on coals! But in the former case that duty was two shilling per chaldron, and in the latter three shillings. The bishop, with a very sagacious perception of the altered state of the case in our times, modestly confines his request to the imposition of an additional duty of *two-pence* per ton! The difference between the amount of the duty imposed for this purpose, in the reign of George III. and that now proposed by the Bishop of London, affords, we apprehend, a tolerable criterion of the diminution of the zeal of the legislature on this subject. The difference is as the difference between three shillings and two-pence. But how much would this proposed duty yield? About £18,000 a year, the bishop tells us.

Now who would desire a more conclusive proof, of the superiority of the voluntary system, than that which is afforded by the issue of the bishop's appeal to it, as compared with the revenue to be derived from this beggarly impost? By the former he has already realized, in a few months, more than £100,000; that is, as much as the proposed duty would yield in between five and six years!

Nor can we refrain from adverting to the very different effect produced upon the *minds* of the people, by these very different modes of raising the necessary funds. In the one case, the money necessary for the most sacred of all purposes, would be smuggled out of the people's pockets, under the shape of a tax on a necessary article of domestic consumption; in the other, the object must have been distinctly brought before the minds of those who contributed to it, and its importance urged upon their solemn consideration; their zeal for *their own* church must have been put to the test, and by being put to the test corroborated; in many

cases, a feeling of something like honest independence must have been awakened, and the habits of practical benevolence exercised and strengthened. All this must have been done before the sum could have been got together; while the scheme to build churches by taxing coals (as if, by the way, that very necessary article were not quite dear enough already) would effect the object without raising one worthy aspiration, one noble sentiment or feeling; in fact without the energetic concurrence of those who fulfilled it. The object would not be thought of. So far as the tax operated at all, it could only tend to diminish the consumption of an essential article of domestic comfort. It must be confessed, indeed, that the design itself, and the machinery by which it is proposed to carry it into execution, have an admirable congruity to one another. A tax which tends to put out our fires, is appropriately emblematical of a plan which so effectually tends to extinguish the ardour of Christian zeal and benevolence. The Church of England, we know, is fond of symbols, and this is certainly quite as edifying as some of those she has retained in her ritual.

We have said, that so far as this tax might be supposed to operate at all, it would tend to diminish the consumption of coal; that is, to reduce the revenue to be derived from it to the smallest possible amount; in other words, it would induce the people to contribute to the church *as little as they could.* This is the *state of mind* to which such modes of supporting sacred objects tend to lead them; unless indeed it be pretended, that the zeal of the votaries of the church is so great, that they would make up larger fires, for the express purpose of supporting Mother Church, and console themselves, at every shovel-full they threw on, with the thought, that it was all for the good of the Establishment. We fear, however, that there are few who would much relish the *smoke* of such a sacrifice. The scripture does, it is true, speak in one place of 'heaping coals of fire,' but, it must be confessed, it is for a very different purpose from any contemplated in the plan of the Bishop of London.

Such then is the compulsory system. But let us not be misunderstood. We say not these things by way of taunt. Though, as dissenters, we rejoice, most heartily rejoice, in the symptoms of decrepitude which are overtaking that system; if we know anything of our own hearts, we rejoice still more for the sake of Churchmen themselves. Let them once be individually roused to the consideration of the claims which their religion has upon their support, and their immense wealth would soon furnish revenues which would make the amount of support which they now receive from the legislature *appear* as paltry as it really *is.*

If it be said, that the system is a very admirable one in theory, and that if it does not work well it is the nation's fault, we

reply, that the chief merit of any system, intended for a world like this, is that it is *practicable.* There are many theories doubtless very beautiful to the imagination, which must be abandoned, from the slight circumstance that they cannot be carried into effect. The theory of perfect uniformity in religious sentiment, is no doubt a very pretty theory, and untold treasures, both of blood and money, has it cost the world; but it is now generally admitted, at least in England, that it must be given up, as fit only for Utopia; although we believe there are still a few men amongst us, true citizens of that venerable republic, who would like to try the experiment again. Now we would judge of the compulsory system in the same way; it may look very beautiful on paper, and will, we believe, soon exist only there, when we promise to give it our devoutest admiration. But if it be found that, as the nation increases in population, wealth, knowledge, and power, the compulsory system is in fact becoming more and more distasteful, and the support of the legislature each day more and more slender and precarious, there is no help for it; it must be condemned as virtually impracticable, even though it should appear to the imagination the most beautiful vision that ever beguiled the fancy of a poet.

To show, then, the practical inefficiency of the compulsory system, we again ask whether, if a set of commissioners were to be appointed, to give *a fair account* of the sum which would be required to carry out its theory, they would dare to demand the half, the quarter, the tenth? We fearlessly say, that like the Bishop of London, they would admit that any such application to parliament would be rejected.

It will be observed, that in the present article, we have been solely intent on comparing the comparative energy of the voluntary and compulsory systems, in the creation of *means* for their professed objects. On other and scarcely less important points, connected with the working of the two systems, we do not now touch.

Again, then, we implore the various religious communities who adhere to the voluntary system, more especially those we have the honour of being connected with, to collect and publish all such statistical information as may, in the slightest degree, illustrate the working of the system. Should our adversaries sneer at the *unauthorized* form of such statistical accounts, let us ask them in return, 'What authority attaches to *your own* accounts of us?' Some startling details on this subject will be found in the article we have already alluded to, on the registration of Dissenting Meeting Houses.*

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* January, 1837.

In fact, to trust for statistical information respecting dissenters, to a set of men who are for the most part bigotedly attached to the church, is the very height of absurdity. If the object of the legislature be to conceal from its own eyes the strength and numbers of the dissenters, it must be confessed that a more admirable expedient could not be devised; but if authentic information be desired, a very different method from that of appealing to clerks of the peace, or the arch-deaconry-courts must be adopted. If, in ascertaining the character of an individual, it would be unsafe to trust wholly to the testimony of a friend, it would be still more unsafe to trust to the testimony of an enemy.

Art II. *Guido and Julius. The Doctrine of Sin and the Propitiator: or the True Consecration of the Doubter, exhibited in the Correspondence of Two Friends.* By the Rev. Frederick Aug. D. Tholuck, D. D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Halle. Translated from the German by Jonathan Edwards Ryland: with an Introductory Preface, by John Pye Smith, D. D. London: W. Ball.

WHEN Jesus opened his discourse upon the Mount, by proclaiming the Beatitudes, how clearly was the character of Deity impressed upon his ministrations! To the favour with which he there regards the 'poor in spirit,' and the 'meek,' we find no parallel among the dark superstitions of idol-worship; and, though hints of this divine benignity had, in conformity with the Mosaic ritual of penitential offerings, been communicated under that dispensation by his servants the prophets, to whom God spoke—πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτροπῶς—with repeated augmentations of his self-revealing grace, and in many varied forms of condescension; yet is it by His Son, the brightness of his glory, and—χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστασεως αὐτοῦ—objective impersonation of his essential perfection, as 'God in flesh made manifest,' that the fulness of his grace and truth are brought to light. In the fourth beatitude especially—Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled—depths of human misery are recognized, which lie beneath the deepest soundings of human intelligence. These are the restless cravings of a nature, which, created for dependent blessedness, and severed from its only real and sufficient source, never can, so long as God, that only source, is righteous, find settled peace but in the subjective impression of his righteousness. That 'the wicked are like the troubled sea, 'when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt,' is the Scripture representation of this craving, maddened into tumult by the action of man's wilful alienation towards God. And how

it works at times in the regenerate, whose privilege it is, being reconciled to God, to know by 'the spirit which he hath given 'them,' that they 'are passed from death to life,' during various crises of their probationary conflict with sin, may be inferred from the pathetic cry of the apostle, 'O wretched man that I am! 'who shall deliver me from this body of death?' as well as from those 'unutterable groanings' which form the medium of the Spirit's intercession. Those only who are conscious of this misery are qualified to appreciate the Saviour's proclamation at its proper value. To such the union of the divine and human natures, in his person, is adapted to disclose not only his actual knowledge of every existing instance of this experience throughout all ages, but his ability and willingness to sympathize with every sin-oppressed and sin-renouncing sinner. Such also will at once perceive the evident propriety, not to say necessity, that the revelation of God's mercy should be consummated by one, who himself not knowing sin, would be qualified to speak to those who do, in terms like these: 'Come unto me all ye that 'labour, and are heavy laden, AND I WILL GIVE YOU REST. Take 'MY YOKE upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly 'in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For MY YOKE 'IS EASY, and MY BURDEN IS LIGHT.'

The experience above described, with the human efforts of escape to which it gives rise, and the divine method of relief, forms, if we may so say, the 'burden' of the work before us, which bears the stamp of an intellectual capacity and extent of erudition perfectly extraordinary. Besides the advantage of an able and learned translator, the work enjoys the recommendation of Dr. J. Pye Smith, who has introduced it to the British public with a very interesting biographical preface. So intimately, indeed, is the book itself identified with the history and character of the author, that we should fail to do it justice in examination, did we not avail ourselves of such portions of this preface as are necessary to set the mind and circumstances out of which it grew sufficiently before our readers.

'Frederick Augustus Deofidus [*Gottreu* or *Gottgetraut*] Tholuck, was born at Breslaw, the capital of Silesia, March 30, 1799. He laid the foundation of his literary eminence in the Gymnasium, and at the university of that city. To the Semitic languages, and especially to Arabic and Turkish literature, he showed peculiar inclination and aptitude. He was warmly patronized and encouraged by some of the most distinguished orientalists in Berlin, and enabled to gratify his predilection by the enjoyment of the best instruction. During the earlier part of this period, he was drawn into the awful whirlpool of infidelity; and he so openly avowed it as to maintain in a public thesis the superiority of Mahommedanism to Christianity. But, towards the close of his course in Berlin, an alteration took place in his views,

feelings, and character, with respect to religion. Professor Neander and a private friend were instruments of divine mercy in the production of this great and happy change. There is good reason to regard the volume before us as the record of his own experience, and the picture of his conferences with his friends, during this interesting season, the great turning point of his immortal existence. The change of heart, the infusion of a new and heavenly life, the breathing forth of piety and benevolence, the humility and tenderness of character, which were now developed, were not unlikely to work in him a disposition to dedicate himself to the evangelical ministry: but he did not determine upon altering his plan of studies till, upon the dismission of the too celebrated De Wette, by the royal authority, from the professorship of doctrinal theology, Tholuck, though only in his twenty-first year, received command from the Ministry of Religious Instruction, to supply the chasm thus created in the university courses, by delivering Lectures in the Exegesis of the Old Testament.'—pp. xix—xxii.

'In this elevated situation our young theologian had a very difficult task to perform. Cordial friends were but few, and they must have watched him with apprehension and anxiety: enemies to the truth, and to him as its defender, were numerous, able, long accustomed to monopolize the public ear, and engrossing almost every chair in every university. It was necessary that he should manifest, at least, no inferiority to the splendid endowments of his predecessor, and of rivals showing themselves on all sides; and he knew that his lectures, and every one of his public and private actions, would be scanned by evil-disposed, keen-sighted, and deep-plotting minds. But he was enabled to conduct himself with wisdom and meekness; while his convictions were ripening into the strongest sense of the falsehood and danger which belong to the antisupernaturalist schemes, and of the truth, moral beauty, and holy efficacy, which characterize the doctrines of the Reformation and of the apostles. In 1821 was published what we suppose to have been his first printed work, a pretty large Latin volume, entitled Sufism, *or the Pantheistic Theosophy of the Persians; illustrated by the aid of Persic, Arabic, and Turkish Manuscripts;* the high merit of which was acknowledged by the author's opponents. It was during this momentous period of his life that he composed the work which this volume gives to the public in an English dress.'—pp. xxvi. xxvii.

'Upon the death of the venerable George Christian Knapp, Senior of the Theological Faculty in the University of Halle, Tholuck was appointed by his sovereign to succeed that eminently learned and pious man in the divinity professorship. This took place in 1826; and, notwithstanding relentless, and even virulent opposition from the party of Wegscheider, Gesenius, and the younger Fritsche, he maintains his standing with growing honour and usefulness.'—*Dr. Smith's Preface,* pp. xxix. xxx.

In illustration of the notices thus given by Dr. Smith, it may be interesting to mention that Professor Tholuck's first friend and patron in oriental studies was the Baron Von Diez, who had

been Prussian minister either at Constantinople or the Court of Persia, we have forgotten which, and had distinguished himself as an orientalist by his '*Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*,' and other related publications. That his youthful *protegé* had previously to this, however, been both assiduous and successful in private study, and that the favour of the venerable diplomatist was no undiscriminating partiality, may be inferred from the subjection of the former, on their first acquaintance, to a severe examination, conducted partly by the baron himself, but principally by the celebrated philologist, F. A. Wolff. The result of this was his admission into the baron's family, to prosecute his studies under his immediate eye. The honourable countenance thus shown him proved, however, to be of short duration, for a few months after, his patron died, so that the principal benefits accruing from it were the opportunity he acquired of attaining classical proficiency under Wolff's tuition, and, what was destined to exert a lasting influence upon his life and character, the friendship of Professor Neander. By his advice, and through the urgent entreaties of his excellent sister, young Tholuck was induced, when just upon the point of returning to Breslaw, in despair of any future assistance in Berlin, to pay a farewell visit to Baron Kottwitz, the private friend referred to in Dr. Smith's account, and whom we suppose he had occasionally seen in the professor's house. He had even taken his place in the diligence when this visit was made, and when the affectionate expostulation of his new friend prevailed upon him to take up his abode with him. In that society it was that, in a way our readers will discover in the sequel, his feet were led into the paths of righteousness and peace.

To unfold, at any length, the difficulties of the station which Professor Tholuck, by universal consent, so admirably fills at Halle, would be foreign to the object of this notice, but our readers will excuse us for endeavouring to preserve from the treachery of unwritten remembrance, one fact, connected with his removal thither, which will convey some idea of his isolated situation, and painful prospects at the time. As he drew near to that city, which, standing on a high and extensive plain, is visible at a considerable distance, 'seeing,' as he himself expressed it, 'the pointed spires 'of my future scene of labour glittering in the setting sun, while 'the evening shadows were rising on all lower objects, an inde-'scribable melancholy possessed me, and, exhausted by the 'anxious reflections and anticipations of the day, my overcharged 'heart sought relief in tears. The only companion I had with 'me was young Krummacher, at that time a boy of ten or eleven 'years of age. The youthful angel fell upon my neck, and 'comforted me. Weep not, fear not, he said, 'Greater is he that 'is with you than he that is in the world.' I cannot describe to

'you,' continued the Professor, 'the effect that passage thus 'suggested had upon my mind, not only at the time, but on nu-'merous subsequent occasions of bitter trial.' This fact will probably not interest the less, when we inform our readers that this youthful comforter is either son or nephew to the author of 'Eli-'jah the Tishbite,' published with such general approval by the Religious Tract Society; and that he has recently entered on the duties of a pastoral charge, in a spirit corresponding with this early promise.

The following is the account given by Dr. Smith in reference to the *circumstances* in which the present work originated. The author of the publication which it was designed to counteract is, it will be understood, the same De Wette whose removal had occasioned the command to Dr. Tholuck to commence a discourse on Biblical Exegesis.

'Its exact title would be scarcely intelligible to an English reader, nor indeed to a native German, unless he were acquainted with the little piece of literary history, which we must mention. In 1822 Dr. De Wette published a work, in two volumes, with the title, THEODORE, or the Consecration of the Doubter [or Sceptic]; a work which professes to give a picturesque history of the studies of a Lutheran clergyman. The tendency of this book may not unreasonably be conjectured, when it is considered that the very clever and eloquent author deduces all religion from an innate propensity in the human mind, cherished and refined by reason and experience; that he excludes every thing supernatural from the mission of Moses and the prophets, of Jesus and the apostles; and that, borrowing his own words, 'the divine excellency of the Christian religion is especially conspicuous in this, that it directs men to seek their salvation within their own breasts, without any foreign aid whatsoever,' and that 'the soul, oppressed by a sense of its sins, ought to seek rest and peace only from its own powers.'

'Dr. Tholuck's title was therefore, 'The Doctrine of Sin and of the Propitiator, or the True Consecration of the Doubter." Thus was conveyed the requisite antithesis to De Wette's watchword. The design of the one book was to instruct a sceptical student how to silence his reason and appease his conscience, even on the supposition of his being *ordained* to the pastoral office; and, with an hypocrisy for which we have no epithet of adequate abhorrence, to go through the Ordination Service of the Lutheran Church, which is full of the strongest and most tender expressions of evangelical piety; concealing under all a conscious rejection of positive revelation, a refined, philosophical, mystical Deism: such was De Wette's way of consecrating the Doubter. Tholuck's, on the contrary, was to take the hand of the young inquirer, harassed to very anguish with doubts and difficulties concerning the foundations of all faith, all religion, all participation in the supreme good, all hope in a world to come; and to lead him in the path of a profound investigation on the part of the understanding, a constant searching into the moral state of the mind, and habitual

prayer to the most Holy One;—the path of truth and peace.'—*Dr. Smith's Preface*, pp. xxvii.—xxix.

Such being the origin and object of this publication, it remains to consider in what way the latter is accomplished. The work having passed through five German editions, and continuing in demand, having been hailed on its appearance both by evangelical Protestants in the North, and Catholics in the South, as an important contribution to religious literature, and being at the very time that Mr. Ryland's translation appears in England, in process of translation also in the pages of the Biblical Repository, published at Boston and Andover, U. S., it would be idle to lay much stress upon the circumstance that it is a youthful production. We perhaps ought not, however, wholly to lose sight of this, since its influence is clearly obvious throughout, and the author has thought proper to refer to it. Allowing as we do, therefore, that had the work appeared a few years later, it would not have been exactly what it is, we must freely state our opinion that it owes not a little of its ardency and freshness to being what the author terms, '*jenes Product der unvergesslichen begeisterungs-*' *vollen Weihestunden meiner Jünglingsjahre;*' the product of the memorable fervid period of youthful consecration.

The 'argument' or 'contents' prefixed to the original work, which Mr. Ryland, judiciously, we are inclined to think, has omitted in his translation (thereby cutting off, as far as possible, the reader's temptation to *dip into* a book, which, if worth reading at all, deserves a careful and regular perusal), will unquestionably convey a fairer and more accurate summary of the author's course of thought than any other abstract we could offer. The reader will at once perceive that the book assumes, to some extent, the character of a work of fiction, intermingling biographical incident with epistolary correspondence.

'Part I.—On Sin.

'Chap. 1. Guido and Julius, two friends, who have reached 'the verge of manhood without attaining to the knowledge of a 'satisfying good, are separated, to pursue their respective studies 'in different universities. Guido is by force of speculation led on 'towards a logical Pantheism, but, held back from this extreme by 'the contradiction which it offers to his moral consciousness, sinks 'into a cheerless scepticism. Julius now writes him word how 'he had in the meantime found the truth; shows that scepticism 'cannot be the proper term of human inquiry, and enters on an 'illustration of the doctrine of evil. He speaks of the first man's 'original condition, and fall.

'Chap. 2. Guido, after a lapse of three months, writes, in 'answer to Julius, on the different methods of accounting for the 'origin of evil; argues against the notion of two separate first

'principles; refutes both the pantheistic and pelagian view, that 'evil is a mere negation; and adduces evidence of the preponde-'rating tendency to evil.

'PART II.—OF THE PROPITIATOR.

'Chap. 1. Julius further opens to Guido his views on the state 'of man before the Saviour's coming; man's need of a Saviour; his 'objective ministrations as prophet, priest, and king of his people; 'and their effects upon individual believers.

'Chap. 2. Guido, in reply, makes known to Julius the expe-'rience he has attained of the blessedness imparted to the Chris-'tian through an insight into the harmony which pervades the 'economy of salvation; refutes the Catholic view of the doctrine 'of propitiation, and portrays the Christian life, as exemplified 'in the communion of saints.'

Then follow some appendices, which it is unnecessary to notice here, as they are with great propriety omitted in Mr. Ryland's translation. It will be at once perceived that, under this thin veil of fiction, questions of the deepest interest and importance are discussed—discussed, we may add, in a deeply interesting though peculiar manner. We do not now allude to the fictitious *structure* of the book, which we consider greatly against it, feeling, as we do, that the public has been drugged, '*usque ad* '*nauseam*,' with religious novels. This objection is rebutted in the present instance by the fictitious character of the work it was designed, successfully, we are happy to say, to answer and supplant; and it is but fair to add that, while on its first appearance, religious fictions were as little known in Germany as they were in England at the time when Mrs. More produced her 'Cœlebs,' the work is entirely free from questionable *scenes*, and that the only *feelings* either prominently or incidentally developed, are such as are involved in the experience of those who have been called to 'plough their way' through the stormy deeps of religious perturbation and error. What we now refer to as peculiar in the work is the earnestness of its more speculative portions, and the immense, though sometimes incongruous, variety of illustration which pervades the whole. That the author is a German and a philosopher is at once discoverable from the attention given to the Pantheism of the German schools; and, while his ready use of classical writers indicates familiarity with something more than indexes, the resources of the orientalist are brought to bear upon the ethics of the Gospel by interesting citations, taken, for the first time, from unpublished Persian manuscripts. On these peculiarities Dr. Smith, with great propriety, remarks:

'Our author is a poet and an eloquent preacher. His poetical talents were nourished by an early imbuing of the Greek classics and the

Arabian poets. Into metaphysics, also, the ancient, the scholastic, and the modern, and those of both the oriental and the European schools, he has plunged deeply. From these causes, it is not a subject of surprise that his sentiments have frequently characteristics which to many will appear extraordinary, and even questionable or startling. Such passages as those will, however, upon a repeated and more comprehensive examination, in general, cease to command any other feeling than that of admiration and approval. When we are constrained to differ from him, we cannot but love him. The warmth of his piety, the largeness of his charity, his faithfulness to God and conscience, the originality of his thoughts, the depth of his investigations, the copiousness of his inductions, the combined power and tenderness of his applications, are such as search our very hearts, stir up and sharpen our faculties, and lead us, if we are willing to be led, into the most profitable self-knowledge. He frequently makes allusions to objects very much out of the range of ordinary literature, and draws from them illustrations of singular felicity: but, to reap its benefits, and enjoy its beauties, the book must be read with close attention and frequent retrospection.'—*Dr. Smith's Preface,* pp. xxx. xxxi.

It must be owned that, in these commendations, Dr. Smith, speaking like himself, has done full justice to our author's merits. We ought, perhaps, to say, he has done more than justice. The exuberance of Dr. Tholuck's fancy seems to us, putting English sobriety out of the question, often to degenerate into extravagance, especially in the commencement. Figure shifts into figure, not according to the skilful and appropriate *ordonnance* of cultivated genius, but the fortuitous and objectless revolutions of the kaleidoscope; so that the reader is not seldom in a lurid fog. This is true, however, principally at the commencement of the work, when the author represents the restless strife between Guido's moral consciousness and intellectual speculations; the second part is comparatively free from this objection, and many of its illustrations are eminently beautiful.

One of the distinguishing principles of Dr. Tholuck's work, containing, as we think will appear, a very important truth, coupled with a germ of serious error, is presented to our notice in the following extract, in which our author's object is to show the vanity of seeking to discover 'man's chief end,' by the exercise of human reason in the speculations of metaphysical philosophy. He describes his Guido as imbibing nothing but disgust from the cold and lowering rationalism of the theological schools, and adds:

'He turned accordingly to philosophy, which he considered the queen of human knowledge. Yet how strongly was his mind drawn to opposite poles when he entered its circle! One thing the inquiring youth perceived, that he had now entered a region of which it might be said, that to proceed only half the way is not to enter on it at all. He found that whoever grasps a link in the chain of logical speculation

must follow wherever it may lead him, be it into open day or midnight darkness. He passed by with contempt the systems which vacillated between a credulous ignorance and the full (let it be even destructive) truth, like wandering stars unconnected with any planetary system. He sought such spirits only for guides, who, in order to win, had the courage to risk every thing. With this view he suffered Parmenides, Spinoza, Schelling, Schliermacher, to pass before him as instructors, all uttering the same mighty words to his listening mind, but in different tones.

'When Guido had ended his determined and unintermitted course through these intellectual regions, he paused, feeling himself in a strange land of darkness; and soon with horror realized, what he had often imagined in dreams, that his spirit was actually given up to an endless descent. He perceived but too clearly that the end of all speculation was the denial of all positive existence. He had proposed to himself this question, What am I? and had received answers on the destination of his being, in countless variety. He had gone further, and asked, Who am I? and with this question lost himself! He had inquired after the origin of the universe, and the appearance of its finiteness had referred him back to God. He had inquired after God, and the infinitude of his essence referred him back to the universe. Thus all positive being seemed a shadow cast by a nonentity, an echo without an originating voice! Guido felt the endless descent. But there was yet another pole in the life of his spirit besides that of mere logical deduction. There were moments in his life of deeper recollection, of awful, indescribable stillness, when he heard (if it may be so expressed) the breathing of his spirit, and could perceive the mysterious dialogue of another spirit with his own. In such converse he tasted something of a higher, better life, such as no vague generalities, no flights of speculation could afford. And when, by the magic-lantern of Pantheism, all the colours of good and evil were mingled, and both one and the other softened down into a dull grey, the noble-minded youth, as if awakening out of a deep sleep, would often exclaim, Then is it so?—that one word alone, first and last, with horrible sameness, must be the eternal symbol of my life, and that word be—DELUSION!'—pp. 11—13.

In the references here made to Guido's moral consciousness, we recognize that supremacy of moral sentiment or conscience, over those notions which result from mere discursive speculation, which is not only suggested by inductions fairly drawn from the phenomena of mind, as exemplified in Bp. Berkely for example, but may be gathered also from the statements of Holy Writ. When the apostle (Rom. ii. 14, 15) speaks of those who, having not the law, 'do *by nature* the things contained in the law,' 'are a law to themselves, and show the work of the law *within in their hearts*,' their '*consciences* bearing witness,' and their 'thoughts accusing or excusing,' it is evident that he speaks of a moral sentiment, universal and essential to the human mind, not originated by, or dependent on the discursive faculty, but independent of all

the speculation of philosophical sagacity, and supreme in every question of moral right and wrong. This is that which, in simple minded men, so often revolts from, without being able to detect the sophistry of the most plausible and accomplished deceiver. And it is excellently brought forward here as resisting the horrible conclusions of erratic speculation in their denial of that God of whom, as its real author, faded as it is, it is the only remnant in man's fallen soul.*

There is, however, another principle in the preceding extract with which we are by no means so well satisfied. Illustrated as it appears by the language of the original 'Contents,' particularly the expressions 'consequenten Pantheismus,' 'consistent or logical Pantheism,' the author's idea would seem to be that the necessary result of the discursive principle in man, as ultimately developed by its purest exercises, is Pantheism (p. 13), and the denial of all positive existence (p. 12).

That this is indeed the meaning of the passage is further evident from the second appendix, which treats 'on the necessity 'by which the mere logical understanding is led to a denial of a 'self conscious Deity, Individuality, Freedom, and Morality, &c.,' a principle which would seem to dispense altogether with Reason as an organ for the investigation of truth. That the author is

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* Not with any view to confirm these very simple representations, but to illustrate the relevancy of the citation itself to Dr. Tholuck's supposed intention, it has since occurred to us to consult his 'Commentary' on this passage. Citing, in the absence of the original work, the translation which has been made of it by Mr. Menzies, we find Dr. Tholuck expressly saying, in reference to the heathen, "their own moral consciousness is their rule." Under v. 15 he says, "St. Paul means to bring proof that such actions of the heathen, as are conformable to law, *really have their basis upon an inward law in their breast.* For this purpose he appeals to the conflict which takes place between the opposite tendencies of the will in man, and to the judgments pronounced upon these by the moral sense." These expressions show that we have not constrained the meaning of Dr. Tholuck's extract by asserting its coincidence with that declaration of the apostle. Should any, under the influence of Sir James Macintosh's theory, (Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy, 8vo. edition, pp. 381, *alibi,*) that "conscience has no object but a state of will," and that "moral approbation must be limited to *voluntary* operations," think that Dr. Tholuck goes too far in asserting its authority in reference to the decisions of the discursive faculty, in the investigation of *truth*, we deem it sufficient to answer, that if this conscience be indeed a law 'written' in the heart, the remnant of God's image in the soul, it must repugn those speculations which deny its very basis. What again means the *συνείδησις* of the fifteenth verse, but that which, as Dr. Tholuck says, *l. c.*, "constitutes the bond of relationship between man and God, and which discovers itself as a sense of what is just and good?" We may observe, in passing, that the Professor, besides the well-known passage in the Œdip. Tyr. v. 845, upon the subject of conscience, has cited a very close parallel from Aristotle, (Eth. iv. 14) *ὁ δὴ χαρίεις καὶ ἐλεύθερος οὑτως ἕξει οἷον. νόμος ὢν ἑαυτῷ.*

sensible of this error may be inferred from the preface to his third edition, where he states his conviction 'how deeply the 'second appendix, and that portion of the work with which it is 'connected, needs an entire revision.' On this account we should have been disposed to pass it by in silence, especially as Mr. Ryland has had the judgment to omit the appendices, but that the fidelity of the latter as a translator has not permitted him (and very properly) to modify the occasional expression of this error in the text.* With every respect, moreover, to Dr. Tholuck, and in our admiration of him we believe we yield to none, it is not possible for us to see, with unconcern, an error acknowledged in his third edition, reprinted five years after in a fifth. Standing as he does, in the van of the champions for the truth in Germany, and read, as we believe this most eloquent production to be, by nearly every rising theologian, whose heart begins to feel the kindling touch of a Redeemer's love, he is imperatively called upon to make 'straight paths for his disciples' feet, lest that which is lame be wrenched;' Heb. xii. 13.

The necessity of now resuming our examination of the work forbids our staying any longer to develope the real consistency of faith and reason, the latter being, as very beautifully expressed by Mr. Baxter, 'the highest act' of the former; but this has been sufficiently done by authors easily accessible.† The following

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* Such as the sentence in page 24, 'An irresistible logical deduction drew me inexorably towards this whirlpool, into which I should have been precipitated, had not a throbbing heart dwelt beneath the thinking head.' Instances also occur in pages 14, 15, 163.

† Among those most likely to be found in the hands of intelligent young people, we may refer to Mr. Conybeare's Theological Lectures, 2nd enlarged edition. Lect. iii., pp. 100—102. The following short extract from Dr. Abercrombie's lately published rectorial address to the students of Marischal College, Aberdeen, is also deserving of attention. 'You will often find a distinction made between objects of reason and objects of faith,—as if the latter were, in some respect, inferior to the former in their evidence and stability; but this is entirely without foundation. The truths which are the objects of faith are properly so called, because they do not come under the cognizance of any of our senses; but they are as directly addressed to the understanding as the most obvious inductions of physical science; and they carry a weight of evidence, as direct and incontrovertible, to every mind which is open to its power. This evidence, indeed, is of a different character, but its strength and its authority are the same. The truths themselves are calculated to engage the highest powers of the mind; and the most exalted understanding, that ever dwelt in human form, will derive from them a new feeling of intellectual vigour and moral health, by which it shall wing its way to those regions where shine forth in a peculiar manner the divine perfections; and shall there prostrate these highest powers in devout and humble adoration of him, 'who was, and who is, and who is to come.' This, and nothing less than this, is true philosophy; for it is this alone that traces the phenomena of nature to their cause; it is this alone that takes within its grasp the whole range of truth, and places fairly and deliberately against the mere objects of sense, those great realities which are the objects of faith.'

extract from the commencement of Julius's first letter, contains much that is both interesting and impressive:

'My friend, the universe may be reduced to dust, but the dust itself cannot cease to be. Systematic exhibitions of truth may be annihilated and blown away, like dust before your sight, but not the truth itself. . . . . He whose soul has an affinity with truth, recognises her, in spite of all scars and disfigurements, by her royal mien. Guido, believe me, there is a truth, a sacred truth, which is not to be speculated upon, but to be enjoyed; and this is affirmed to you by one who has actually enjoyed it. For while we must know the human in order to love it, we must love the divine, in order to know it. Whilst man fondly imagines that he can attain by the tree of knowledge to the tree of life, and in the enjoyment of the former loses the latter, the wisdom of God leads us through experience to knowledge, and says, 'I love them that love me, and they that seek me early shall find me;' Prov. viii. 17. I will attempt, according to my feeble ability, to point out to you the steps of the heavenly ladder, but to cause you to ascend is beyond my power. Aspirations after the pure regions above, and the unhappiness around and within you, may effect this. I may serve as a way-post to the traveller, but cannot impel you to your journey's end; this can be done only by that mysterious, almighty Hand, which, stretched forth from heaven, seizes on the wandering sinner, and draws him to that blessed heart which beats warm with compassion for him beyond this world.

'What I lay down as the δός μοι ποῦ στῶ, as the hinge of all human knowledge, is the Delphic inscription. Only the descent into the abyss of self-knowledge can render possible the heavenly ascent of divine knowledge; and no pretended wisdom is more to be rejected than that which puts out our eyes, so that we cannot look into the interior of our own being. When I say to you, 'Learn to know thyself,' I mean nothing else than to ask, What *lovest* thou? Lovest thou the earth? then earth art thou. Lovest thou thyself? then nought but self art thou. Lovest thou the divine? then art thou divine.'—pp. 18—20.

This extract conveys a very fair idea of Dr. Tholuck's youthful style of thought and composition. Allusions are here drawn, both from familiar and classical sources: the direction post by the way side (which the translator would have made more clear had it occurred to him that in Germany these objects are very commonly carved in the figure of an arm and hand with pointing index), the postulate of Archimedes, and the Delphic inscription. One expression is an extract from the finely uttered thought of Pascal: 'Les verités divines sont infiniment au-dessus de la nature. Dieu 'seul peut les mettre dans l'âme. Il a voulu qu 'ils entrent du 'cœur dans l'esprit, & non pas de l'esprit dans le cœur. *Par cette 'raison s'il faut connaître les choses humaines pour pouvoir les aimer, 'il faut aimer les choses divines pour pouvoir les connaître.*' We have here an antithetically clear discrimination between mere

objective or external knowledge, and that which is subjective and experimental; and knowledge *about* spiritual things is distinguished from the real knowledge of them on a principle analogous to that unfolded by the apostle: 'The natural man 'receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them because they are 'spiritually discerned;' 1 Cor. ii. 14.

The second portion of this work, which discusses the doctrine of propitiation, is decidedly more valuable and interesting than the preceding, though not entirely free from its prevailing faults. The method in which the respective views of Anselm, Aquinas and Grotius are stated and discussed is in particular truly admirable. Before we arrive at this part of the work there are, however, two or three brief extracts which will indicate the progress of the argument, and, we think, will gratify our readers. The first occurs in the letter written by Julius to his friend Guido, immediately after the receipt of that which announced to the former the change in Guido's mind. Nothing can be imagined more appropriate to the occasion than the sentiments which are here expressed:

'By our love to our invisible Friend is our friendship to each other sanctified. The natural man, as in all other things, so in his friendships, supremely loves himself; the regenerated man, as in all other things, so in his friendships, supremely loves the Lord. In proportion, Guido, as you are more abundantly replenished with his love, will our mutual love be more ardent. We have become branches of the same vine—members of the same body; and one member sustains the other. If our path be sometimes rough, grieve not, my friend. As at the beginning of our conversion, so through the whole course of our lives, the Saviour addresses us again and again, 'Said I not unto thee, that if thou wouldst believe, thou shouldst see the glory of God?' But where Jesus Christ is, who is 'the Lord of glory,' there will be daily more and more of glory. It cannot be otherwise: we are raised above the kingdom of the perishable and transient, and translated to that kingdom which cannot be moved. One or other assailant may shake off 'the golden bells' of our priestly vest, but we can never be stripped of the vest itself. 'Thou hast made us for thyself, and our heart is restless till it rests in thee. With thee is perfect rest and an imperturbable life. He who enters into thee, enters into the joy of his Lord; he will not fear, but in the Most Blessed will he be blessed.'* Such was the holy Augustine's experience fourteen centuries ago, and such will be the experience of the last Christian on earth, when the Lord shall come.'—pp. 94—96.

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* 'Tu fecisti nos ad te, et cor nostrum inquietum est donec requiescat in te. Quies apud te est valde, et vita imperturbabilis. Qui intrat in te, intrat in gaudium Domini, et non timebit, et habebit se optime in optimo!'

Passing a very singular expression in the 115th page, to the effect that 'each individual is mysteriously' so 'connected with 'his race by an interior and exterior bond, that neither could he 'fall, nor can he rise, except as a constituent portion of the race,' language which involves to us a very curious puzzle, we come, at page 122, upon the following declaration:

'"I have repeated, even to weariness and disgust,' says the wise man of the north, 'that the philosophers and Jews are in the same predicament: neither of them know what reason or what law is, or for what purpose they are given; namely, for convincing of ignorance and sin, not for communicating grace and truth, which must be historically revealed, and cannot be obtained by the exertion of man's natural powers; which no man can work out for himself, or receive as his birth-right.'—pp. 122, 123.

Obvious as this sentiment would seem to the readers of the New Testament, and frequently as we hear it inculcated from evangelical pulpits, our readers will observe that in the work before us it is quoted as a weighty observation of the wise man of the North. Whether Kant, the sage of Königsberg, as he is called, be here intended, we do not know, although we doubt if the remark be his. From both style and sentiment, we should rather take it to be an observation of Hamann, a correspondent of Kant's, and for some time an exciseman at Königsberg. This man, however, was both a Christian, and one of the profoundest thinkers in Germany; and our reason for noticing the expression is the curious circumstance, that thoughts which are commonly current in situations where opportunities of Christian intercourse are frequent, are considered worthy, when struck out by any isolated exercise of intellect, or deduced by solitary study from the Scriptures, to be quoted and employed as the produce both of elevated and of cultivated genius. This speaks volumes in commendation of the advantages of an enlightened Christian communion.

The following admirable passage needs no comment:

'Guido, in divine things, man requires divine certainty. For man there must be something true and holy; and this must not be in his own hands, or in his power, for he cannot be trusted either for another or for himself. And what are we taught by that truth on which alone reliance can be placed? Ask not those stewards of the mysteries of God in modern times, who are really stewards of no mysteries. They have passed through the garden of the Lord, and, instead of admiring its beauties, have collected the dried twigs that lay scattered in the walks. They have culled for themselves out of God's word a theology, which they call natural; probably because it is the theology of the natural man, in which they include the doctrines of freedom, of immortality, of providence, of God's paternal love—beautiful, glorious doctrines, had they not torn them from the living body: they are now

cold, dead limbs, a sun shorn of its beams. A great theologian of our church, Schleiermacher (Glaubenslehre, ii. 276), spoke the truth, when he said, 'There is always a direct or indirect attempt to destroy Christianity, when men are disposed to separate the doctrine of Christ and the doctrine concerning Christ from one another, and look upon the latter as at best an invention superadded to the former. We ought rather to consider all Christian doctrine as implicated in the doctrine concerning Christ; and allowing that Christ taught some things not in immediate connexion with the doctrine concerning himself, this certainly is that which least belongs to that system of truth, which he alone, by means of his peculiar distinction from mere human beings, was able to communicate. As for improvements in the system of morals, in which some placed the essence of Christianity, they are of a kind which men may attain by superior mental cultivation and extended intercourse with one another, without Christ.'—pp. 126—128.

We have referred to Dr. Tholuck's conversance with oriental learning, as having impressed an observedly peculiar character upon his production. Among the pages which from this source are for the first time pressed into the service of the Christian church in the Professor's pages, occurs one from an untranslated Persian work of Ghasali, preserved in MS. among the oriental treasures of the Berlin Library. The extract is highly deserving of attention from its intrinsic merit, and while reading the latter portion of it commencing at 'Knowledge is the peculiar possession of 'the higher order of minds,' our attention was remarkably arrested by the striking resemblance which it seems to us to bear, both in sentiment and manner, to many parts of Howe's Blessedness of the Righteous:

'Thou wilt perhaps desire to form a precise idea of death; but this is impossible, unless thou knowest previously what life means, and this thou canst not, until thou art intimately acquainted with thy own spirit. For one thing, thou art possessed of an animal spirit like the beasts, which is unsusceptible of knowledge and faith: what are the precise qualities of that spirit I do not venture to say, but leave to those who are adepts in philosophy. But I will describe the condition of death. The senses are the purveyors of knowledge, in its elements, to the spirit: they are as a net, a tool, a beast of burden. Now the net may be destroyed, but the fisherman remains, and his burden is so much the lighter when he has no longer his net to carry. Death robs thee of thy limbs, but thyself remains; as in old age, by the process of assimilation, thou wilt be altogether different from what thou wast when a youth, and yet the same self. If thou hast loved sensual objects in the present life, thy punishment at death will be that thou wilt be kept from the sight of God, and that the objects of thy love will have vanished from thee. Perhaps thou sayest, have we not been taught by the learned, that serpents and scorpions will torment us? Yes; but expect not to find these venomous reptiles in or about the body. The many-headed dragon will be in the soul: it was so in this life; but the presence of the monster was not felt as long as it was supplied

with sensual gratifications. Every one of its heads is a desire, by which a man is attached to the present world. Wilt thou reply, that herein I differ from the views generally adopted by the community? I grant it; but such is the usual course of things—the community remain in the position in which they were born; only an individual here and there passes beyond the boundaries. Knowledge is the peculiar possession of the higher order of minds: the more elevated the knowledge, so much more delightful is it; and therefore the knowledge of God, being the most elevated, is also the most delightful. But however great the delight of this knowledge, to the degree it is attainable on earth, may be, yet it is not to be compared to that of the vision of God's countenance in the other world. Far be it from us to understand the vision of God, as the common people and some dogmatists, who, like brutes, have no other than a sensual conception of it. No; it means this, that the image of God, and an admirable, consistent, inward notion of his splendour, majesty, and brightness, shall be impressed on the hearts of those who know him, as the image of the sensible world is impressed on thy senses. As thou canst represent to thyself the image of an object with thine eyes closed, and on opening them, perceivest the same object, only with far greater distinctness, such will be the difference between our knowledge of God in this life, and that which will open upon us in the other world." (Ghasali, Kitab Elarbain fi ussul oddin. cod. MS. Berol. fol. 260—263 and 240.)—pp. 130—133.

We are now come to a portion of the work where every page teems with beauties deserving of transcription, but feeling that we must confine ourselves to two additional extracts, of which one is due to some details, which occur towards the close of the volume, we are desirous of selecting the other, not with the view of presenting our readers with a gem, but of expressing the character and progress of the remaining portion of the work. Passing by, therefore, an attractive development of the Saviour's prophetical, priestly, and kingly offices, which extends from the 137th to the 145th page, but will not bear mutilation, and, as we with extreme reluctance do, the very admirable statement and dijudication of the theories of Anselm, Aquinas, and Grotius, upon "Satisfaction" (pp. 154—163), which is worthy of the most careful perusal, but far too long for our pages, we come at length to the following judicious and instructive observations:

'The question, whether juridical representations are applicable to the relations of God to man, coincides with the questions respecting the truth of all our representations of the Most High, and the basis of this truth. If all human relations, that of father and child, of master and servant, of judge and criminal, and even the relations of physical nature, are inapplicable to the Supreme Being and the truths of religion, we are excluded from knowing him by means of any such representations. Tried by the standard of bare abstract notions, it would be difficult to justify the language of Scripture itself. But as these

relations exist only on this account, that God may reveal himself through them, and employ them as a mirror to reflect his image; so in the highest and most proper sense, an earthly father is not a father, nor an earthly judge a judge, nor an earthly king a king; but God is most peculiarly Father, Judge, and King; and only because he is such, are there on earth fathers, judges, and kings. With the deepest significancè is our heavenly Father called the Father of 'the whole family in heaven and earth.' (Eph. iii. 15.) My friend, we speak of him only in similitudes, whether drawn out of the fulness of living nature, or out of his agency as pervading the laws and institutions of mankind. Yet the likeness, as far as it is a likeness, is not something entirely distinct from that which it represents, but is the same in another form.

'Yet, my dear friend, as long as we sojourn in this earthly abode, spiritual truths must have their body; and hence it is, that those who wish to seize the truth in a palpable form, have erred, as well as those who would refine it into bare and abstract notions. Law also has its terrestial body, and in transferring this to the relations between God and man, our older theological school has been chiefly in fault. Confining themselves to the outward representation, they ventured not to investigate the inward meaning; and whoever presumed to deduct any thing from the former, they conceived to commit an injury on the latter. By the exterior of the representation, I mean the accidental, the temporal, the accessory, yet that by which alone the divine idea can be realized by man; the tribunal on which the judge sits, the handwriting on parchment, and the scales in which the equivalent must be weighed, and the equivalent itself, when represented as capable of being weighed. This it is, in the ancient doctrine of our church, which has given just offence; though this very doctrine, since it contained, notwithstanding, the vital truth, has kindled the flame of piety in cold and obdurate hearts, far more than all the empty theories of later times. It contained that truth which the whole sinful race could not have elicited by their own efforts;—the perfect righteousness required by the law presented by the Redeemer as their High-priest, for them and in their stead, when he devoted himself as a sacrifice for sin; and what the whole race could not destroy from among themselves, namely, sin along with the guilt and consequences of sin; this has the High-priest of human-kind removed, forasmuch as by faith in him they are planted together in the likeness of his death as well as of his resurrection. What they were not able of themselves to abolish or destroy—that eternal death, which, unless they are made partakers of eternal life must be their lot—this the death of the Holy One has taken away, 'whom it was not possible for death to hold;' (Acts ii. 24;) or rather, who is risen to that glory, of which all shall be heirs whom he has called to the participation of his kingdom.

'Behold, Guido, in this doctrine of propitiation, the shew-bread in the temple of the Lord, which the faith of a David dared to take; behold here the despised fountain of Siloa springing out of the rock, and which alone can water Jerusalem; behold here the dried path for the children of Israel through the Red Sea; on the right hand and the

left the waves stand as a wall, while they pass over dry-shod.'—pp. 163—167.

Our author now proceeds to describe the moral influence of the gospel upon the believer, a subject which, commenced by Julius, is continued by Guido to the close of the work. But our readers will probably feel that we have said enough to illustrate the character of the book, and we will neither anticipate nor provoke their curiosity any further with respect to the argumentative portion of it. By this time most will be agreed with us in the judgment already expressed, that there is no very great preponderance of the fictitious narrative character in this production; lest this should be altogether missed, we subjoin an extract of that description. In the letter with which the volume closes, Guido describes to Julius the consolatory and blessed experience which flows into the believer's mind from what he obtains by faith, meditation, and study, into the economy of salvation as a consistent whole. This leads him to speak of the communion of saints; in doing which we have the following portrait of an aged disciple of the Lord Jesus:

'This venerable saint has been residing here for a few years, enjoying a perpetual Sabbath of the soul, akin to that of the spirits of the just above, uniting a blissful repose with an equally blissful activity of love. To a very advanced age he was incessantly occupied, both in his journeys and in his fixed abode, with works of philanthropy and piety. The dwellings of misery and sorrow have seen him most frequently, for his highest gratification has been to dry up the tears of the afflicted. He has travelled far and wide. Where his influence and power have been the greatest, he has improved the hospitals and jails; where his efforts for doing good on a larger scale met with opposition, he betook himself to the relief of solitary wretchedness. He believed, that in many cases the mental energies were so oppressed and overborne by physical sufferings, as to be scarcely capable, under that pressure, of applying to spiritual objects. Before, therefore, he pointed out to the afflicted the wounds and disorders of their souls, he first wiped away the tears occasioned by earthly sufferings; and when they had learnt to love him for benefits relating to the body, they listened the more willingly to what he said of spiritual maladies, and of the great Physician. Many who had been necessitous both in soul and body, thanked him, that they were no longer forced, in either respect, to eat 'the bread of tears.' He had acquired some knowledge of the more simple medicinal remedies, and as every thing was rendered subservient, in his hands, to one great aim, he thus found access, by the sick-bed, to the spiritual need of the sufferer. Often would he sit, week after week, by the couch of those in severe sickness, without saying one word respecting the wants of their souls. But, when he had won their hearts by the unostentatious services of humility and love, and a ray of light rested on their temporal prospects, then he has dropped a hint on the happiness of those who have

a heavenly Friend beyond the grave. Thus has often been excited in the weary soul, cheering desire and glimmering hope: it has longed to know more of that heavenly Friend; and many a one has 'fallen asleep,' happy in the faith of Jesus. In such services this beloved servant of God had spent a long series of years in various parts of Europe; and every where had been mindful of the apostolic injunction, 'to weep with those that weep.' Yet to the world at large he was scarcely known. Λάθε βιώσας was the motto of his life. He considered works of love as a balsam, which, if exposed to the air, would lose its virtue and fragrance. He loved to address the objects of his charity in his Saviour's words; 'Go, see thou tell no man.' It could not but happen, that persons unable to comprehend a life flowing from such exalted principles, were ready to say to him, 'Thou art a Samaritan,' or, 'Thou hast a devil.' His only reply was the simple affirmation, 'I am not a Samaritan; I have not a devil.' Here and there a Shimei might be found who railed at him, and called him a son of Belial; but, if any one offered to avenge the insult, he replied in the words of David, 'Let him alone, for the Lord hath bidden him.' Thus had this disciple persevered in 'the narrow way,' even to old age; and, as he approached the end of his course, he was sometimes favoured with bright glimpses of the glories of the land to which he was travelling. But on account of bodily infirmities, he wished for a brief interval of repose, that he might approach, as with youth renewed and spiritual vigour, the period of heavenly renovation. Accordingly, he determined to spend in our city the remaining days of his pilgrimage, and to lay down his pilgrim-cloak at his foster son's, with whom he took up his abode.'—pp. 224—228.

If this quotation have appeared long, let our readers learn that it is a faithful and not overstrained attempt to depict the piety of a real person. This is the Baron Kottwitz, mentioned above as the patron and the friend of Dr. Tholuck, whose image, as the Professor has expressed it, mingled itself so unconsciously with his thoughts when writing, that, intending in the first instance merely what we should call a "*study*" of an aged saint, he was himself surprised at the unquestionable individuality his draught assumed. Having ourselves enjoyed the society of this venerable person, we can attest the fidelity of the portrait. If the original still live on earth, we doubt not that he is ready to be offered, and the time of his departure is at hand. Having fought the 'good fight of 'faith, and laid hold upon eternal life,' he is doubtless waiting for 'that crown of righteousness which the Lord will give, not 'to him only, but also to all those who love his appearing.'

As the following passage describes an actual portion of Professor Tholuck's own biography, and appears to have been suggested to him by the form which his designed ideal draught had so unexpectedly assumed, we cannot prevail upon ourselves to withhold it from the reader. It describes, if not the first interview of these good men, at least the commencement of their confidential intercourse:

'He found the patriarch in company with a young man in a chamber, remarkable only for the absence of ornament. The grey headed old man, upwards of seventy, stood before him as a vision from a higher world. In his countenance were traces of hidden sorrow, yet relieved by the calm exultation of one, who after all his trials found himself 'more than conqueror;' his eyes beamed with an unearthly fire, except when occasionally closed, as if the soul would shut out all outward things, and commune only with the world within. In his mode of address there was no affected softness, but a manly dignity suited to a great and powerful soul. The conversation turned only on things of common life, but tinctured with a certain elevation and purity insensibly resulting from the heart of the speaker being set on infinitely higher objects. Otho particularly remarked the deep and affectionate interest excited in the old man, whensoever persons in affliction, of whatever kind, were mentioned: it was as if he had been a special representative of heaven, sent to impart to all consolation and relief.

'Otho was about to withdraw, when he was asked, whether he had provided himself with a lodging: on his replying in the negative, the old man with a humble mildness, as if requesting a favour, begged him to stay at his house, and partake of his simple fare. The man to whom the highest order of spiritual sentiments is wanting, has always the feeling of constraint in the presence of those who are spiritually his superiors, as if in them he saw the reflection of his own conscience, or rather saw and heard the Divine Judge himself. Thus Otho was overpowered by the indefinable heavenly dignity of the patriarch, that he would, if possible, have declined the offer; but he had no excuse for so doing; (though man is prone to seek for such when the Spirit of God is striving with his heart) and was obliged to stay.

'For three weeks he remained in this Emmaus, and during that time his great spiritual change occurred. In his case it came not in the earthquake, by which those hearts must be convulsed in which idols have long been set up; for his love of self and of the world were not so inveterate; his conversion came on gradually, with a sense of the dignity and tranquil greatness of a truly Christian life, which softened his previously indifferent heart more and more, into humility and love. He saw now, from the beginning of the day to its close, that the Sabbath which this revered disciple chose, was such as God himself celebrates, from whose blessed rest streams of love are ever flowing, and thus consummating the blissfulness of his repose. Destitute children obtained their education and board; the sick and infirm were placed in hospitals, or received medicine and nourishing food at their own dwellings; artizans in distress were furnished with means of support; poor students applied not in vain for aid in their pursuits; persons concerned about the salvation of their souls came for advice and consolation, and those who were already joyful believers, for establishment in the faith. Nor did he who superintended these labours of love, and who had long learnt the divine art of 'not living to himself,' ever appear fatigued or ruffled: to each one, with equal tenderness and warmth, his only word was love—love 'flowed

like precious ointment even to the skirts of his garment,' (Ps. cxxxiii.) Otho called to mind the Scripture expression of being transformed into the image of Christ. He had hitherto considered this only as an oriental form of speech, which he interpreted as simply meaning to be virtuous like Christ. But, by means of the copy, he learnt to understand the original. The conduct of the disciple illustrated the character of the Master. He saw Christ living in the patriarch; and the view of his holy devoted life gave him a far more luminous and impressive commentary on the sacred records than any that books could furnish.'—pp. 230—244.

We have thought proper to illustrate thus in detail the character of the work before us, not only on account of the celebrity both of the author and his book, but because if, as there is every prospect, we are for a time to be favoured more frequently than heretofore with translations from the religious literature of Germany, these must, whoever be the author, be thoroughly sifted in their introduction to us. Not that we would establish an alien office, and treat them as half felons, but it is our duty to point out the observable difference (and here we speak without reference to Dr. Tholuck) of the moral and religious atmosphere in which they are produced. That "Guido and Julius" is not a book adapted to indiscriminate circulation is sufficiently clear. Both its philosophical and literary character demand the educated and thoughtful reader; and for youthful penitents of ordinary attainment among us, better, simpler, and more direct illustrations and appeals connected with sin and salvation may assuredly be found. But on the other hand, the studious Christian who has not his first lessons to learn, may as assuredly discover here

> 'How charming is DIVINE PHILOSOPHY,
> Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
> But musical as is Apollo's lute,
> And a perpetual feast of nectared sweets,
> Where no crude surfeit reigns.'

In reference to the translation, we can truly say that it is hardly possible to speak too well of the care and fidelity which it discovers. We have already adverted to Mr. Ryland's proper exercise of judgment in the omission of the objectionable appendices; and the remaining portion of objectionable matter in the text is so small that we trust the notice we have directed to it covers and medicates the whole case. We noticed in one passage, extracted p. 240 ante, the omission of one brief sentence of the original, but it was an obscurely mystical sentence, to this effect: 'Yes, truly, it is so; the Supreme alone enjoys the Sabbath, still 'man must keep it holy, and, says Plato, 'the gods are not jealous 'of the good man;'' and its absence is rather favourable than otherwise to the connexion. In another passage also (p. 3), we observed a slight error in translation. From the way in which the

passage is rendered, the reader would infer that a human skeleton was actually dragged into the lecture, and exhibited to the students; the sentence however is as follows: 'His office was to teach 'religion. Unweariedly, from day to day, did he drag in before his 'class a skeleton *of the same,* which he had put together, and 'shook the man of bones in such a way as often made his pupils 'shudder.' The liveliness of the representation here seduced the learned translator from the real meaning, which is, that the *dry and bony system* of theology presented to his pupils by these lectures effectually deferred them from all interest in its pursuit. But these things are trifles compared with the substantial merits of the translation, and when set against what we may fairly call the editorial pains of the translator, who has not only verified the quotations, but by giving the original passages, has greatly enhanced the value of the book. We cordially wish that the beautifully-printed volume thus produced, may among the class of readers to whom it is adapted, meet with all the success which it so richly merits.

Art. III. 1. *Memoirs and Select Remains of the Rev. Thomas Rawson Taylor, late Classical Tutor of Airedale College, Yorkshire.* By W. S. Matthews. London, Westley and Davis.

2. *Sermons preached in Howard Street Chapel, Sheffield, by Thomas Rawson Taylor.* London, Hamilton and Co.

3. *Practical Hints, designed to aid the Humble Christian to spend the whole day, and especially to begin and end the day, devoutly and with God.* By the late Rev. Thomas Rawson Taylor. With an Introductory Essay by the Rev. Walter Scott, President of Airedale College. London, Hamilton and Co.

4. *A Funeral Address,* delivered in Horton Lane Chapel, on the 13th March, 1835, at the interment of the Rev. Thomas Rawson Taylor. By the Rev. Walter Scott, of Airedale College. Bradford, W. Byles.

IT is among the mysterious dispensations of Him who governs the Universe, that men of high promise, and of great adaptation for usefulness, are not unfrequently taken away prematurely, while so many of inferior worth and fewer capabilities are allowed to plod on for years in their beaten track. In this dark world, where every ray of light seems needed, how often are our lively anticipations and joyous hopes checked, by the disappearance of some of its brightest luminaries, almost as soon as they begin to attract attention. That distinguished child of genius, Henry Kirke White, after struggling through his difficulties, was just emerging in power and splendour, from the obscurations which had attended his early progress, when he was at once and for ever taken from a world which he appeared so eminently qualified to adorn and bless. A few years afterwards the youthful Spencer

entered on his short but brilliant career. Not perhaps gifted with the soul of poetry, nor eminently distinguished by the acute and profound in metaphysics, but glowing with a Seraph's zeal to 'glorify God in his body and in his spirit,' and to bring his fellow-creatures under the hallowing and saving influence of redeeming mercy; possessing every qualification to win the attention and gain the hearts of a listening audience; adding to extended Scriptural knowledge, all the fervour of holy love; possessing the more solid attainments requisite to ministerial usefulness, in connexion with a most fluent utterance, a voice, the very tones of which went like music to the soul, and an engaging address; he had just entered on a course of evangelical labours, which promised the most important results to the interests of 'pure and undefiled religion,' when he was suddenly snatched from our view. We well remember the thrilling sensation which passed through the kingdom, like an electric shock, when it was announced that so pure and bright a flame had been quenched in the waters of the Mersey.

The subject of the affecting and instructive piece of biography, which has reminded us of these mysterious providences, affords another instance of premature removal from a sphere of usefulness, for which great capabilities had been given, and of the successful occupation of which high expectations were formed. Thomas Taylor was not, it is true, brought so prominently into notice as either of the remarkable young men to whom we have just referred; he was not equal to Kirke White in poetic genius, nor in preaching talent to Spencer; but he united, in no small degree, the excellencies of both with much that was peculiarly his own. From early childhood he seems to have been open to the charms of poetry; and as he advanced in years, though his avocations were of a nature to prevent the assiduous cultivation of the friendship of the muses, yet the productions which he has left show that he possessed the true soul of poetry, and lead us to believe, that had a sense of duty allowed him to indulge his fondness for poetic composition, he might have obtained no mean rank among the 'sons of song.' His talents were known and appreciated by one of our sweetest bards, who, in a tribute to his memory, prefixed to these 'Memoirs,' bears the following high testimony to their rank:—

> 'A dying lay I would rehearse,
> In memory of one whose breath
> Poured forth a strain of such sweet verse,
> As might have borne away from death
> The trophy of a sister's name,
> —Winning at once, and giving fame.'

The allusion here is to the loss of a beloved sister, to whom T. R. Taylor was tenderly attached, and whose death occasioned

the poem to which Mr. Montgomery refers. It was published soon after it was written, and is the longest of the pieces in the poetical 'Remains.' We shall make an extract from it, as a specimen of the warm affection of his heart, and his poetic susceptibilities. It is entitled 'COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD.'

'MARY! thou once would'st listen to my call,
And answer it with ready smiles; and now,
If on thy spirit's ear my words may fall,
Oh! surely from thy glory thou wilt bow,
Though thou dost wear a crown upon thy brow,
Or that which honours thee as crowns do here,—
Come—I am far away from home, and thou,
Of all my heart's beloved art most near,
And if thou hearest not, there is not one to hear.

'My heart is sad and weary.—It is night,
A cold November night. The autumn gale
Comes, like the sighings of a troubled sprite,
Upon my ear and spirit. 'Tis a tale
To turn the cheek of blooming rapture pale,
The dismal ditty of the whistling wind;
Summer and spring have no such dreary wail;
But they are dead, and the year mourns, to find,
For all their many sweets, stern winter left behind.

'What melancholy tones! How strangely linked
The spirit is to sound! for I have grown
Quite sad with listening:—dark, and indistinct
Feelings, and fancies, o'er my soul have flown;
Like shadows when the sun is going down
Behind the mountains. I will hear no more;
But have sweet converse—Ah! I am alone,
And when I say my greetings o'er and o'er,
And wait an answer—hark! that wind's eternal roar.

'Alone!—and so I call again to thee,
Mary, my sister! come and join me, sweet.
Be my companion all unseen, and we
Shall be so happy once again to meet,
And talk about the pleasures, bright and fleet,
That once we shared together, in our love,
And deep affection; and thou shalt repeat
(Thus shalt thou be my olive-bearing dove),
One of the hymns of praise, which thou hast learned above.

'I do believe thou art not very far,
Even at this moment from me. Hast thou not
Come swiftly down in thy invisible car,
And lighted by me in this lonely spot?
My little room is hallowed, and my lot—
I will not call it desolate again.
Winds! ye may howl your worst and dreariest; (what—
What are the winds to me?) but all in vain;
Ye shall not make me sad—I will not now complain.

' Mary, my own dear Sister! oh, how long,
How *very* long it seems since last we met!—
I can remember thee when thou wast strong,
And thy sweet looks, which I shall ne'er forget.
There were not *many* cheeks had then been wet
With tears for thee; but since how many a one!
And many an eye is sadly drooping yet,
Which, o'er thine early grave, afresh begun
To pour its fountains forth—when will those tears be done?"
p. 290.

In the poetic ' Remains,' the reader of taste may occasionally perceive a roughness of versification, and perhaps an imperfect rhyme (poor Kirke White had his heart almost broken by a dull and unfeeling critic for an imperfect rhyme); but these slight blemishes are amply compensated by a tender sensibility, a fervour of piety, and frequently a rich and playful fancy. The passionate love of home, and of the dear domestic circle, in which the early part of his life had been spent, appears very strongly in his correspondence;—the extract just given indicates a heart exquisitely alive to the social feelings, and the following from ' a ' Fragment,' refers to his boyhood.

' —For I was a domestic boy
Ev'n from my cradle; and I found
Such deep delight within the bound
Of my glad home, that other bliss
Was poor and tame compared with this.
To hear my father talk of things
More wonderful, in heaven and earth,
Than the most wild imaginings
Of my young soul had shadowed forth;
To sit beside my gentle mother,
As I was wont, for hours and hours,
While she would tell me of another
More lovely land by far than ours,
And ask me if I should not love
To go and have my home above,
Till she beheld my tears declare
How ardently I longed to be
A dweller in that home, if she—
My mother—might be with me there.'—p. 316.

We shall not be trespassing on the patience of our readers by one more extract, which we insert partly on account of the brevity of this beautiful little lyric; and also as showing, that while, with a poet's eye, he viewed the loveliness of nature, and felt his heart touched by that mysterious power which the mind of exquisite sensibility feels in its communings with the beautiful and the awful in the forms of creation, he did not indulge in the wild

musings of a pantheistic mysticism, which have sometimes been mistaken for the very sublime of poetry.

GOD IS LOVE.

'All I feel, and hear, and see,
God of love, is full of thee!

Earth, with her ten thousand flowers—
Air, with all its beams and showers—
Ocean's infinite expanse—
Heaven's resplendent countenance—
All around and all above
Hath this record—'God is love.'

Sounds, among the vales and hills,
In the woods and by the rills,
Of the breeze and of the bird,
By the gentle murmur stirred,—
All these songs, beneath, above—
Have one burden—'God is love.'

All the hopes and fears that start
From the fountain of the heart;
All the quiet bliss that lies
In our human sympathies;—
These are voices from above,
Sweetly whispering—'God is love.'

All I feel, and hear, and see,
God of love, is full of thee."—pp. 262.

In addition to the poetic pieces, which occupy something more than 100 pages, several prose papers are inserted, the principal part of which had previously appeared in some of the periodicals.

But that portion of the volume, which is by far the most important in every view, is that which, by epistolary correspondence, interspersed with as much narrative as was necessary to connect the various particulars to which reference is made, exhibits the gradual formation and development of his religious character, in circumstances of a very interesting, and frequently a most trying, nature. Thomas Rawson Taylor was the eldest son of a respectable Dissenting minister of the Independent denomination, for many years pastor of a large and flourishing church in Bradford, Yorkshire, who still lives, though bereaved of many who were dear, "bringing forth fruit in old age." The subject of this memoir was born, May 9, 1807. The first fifteen years of his life he spent at home, school absence excepted, amidst the endearments of an affectionate domestic circle. This period was marked by nothing peculiar, except the warmth of his affection, his assiduous application to learning, and some indications of a poetic spirit, joined to intellectual vigour. Though his deportment was amiable, his conduct moral, and considerable feeling was some-

times manifested respecting the great concerns of religion, his piety had not yet assumed a character of decision. For some time, it appears, he had cherished a desire to enter the Christian ministry. His father, however, wisely and conscientiously forebore to encourage this feeling till his possession of religion should become unquestionable. In May, 1824, he was apprenticed to a bookseller in Nottingham; where his application to business, his engaging deportment, and his mental endowments, secured him the affection and the kind attentions of the pious family of which he had become an inmate. Towards the close of the year, his religious impressions became, under the ministry of the Rev. R. Cecil, strong and permanent; and with his usual ardour he gave himself up to the service of Christ, and united himself to the Independent church, among whom he had received so much profit. This important change gave a new impulse to his mind, he now looked on every thing in its relation to eternity, and all his pursuits took their shape and aim under the controlling influence of religious principle. His former aspirations for the Christian ministry were renewed with increased force; it soon became apparent that another sphere of action was designed for him; he was sanctioned in his views by the church of which he was a member; and his master generously consented to dispense with the remainder of his term of service, that he might, without any unnecessary delay, enter on his preparatory studies. The workings of his mind during this period of transition, are portrayed in a very simple and affecting manner, by extracts from his correspondence. After five or six months application at home, in order to recover and improve the classical knowledge which he had acquired at school, and to prepare himself, in every respect, to enter on an academical course of study with advantage, he thus writes on the immediate prospect of admission to the college, then situated at Idle; under the presidency of the Rev. W. Vint:

'Sept. 1826.—I go on Monday to Idle . . . . Oh that I may be found faithful! It is a most awfully responsible station to which I aspire, and which I am about to fill—I need your prayers more than ever. If I look back, I feel I am *weakness:* I desire to look upwards, to trust on the mercy of God, to regard him as my all, and then all shall be well. O for more love to Christ! When this divine principle is glowing in our hearts, how sweet to be, to do, to suffer, any thing or every thing for his sake.'—pp. 36.

The letters of Thomas Taylor were so numerous, and so regular a correspondence was maintained by him with one beloved friend in particular, his biographer we presume, that almost every particular in his life and experience is brought before us by himself. In the epistolary extracts we see indications of a continually expanding mind, an ardent prosecution of his studies, and a generous devotedness to the cause in which he had em-

barked; interspersed with various speculations of a literary and philosophical nature, and dissertations, humorous and descriptive, proving at once, the depth of his piety, the activity of his intellect, and the innocent playfulness of a cheerful disposition, occasionally unbending from graver studies. During this period, his visit to the church in Howard Street, Sheffield, led to the expression of a wish on their part, that he should eventually become their pastor. Having two years of his academic course to come, he wisely declined for a time an engagement, but the attachment then reciprocally formed, led subsequently to his settlement as pastor of that church. In August, 1828, an unexpected stroke of affliction chilled his hopes, and darkened his prospects of usefulness in that work to which he had so completely devoted himself. A bleeding from the lungs suspended his labours and his studies, and for some time wore a threatening aspect. His correspondence at this time exhibits a strong desire still to be employed in the work in which his soul delighted, but a desire chastened by much submission to the will of his "Father in heaven." A residence on the sea-coast rendered him convalescent, and the elasticity of his spirit rose with a rebound from this affliction, stronger in grace, and highly improved in Christian experience.

'On the second sabbath in July, 1830, he commenced his 'stated duties as the minister of Howard Street chapel, Sheffield, 'amidst the most pleasing anticipations of ministerial success.' Within a month, however, this young and gifted servant of Christ, having just commenced that work to which all his desires, and hopes, and labours, had for several years been tending, received a check, which threw a deep gloom over the whole circle in which he moved. Symptoms of disease re-appeared; and notwithstanding his struggles to maintain his post, he was compelled for a season to abandon it in search of health. From this time his correspondence increases in melancholy interest; the subsequent portion of his life presents a series of hopes and fears, earnest aspirations for active usefulness, and patient acquiescence in repeated disappointments. Every favourable indication which kindled his ardour, only prepared him for a severer trial of his faith. Every interval of sunshine was followed by darker clouds and heavier storms. But his strength grew in proportion to his difficulties; every new demand for faith and patience, brought out these virtues in greater power and prominence; and if he was not permitted by active service, he was enabled, by patient endurance, to glorify God, and to exemplify the transcendent excellencies of genuine Christianity. After many frustrated hopes and fruitless efforts, he was compelled to relinquish every idea of retaining the pastoral office; and in a letter breathing a spirit of most exalted devotion and generous affection, he addressed to his

beloved charge his resignation, dated the 24th of May, 1831. His people, naturally and earnestly desirous of possessing some permanent memorial of a pastor, so affectionately esteemed, and so soon removed, requested that he would print a volume of his sermons. With their solicitations he complied, and published twelve discourses, which are characterised by great simplicity and perspicuity of style, a correctness of judgment, and an apostolic fervour of desire for the salvation of those to whom they were originally addressed. We could with pleasure make many extracts, but we have already exceeded our intended limits.

After many fluctuations of health and hope, he accepted the office of classical tutor to Airedale College, on the duties of which he entered in the beginning of March, 1834. But disappointments still attended him;—the crisis at length arrived, which, completing the term of his earthly probation, terminated all his sorrows, and placed him in the possession of endless rest. Early in 1835, his former complaint returned with greater violence; and on the 7th of March, in the calm enjoyment of a hope full of immortality, he exchanged earth for heaven.

Extended as our notice of these 'Memoirs' has been, we feel that we should not have discharged our duty by a mere cursory glance at a work, which, we believe, none can read without advantage, and which we are especially anxious to recommend to our more youthful readers, to every student for the Christian ministry, and, indeed, to all who bear that sacred office. Cold must be the heart that does not feel, during the recital of such incidents, and the relation of such experience; and very unsusceptible must be his mind who does not rise from the perusal of this work, made wiser and better by it. We are happy to say that the 'Memoirs' are written in a manner worthy of their subject; and that while their modest 'compiler' evidently possesses no mean powers as a writer, his great object is, not to exhibit himself to advantage, but to give a faithful delineation of his departed friend.

The 'Practical Hints' were written at the request of an intimate friend, whose hospitality Taylor was then sharing; after his decease they were published, with a preface, by his friend and colleague, who fills the Theological chair in Airedale College, with a view to general usefulness. Whether the entire plan of private devotion here recommended, or so completely systematic an attention to its duties, be adopted or not, its general excellence, and the proof which it furnishes of the habitual and fervent piety of its author must be admitted by all. The 'Funeral Address,' by the Rev. W. Scott, is one, not only of unusual length, but of no ordinary value. Without a single effort at rhetorical effect, it describes, in a masterly manner, the character and worth of the deceased, the loss which society in general, and the church

in particular, have sustained; and opportunely urges on all, in a very effective manner, the solemn considerations which such an event suggests.

We have only to add, that the work is got up in a neat and creditable manner, without levying any tax for waste paper and wide margins.

Art. IV. *The Christian Correspondent: Letters, Private and Confidential, by Eminent Persons of both Sexes, Exemplifying the Fruits of Holy Living, and the Blessedness of Holy Dying.* With a Preliminary Essay by James Montgomery, Esq. In 3 vols. London: Ball. 1837.

THE desire to look into the past as well as the future is characteristic of man; and the power to do so is a valuable endowment of his rational being. It is in fact of the nature of an instinct of the mind, not springing from any process of reasoning as to the propriety of investigating, or the desirableness of ascertaining, the transactions of departed time, but, so far as we can judge, from an internal and original impulse.

The inferior animals appear to have no consciousness of the past, or at least, no treasured reminiscences. We can scarcely call that a remembrance of this kind which consists in the love or the fear of a thing or a person, arising from the transient acts of kindness or of cruelty, which have generated corresponding emotions such as those of which the animal is susceptible; for they are fluctuating and evanescent, or however strong in given cases, rather belong to the class of sensations than perceptions. It is clear that they have no mental memorials of the past, and no medium through which to hold intercourse with other generations, or retrace the history of their own. And why should they? There appears no necessity for such a constitution, no useful purpose to be accomplished by it, were it established; and nothing was made in vain, or even without an adaptation to an end, obvious, in every considerable instance, to our inquiring curiosity. This is one of the points where instinct ends and reason begins; the pillars of Hercules that bound the world of instinct.

From this economy of the rational existence,—the desire of and the capacity for retrospection,—pleasure and utility abundantly flow. The delight which sparkles in the eye, and quickens the pulsations of the palpitating heart of the school boy, when he is first initiated into the mysteries of Greek and Roman lore, and in ecstasies of imagination, fights a thousand battles, or speaks a thousand speeches over again, is but the prelude and prognostic of the gratification which the matured intellect will experience in

the ever enlarging knowledge acquired by profound research; and on this ground we have always a degree of sympathy with the satisfactions even of those minds whose powers have been somewhat moulded into a grotesque form, by the nature of their studies leading them into the minutiæ and ramifications of antiquarianism. But these enjoyments lie more evidently on the surface, with regard to the great majority of mankind, and have no inconsiderable influence in every bosom. They are to be found in all degrees, from the amusements of fiction to the solemnities of history, beguiling the youngster's winter hours, when he eagerly listens to the frightfully pleasing stories of hobgoblins and apparitions, or cheering the student's solitude as he penetrates the depths of time by the light of his midnight lamp. What multitudes of the dead still speak to the ear and to the heart of the living, in the form of treatises, travels, speeches, histories, poetry, or letters; still declaring their sentiments, detailing their information, and unfolding their feelings! We are thus enabled to mingle in assemblies long since dissolved, to listen to voices long since silent, to hold converse with beings long since interred. We rejoice again with those who once rejoiced, and become, as it were, inhabitants of the world before we were born. Can any thing exceed the pleasure of entering the dwellings, sitting at the fire-sides, mingling in the occupations, nay, looking into the very hearts of bye-gone ages, through the various media in question. Can any thing surpass the gratification of becoming, as it were, the living witnesses of departed transactions, and seeing spring up afresh before us their actions, their plans, and their thoughts; especially when they have a relation to our circumstances, or embrace a portion of our own ancestry. Letters above all, which represent the passing emotions of the hour, the love or the hatred, the joy or the sorrow of the moment—which unveil to us what was written to another in the secrecy of confiding friendship, and at the time sealed to all the living besides—which not only give an insight into character, but stamp duration upon the fugitive thoughts of the mind, the play of fancy and the coruscations of genius, are eminently adapted to afford entertainment. That page or this letter was written by a great man, or a good man, amidst the toils, and in the progress of a labour, which has enriched posterity with instructions, and impressed immortal fame upon its author; or which, in thoughtful or in hurried mood, was transmitted to a friend on the eve of a transaction by which the writer advanced the glory of his country, and gave a chapter to the history of the world.

We are naturally fond of becoming acquainted with secrets; and this is one means by which they are revealed, and is consequently one source of high gratification. Curiosity prompts to seek acquaintance with the inward workings of the mind, the

motives that have stimulated certain actions or led to particular associations. We thus become, so to speak, familiar with the anatomy of the mind, and are taught to dissect it; and to ascertain what others, who were contemporaries perhaps, entirely misunderstood. All the feelings of surprise, admiration, and conscious improvement, in the knowledge of men and things, are brought into powerful operation, and afford corresponding satisfaction.

Great, however, as the pleasure may be, the *profit* is incalculably greater. The insight we gain into human nature, the instructions we acquire from the investigations of human wit and wisdom, and the results we witness as proceeding from complicated transactions of human life, are of inexpressible importance to the future pursuits of science, the perfecting of art, and the regulation of conduct. And not only from general history, or elaborate biography, or controversial discussions in politics or polemics, but even still better, often from correspondence, do we gain lessons of practical wisdom, adapted to our own times and circumstances. But while we hail the great mass of epistles transmitted from our ancestors, as well adapted to throw light on the transactions of history or of domestic life, we must be allowed to value, at the highest rate, those which have been written expressly on the principles of Christianity, in its genuine spirit, and with a view to illustrate its character. From the apostolic epistles downward, the pious, and many of these have been the mighty too, have recorded their sentiments on various private occasions of grief or joy, which, beneficially for us, have been preserved from the ravages of time. We might have said indeed, that letters of still more ancient date have been transmitted to us, the perusal of which cannot fail to instruct the well-ordered mind. To these, Mr. Montgomery, in his Preliminary Essay, thus refers:

'This is a volume in which no small number of letters by eminent personages are preserved, which, from the hour when they were penned, and till the end of time, have had, and will continue to have, a moral influence over millions upon millions of readers. The oldest epistle in existence may be found there; and it is one which, if there were no other example of the incalculable importance of this species of thought embodied, and followed by action into everlasting consequences, would stand a dreadful memorial of a wicked deed and a righteous retribution; as a warning to every one who devises evil against his neighbour, and trusts the secret of his soul (while he would fain hide it from his own conscience) to this fugitive, but in the instance alluded to, *imperishable* vehicle of communication with the heart of another, to enlist him to become an accomplice or a perpetrator of the meditated crime. This is the letter; the preceding context is well known, and needs not repetition here. 'And it came to pass in the morning, that David wrote a letter to Joab, *and sent it by the hand of Uriah;* and he wrote in the letter, saying: *Set ye Uriah*

in the fore-front of the hottest battle, and retire ye from him that he may be smitten and die.' 2 Sam. xi. 14, 15. The sequel is equally familiar. This was the sin; what was the judgment? The repentance and pardon of the offender are, indeed, happily for himself and mercifully for us, recorded; but the sentence pronounced was not remitted in one tittle of its terrible particulars: it is executing even at this day upon the memory of him who has been in sepulchre three thousand years; and the seal of it is thus superscribed, '*Thou didst it secretly, but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the sun.*' Yes, and while Israel remains upon the face of the earth, in the character of the rejected, as once the chosen people of God, now scattered abroad among all nations, as formerly separated from them; and so long as the sun shall shine in the firmament, revealing the works of darkness,—so long shall the sin of David be known throughout the world, and the faithfulness of God in the penalty inflicted upon him for it, be promulgated. It will never cease to be repeated in every language into which the words of eternal life shall be translated, *Thou didst it secretly, but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the sun.* There are few pages in the Bible, save those which describe the betrayal, abandonment, denial, and crucifixion of the Son of God, so fearful to read as the few paragraphs which relate the story connected with this brief letter. How ought we to tremble to permit a sinful imagination to escape from our pen, in the false security of confidential correspondence, lest it should have interminable issues!

'It is remarkable that the very next, even the second letter in point of date, which has been handed down to us, perpetuates the infamy of a deed, if not of equally aggravated atrocity, nor contrived with such self-deceiving subtlety to avoid detection, yet of the most hideous wickedness, disdaining disguise, and reckless of justice. In the first book of Kings, chap. xxi., we read: 'She (Jezebel) wrote letters in Ahab's name, and sealed them with his seal, and sent them unto the elders, and to the nobles that were in his city, dwelling with Naboth. And she wrote in the letters, saying, Proclaim a fast, and set Naboth on high among the people. And set two men of Belial before him, to bear witness against him, saying, Thou didst blaspheme God and the king; and then carry him out and stone him, that he may die.' Who will despise the day of (*these*) small things, if such sometimes be their power and their results?'

Mr. M. then adverts to letters of another kind, in the same volume, namely, to the series of epistles by the inspired writers of the New Testament, in which, as he justly observes, though all were equally inspired by the same Spirit, and intended for the edification of the church universal, may be traced the features and peculiarities of the writers themselves, as well as the differing circumstances and characters of the particular churches, or the insulated persons to whom the originals were directed. The accounts, given in the Evangelists and the Acts of the Apostles, of the men, need only be compared with the style, manner,

train of thought, and sentiments of each, to authenticate these Epistles in connexion with the names to which they are ascribed.

But we have begun at the end of this Preliminary Essay. It commences with a reference to the pleasure we feel in hearing from an absent friend, and the peculiar value which his letters have in the estimation of the persons to whom they are primarily addressed. It is truly remarked, that in letter-writing, when the heart is earnestly engaged, the first thoughts in the first words are usually the best; for this obvious reason, that the ideas which rise, and thicken as they rise, in a mind full and overflowing with its subject, voluntarily embody themselves in language the most easy and appropriate. The sweetest sensation communicable by a letter can only be enjoyed once and in perfection, by the person addressed. With strangers the pleasure depends on the knowledge of the parties, obtained from different quarters, and on other adventitious circumstances. To the original receiver it has a particular stamp of interest and reality; to the rest of mankind it is representation, analogous in the one case to the true speeches of ancient heroes, and in the other the composed and imagined ones imputed to them by their chroniclers. As every man is recognized in his absence by the recollection of his gait, manner, face, and other circumstances, so a letter gives us the peculiar aspect or gait, so to speak, of his mind, and by this he is distinguished from every other.

'Why are the letters of women, for the most part, more frank and agreeable than those of men? Because, except in the artificial circles of life, or when perverted by false sentimentality, they present the first-fruits of their thoughts in the first forms of language that occur in the conception of them. Their opinions are as naturally expressed on paper as their genuine features are represented in their mirrors, when they snatch a passing look to see themselves just as they are—that is, just as they ought to be—before they join the family dinner-table, or sit down in the ring at the fire-side: not as they are compelled to appear among the live statues (as formal as marble and as cold) of visiting acquaintance in a set party; or to move in the whirl of that limbo of vanity, a ball-room, amidst the more vivacious automata, that seem to have every thing belonging to humanity about them, except souls. The better sex, where they give their confidence at all, give it heartily. Hence they are far more ingenuous, and therefore far more delightful correspondents, than most of those who call themselves the lords of the creation, but who are never more so than when they condescend to become women and children in letter-writing; that is, when they give expression to their feelings with the innocent hilarity of the one, and the full flow of soul and affection of the other.'

We agree with our author in considering letters as very important side-lights to history—'marginal notes or running commentaries on the universal volume of man as he is, as he was, and as he ever will be'—and we agree also that they constitute one of

the most valuable species of auto-biography; but one circumstance seems to be overlooked which has often struck us, and of which probably every individual, or at least every one who is addicted to much letter-writing, is conscious. There is a strongly modifying influence upon the mind, in epistolary communications, arising from the idea we entertain of the person addressed, so that they frequently take their complexion from the character, or supposed character of others, rather than exhibit the peculiarities of our own intellectual or moral nature. Who has not felt that in writing to a man of remarkable humour, he is inclined to be facetious, or in addressing a person of a very grave and sedate constitution he is disposed to be solemn? Who is not disposed accordingly, for various reasons, to put a restraint upon himself, and to suppress any powerful tendencies which he may deem unwelcome or unappreciated by another, that he may not offend, or that he may please his correspondent? Now, though this propensity, more or less in different persons, may not be sufficient to vitiate materially the auto-biographical truth of his own character, as exhibited in unpremeditated and confidential compositions of this kind; yet they are sufficient to qualify our estimate of them as pictures of a man's own mind. This consideration does not indeed oppose the general sentiment here expressed, but it should in all reason, be introduced to modify it.

Mr. Montgomery's essay is ingeniously written, and has besides, the merit of not being too long. Here and there may be traced the poetic cast of its author's mind, occasioning those turns of expression which render it additionally pleasing. With regard to the letters, which constitute the main body of the work, their number, selected from more than a hundred different writers, and involving the careful inspection of multitudes of volumes, bespeak sufficient diligence, and their arrangement an adequate degree of regard, both to the instruction and entertainment of the reader. In a compilation of this kind, an editor must of course be allowed a considerable latitude in the exercise of his own taste, and ought not to be lightly censured for a want of discrimination. In the present instance we can perceive no ground for such a charge; on the contrary, these volumes contain a great amount of instructive matter, conveniently disposed under the following general heads: Illustrations of Christian Character—Illustrations of Religious Experience, and of the Various Methods of Divine Grace by which the Christian Character is Developed and Matured—Congratulatory Letters—Letters of Condolence and Consolation—Letters of Christian Affection and Friendship. Were we to quote specimens of these gratifying and comprehensive contents, we should scarcely know where to end, and we shall, therefore, content ourselves with strongly recommending the volumes to the early perusal of our readers.

Art. V. 1. Exley's *New Theory of Physics; founded on Gravitation.* 8vo.

2. *Physical Optics, explained on the principles of Gravitation.* By Thomas Exley. 8vo.

THE world has been so accustomed to hear the theory of atoms identified with the impieties of Democritus and Epicurus, that some persons find it not at all easy to divest themselves of the association. Modern Chemistry has, however, found the advantage and necessity of recurring to the idea of primary indivisible elements, such as the ancients called Atoms. In that science it has proved no longer the barren dogma that it once was, but a highly important practical consideration; and has furnished the foundation which was before wanting, to resolve all the *chemical* changes of bodies into *mechanical* arrangement and disarrangement. The next step to be looked for is, to reduce Chemistry to a science of numerical computation, akin to Pneumatics and Optics.

Such, and more than this, seems to be the purpose of the *New Theory of Physics.* Desirous of being intelligible to ordinary readers, the author has not undertaken any arduous mathematical investigations; but (with the exception of very few pages) exhibits a type free from artificial symbols. Without these, he undertakes to show how all the important phenomena of *molecular action*, whether in Solids, Liquids, or Gases; whether Chemical or Electrical, Galvanic or Magnetic, may be accounted for upon a few very simple *mechanical* principles.

On subjects so abstruse and controverted it would be presumptuous and absurd in us to dogmatize. We have read the author's books as learners, rather than as judges. They are an appeal to popular readers and to common sense; and we only pretend to such a measure of acquaintance with these topics as to make us not unintelligent students.

We shall sketch what we think sufficient to make our readers understand the nature of his views. As all ordinary matter is allowed to exert attraction on distant bodies, but repulsion on those that are very near, Mr. E. maintains that this same thing is true likewise of that which he names *ethereal matter;* viz. the fluids on which heat, light, electricity, and magnetism depend. In this he differs from the prevailing opinion; which holds that the electric fluid exerts repulsion on its own particles even at sensible distances, and adheres to heavy bodies only at distances quite insensible. He discards the idea that the cohesion of bodies follows any other law than that of gravitation. Having refuted, as he believes, that proposition in Newton's Principia,

which maintains an opposite view, he considers himself justified in assuming that cohesion is nothing but a close gravitation. Here he comes strongly into conflict with one of our most eminent men of science, who declares that the attempt 'to confound 'molecular attraction with the general attraction of gravity is re-'futed by the plainest facts.' We cannot help observing that it seems quite immaterial to Mr. E.'s explanations of natural phenomena, what the *law* is of cohesion and repulsion; so that it increases rapidly as the distance diminishes.

It being conceded that all matter exerts repulsion, instead of attraction, at very minute distances; it follows that there is a distance from the centre of an atom, at which the attraction ceases, and *within* which there is repulsion. This constitutes a small spherical surface all round the atom, called by Mr. Exley the SPHERULE of the atom. If, then, the centre of one atom be on the spherule of another, they will be held together with some force, in a stable equilibrium; for the attempt to press the centres nearer together is resisted by repulsion; and the attempt to separate them is resisted by attraction. Farther: he denies that there is any attractive or cohesive power yet interior to that which is repulsive. It is often alleged in proof, that, if we endeavour to press two substances together (as lead and tin), strong resistance is experienced: but if a force be applied adequate to overcome this resistance, the two substances cohere. Mr. E. attributes the apparent repulsion to ethereal matter that is between them (if we understand him). For the same reason it is impossible to fit together broken glass; because ethereal fluid has run over the broken edges.

If it be allowed that the atoms of the electric fluid are exceedingly small and weak, compared to those of solid matter, it may be inferred that on the spherule of a *tenacious* atom may be clustered together a vast congeries of *ethereal* atoms, forming around it what he names an ATMOSPHERULE. He supposes the force of an atom of ethereal matter to be possibly *twenty million* times less than that of an atom of hydrogen: (every theory that exists on these subjects is forced into numbers that sound extravagantly great): but the magnitude of the spherule of repulsion he believes to be most disproportionately large in the ethereal atoms; so that all the atoms of an atmospherule repel one another with enormous force, though they are constrained into contiguity by the superior attraction of the central tenacious atom. Yet, if two tenacious atoms be contiguous, they may variously modify the shape of one another's atmospherule. For instance, they may be brought so near, that their atmospherules begin to repel each other, and to recede from the common axis between the two atoms. And if they be brought nearer still, the two atmospherules

will intermix, forming an elongated cloud. The two atoms now form a particle, having 'a kind of polarity,' that is, their attraction is stronger on some sides than others. The same may be extended to three or more atoms. By similar considerations he shows how ethereal matter would collect itself under certain conditions; especially along the edges and points of bodies. And this is applied to account for the fact, that electric matter is most readily conducted along points and edges.

If two atoms be within each other's attraction, they will rush together with a velocity that increases, until the one falls into the spherule of the other; then the attraction changes into repulsion. When *each* is within the other's spherule, both repel: thus the velocity with which they are meeting is retarded, and finally destroyed. Upon this the repulsion begins again to separate them, with a velocity at first increasing; but when each emerges from the other's spherule, the velocity of separation becomes more and more retarded by the attraction now arising; until at last the motion again ceases. Then the attraction again begins the whole process afresh. Thus there is a perpetual vibration of the atoms, which run up and down a common axis, alternately approaching and receding, for ever. This seems usefully to illustrate the peculiar internal vibration which probably acts within solid bodies; when heat, or any other cause, slightly deranges the equilibrium of the atoms. It is similarly inferred, that when a body is formed with plane surfaces, a slight blow will cause a vibration in all the atmospherules; and that those in the centre of the surface will vibrate perpendicularly to it; those at the edge, in a plane passing through the edge, *between* the planes that there meet.

The nature of *Elasticity* is thus elucidated by Mr. Exley. He first supposes three straight rows of atoms, held together in equilibrio by mutual attraction: if, then, any force be applied to bend them into a curve, the inner or concave side naturally has its atoms pressed too close, and a repulsive power is called out which becomes more energetic, the greater is the compression. Meanwhile the outer or convex side has its atoms drawn apart; whereby their mutual attractions are elicited. Thus each side exerts an effort for the recovery of the pristine state; and if the derangement have not been so great as to draw the outermost atoms beyond the sphere at which their mutual attractions are sensible and effective, the pristine state will be effectually recovered. If not, the body is *broken* by the force applied to *bend* it.

The doctrine of Definite Proportions in Chemistry, of course, perfectly fits in with his views. We are glad to learn the cordial reception which some of Mr. E.'s investigations met with at the last meeting of the British Association. It is reported that he cal-

culated the specific gravities of fifty-seven substances, supposed in the gaseous state; and that he found the results to agree very nearly with experiment.

That, even in mechanical science, it is not nugatory to attend so much to atoms, we might learn from the fact that La Place once formed the design to make molecular force the basis of a treatise on Mechanics. But certainly in Chemistry, above all, is its proper field; and there seems reason to hope that here Mr. E.'s principles may prove very fertile. Chemistry and Electricity seem to be his favourite subjects. Yet, on all topics which he treats, he writes like a man practically at home, and one who perfectly understands what he means himself, in the most transcendental discussions.

But to illustrate his way of explaining phenomena, we shall make a few extracts:—

'If a collection of tenacious atoms, each being totally enveloped in its own atmospherule, be contained in a vessel or given space, and subjected to some determinate pressure, variable within given limits; and if the ethereal atoms be so far confined within that space, that they cannot, by the greatest limit of the given pressure, be made to escape so much, as to allow the contact of the spherules of the tenacious atoms or particles; the collection will form a body having the properties of an ELASTIC FLUID, or gaseous substance.

'For it is manifest, the atoms will move freely among themselves on the application of a small partial force; and that a contraction or expansion will be produced by an increase or decrease of the pressure; since by the given pressure the centres of the ethereal atoms, resting on the spherules of the tenacious ones and on each other, are kept nearer together than they would be under a less pressure.'

'If, under the given pressure the ethereal atoms escape so much as to allow the tenacious atoms to approach very near to each other; but yet leaving such a portion of the atmospherules that the ethereal atoms can move or pass on every side of the tenacious ones; the collection will form a body having the properties of a LIQUID.

'For the freedom of motion of the atoms among themselves is still continued; but the space they occupy is greatly contracted . . . . . also . . . a considerable difference of pressure will now produce only a small alteration in the volume.'—p. 38.

It will be perceived that these views represent the distinctions of solid, liquid, and gaseous, to refer to difference of degree rather than of kind; which is already recognised as a truth of philosophy. They agree also with Dr. Wollaston's speculations as to the finite extent of the atmosphere: viz. that it must somewhere be so rare, that gravity would balance repulsion. Of course the well known property of bodies giving out heat as they become more solid, but absorbing heat to become more liquid, more gaseous, or more rarified, is dwelt on by Mr. E. as in accordance with his theory. But, in fact, it is notorious that this has

long been thought a powerful argument for the existence of a material fluid, *Caloric;* and this is all that it could prove.

'Metals, and such bodies as will yield in a certain degree to the stroke of the hammer, are rendered more dense, and often more hard and fragile, by hammering.

'*Explanation.*—This operation must tend to bring the atoms nearer together, and to exclude a large portion of ethereal matter from between them. Hence although the force of cohesion will be increased, the flexibility of the body will be impaired, and evidently the density will be augmented.' p. 100.

'Some red hot bodies, by being quenched in cold water, or suddenly cooled, become harder and more brittle. Iron and steel afford well known examples.

'*Explanation.*—The atoms of the surface in cooling unite, and inclose a portion of caloric, as in the last phenomenon; [viz. when some melted compositions are suddenly cooled outside, but long retain the heat within.] The sudden cooling is the means of bringing the atoms (their forces and spherules admitting it) closer together than otherwise they would have been; which renders the body harder. The quantity of caloric inclosed, and even compressed, within the body, renders it more brittle. For when the outward thin crust is broken, it readily snaps asunder by the evolution and bursting forth of the caloric at the fracture.' p. 101.

It will be seen, that while others account for *toughness* by attributing it to the cohesive power being weak but extensive in range, and for *brittleness*, by the same power being strong, but very limited in range; Mr. E. imputes brittleness to the fact, that the internal caloric is *compressed*, and struggling to gain an exit. 'For this reason, also,' says he, 'glass vessels cooled hastily will easily break on a slight alteration of temperature; but if 'they are cooled gradually, they are much stronger.' It is a curious and perhaps valuable illustration.

The excitement of Electricity by friction, is generally held as an ultimate fact, the cause of which we do not understand. Mr. E. accounts for it thus.

'The (electric) fluid is most diffused over the surfaces. Hence when they are rubbed together, partly from the difference of the surfaces, and partly from that of the sort of bodies, the connexion of their parts, their degrees of hardness, &c., it is to be expected, *à priori*, as a natural consequence, that a portion of the fluid of one will pass to that of the other: and hence, when separated, the one will be disposed to part with some of its fluid to the surrounding bodies, the other to receive a portion.' p. 168.

The excitement of heat by friction is another mystery. In this case the fluid is not rubbed off one substance on to another, but *both* the substances rubbed together become hot, and this, without depriving any thing else of its heat. Count Rumford thus generated heat to a prodigious extent; and Sir H. Davy

melted pieces of ice by rubbing them together. These experiments are, in the minds of many, and perhaps some of our ablest philosophers, decisive against the opinion that heat is a material substance: for it seems to be *created* by friction. Mr. Exley's view is certainly ingenious. He thinks that when any cause, as friction or chemical action, strikes a tenacious atom apart from its atmospherule, the ethereal atoms which form that atmospherule, being liberated from the force which crushed them together *within* their spheres of mutual repulsion, now dart forth with immense energy, and appear in the form of light and heat. We cannot pretend to be satisfied with this explanation, while we call it ingenious; but numerous questions must be answered before such a thing can be *established.*

The doctrine of atoms and atmospherules, does not appear *necessarily* to draw after it a belief in the corpuscular theory of light. If ethereal fluids be allowed, it is as easy (or much easier) to suppose a vibration propagated from the sun in eight minutes, as an atom flung from it in the same time; and it is as easy to conceive of chemical changes that do the one, as the other. Mr. E., however, holds to the corpuscular theory, and has the great authority of Newton on his side. But we do not think he fairly states the undulatory theory; which no more makes light a mere *property* than sound. He says,

'Light, heat or caloric, and the electric fluid, by some have been considered rather as certain *properties* of bodies than as real substances. Others, rejecting this notion, have recognized them under the terms imponderable, radiant, or ethereal matter; and this view is almost universally admitted to be most probable. That light is a real material substance, emanating from luminous bodies, appears from several considerations.' p. 54.

Apparently he here means to contrast the corpuscular with the undulatory theory; yet if so, he is very obscure: and with what truth or what plausibility he can allege that the corpuscular is almost universally admitted, we cannot conceive; when all know the direct opposite to be the case.

It is also his opinion that a ray of light moves neither slower nor faster for encountering a resisting medium that is *perfectly elastic;* and all media permeable to light, he believes to be such. But heat, on the contrary, he alleges, (p 59) to have a less velocity than that of light. These are deductions from his principles; but the demonstrations are too summary to bring conviction to our minds: and since the postulates on which they rest are unproved, it were certainly desirable to check the results by some tangible experiment. That the heat of the sun is longer coming to us than its light, is an idea opposed to our prejudices, and needing some cogent proof.

One result of Mr. E.'s two postulates, is an entire denial of all

Electric attractions. That such a view is very *simple*, and therefore to be preferred if it solve all the phenomena, must be conceded; but it is very dangerous to come summarily to a conclusion in favour of what seems to us simple. On this ground, the Aristotelians held to the belief that all the heavenly orbits were perfect circles: and we may find, unawares, that we are inventing principles on which nature ought to work, instead of tracing out those on which she does work. These remarks are applicable rather to the *tone* of many passages in Mr. E.'s book, than to any one doctrine. He seems to think his fellow philosophers fanciful, and given to obscure entangled theories, in admitting so many kinds of attraction. 'All this medley,' says he, 'introduces confusion into 'one's reasonings.' 'It seems to be getting again too much in 'fashion, in the philosophical world, to multiply hypotheses, and 'to call them theories.' Now, while we willingly concede, that the progress of discovery may, and probably will, simplify all these theories, it is unfair to tax their inventors with having gratuitously entangled the subject. The progress of Chemistry, and the evolution of the law of Definite Proportions, may end in allowing us to dispense entirely with a belief in electric attractions. Yet, had not the doctrine of Chemical Affinities been awhile received, (as indeed it expressed the phenomena then known), that of Definite Proportions would never have been reached. So too in Electricity. When a bell-wire draws a flash of lightning through a considerable angle out of its furious course, how intense must be the attraction! yet a bell-wire does not exhibit, in other things, more visible attraction than does a log of wood. Such phenomena are registered under the name of electric attractions. If Mr. E. can solve them on simpler principles, well and good; but he must not treat those who hold the more complicated view, as inventors of hypotheses. All the *primâ facie* evidence is on their side, and the burden of disproof rests with him.

When Electricity has attained so respectable a standing in the hands of other persons, no one will be satisfied without some refutation of their views. It is not true to say that theirs is hypothesis, and not theory; and such assertion would be retorted on him by the insulted theorists. On this science, Sir J. Herschel's testimony is as follows. 'The mathematical theory of electricity 'has attained an extent and elegance, which places this branch 'of science in a very high rank. By the general accord-'ance of results with facts, *as well as by experiments instituted* '*for the express purpose of ascertaining the laws in question*, 'they are regarded as *sufficiently demonstrated*.' (Discourse on Natural Philosophy, p. 333.) Contrariwise, there does not appear in Mr. E.'s whole book, the attempt to test his theory by any severe process of numbers and measurement; to subject it to unfavourable trial, in order that, if possible, it may prove false;

or any such effort to disprove his own views, by adducing the difficult cases, as are important to assure us of the safety of the process.

The New Theory may be divided into two portions; the one has no numerical specification involved in it; the latter defines exactly the *law* by which the force increases towards the centre of an atom. Almost the whole of our author's book is independent of the last consideration. On this account we should wish to have it prominent, how far both his postulates, (so much and no more,) are essential to the conclusions. He certainly prejudices his readers against him, by forcing them to take in the Theory *entire*. Perhaps they would concede enough to make full half his results valid; but he wants them to concede all. He also provokes one to fight against him, by making so much pretence that he resolves every thing by *Newtonian gravitation*. Repulsion certainly is not Gravitation. But, says he, it is Gravitation; *only* with the direction reversed. This *only* makes a serious difference. Suppose that improvements in telescopes led to the discovery that the fixed stars *repel* each other; and an astronomer were to argue: 'This is Newtonian gravitation; *only* in the opposite direction: '*therefore* the law of repulsion (hitherto unknown) is as the in-'verse square of the distance; and whoever doubts it, is tangling 'the plain doctrine of Newton.' Such appears to us precisely the train of reasoning followed by Mr. Exley, only that he is concerned with very minute, instead of indefinitely great distances. It is, moreover, his belief, that at the surface of the *spherule*, the force has a discontinuity; passing abruptly from a finite attraction to a finite repulsion. This may have support in the *stable union* of bodies cohering; since they resist any attempt either to crush them closer or pull them apart. But if such discontinuity of force exist, it is unexampled in the Newtonian gravitation.

As regards the tenet, that repulsion varies as the inverse *square* of the distance; no proof of this is given or attempted (that we can find) in the New Theory. Mr. E. has, however, in the Appendix to his Optics, a chain of propositions directed to establish it. It is indeed already held as a truth in Magnetism and Electricity; and we should have liked to see these propositions prominent in his book and preceding his postulates. His objections to Newton's proof that repulsion is as the inverse distance, seem to be well worth consideration, and quite agreeable to the remarks of M. Biot, on the escape of heat, which Newton has neglected to consider.

The *metaphysics* advanced in the New Theory are also peculiar. As they do not affect the physical reasonings, we may omit them; and we are disposed so to do, because the results are so opposed to popular notions, that we could not merely glance

at them, without danger of either misrepresenting or seeming to misrepresent them; and we fear the subject has not sufficient interest to justify our enlarging upon it.

The author has followed up the general Theory of Physics by a Treatise on Optics, which we have also set at the head of this article. It is beyond our aim to give any account of it, farther than to say, that we think it has both the excellencies and the defects of the larger work. If Mr. E. could prevail on himself to inquire how much he holds in common with other philosophers, and how much in opposition to them, and would exhibit the two in separate portions, he has doubtless ingenuity, knowledge, and enthusiastic perseverance, which may bring much advantage to science. But we fear that in many quarters in which he would desire his work to find favour, it will be strenuously demanded that he disprove before he begins to prove. If he would concentrate his powers on his main points, and demonstrate these soundly, all the credit would be his, (and justly,) for the minor results, which it would then be the business of others to fill up. But he has reversed this. The fundamental propositions are rapidly passed over, or assumed as postulates; while all the details are amplified. In consequence, we fear that not a few of his readers, like ourselves, will fail of attaining conviction of the truth of that portion of his opinions which is peculiar to himself.

It is gratifying to witness his disinterested love of science, and desire for its progress. If it is annoying to see the spirit of book-making in many quarters corroding the beauty and dignity of truth, there is a corresponding pleasure in seeing any one who is more intent upon the diffusion of his own discoveries, than on pecuniary gain. Nor perhaps is the spirit which does this, so remote from a moral virtue as some may think. At least the love of truth, as such, if this is the principle, is assuredly a most important characteristic of mind; and one which ought to be proposed among the reasons which make all study of nature and of man important. The love of truth, appears naturally to be very weak in man. The uncultivated mind is so torpid, as to need something pungent and powerful, to excite it to action at all. Hence love of the marvellous, and of all that is vehement and passionate; but impatience of discussion, of examination, and of a suspended judgment. The vast majority of human errors rise out of man's determination to believe something or any thing, rather than wait for light; speculative errors give rise to moral errors, and scope to practical iniquity. Such is the mythology of the heathen. We believe that every branch of study which trains the mind to patient examination, is thus in its measure a sort of moral discipline.

We are aware that some good persons have considerable dislike to Natural Philosophy. They think its discussions are

frivolous, and perhaps unworthy of beings destined for eternity: and they are disposed to repeat to us, in a variety of shapes, the fable of the astrologer who fell into a pit while gazing up into the heavens. It is obvious to reply that the unimportance of things is not to be measured by their actual littleness nor by their local remoteness from ourselves. To examine a flea or a star, is not unimportant, if it set forth the goodness or greatness of the Creator. We are ashamed to have to reason thus. We are in fact bordering upon the objection of the epicurean. God would never care (says he) for such a worm as man; he would no more think of the human race, than we think of the inhabitants of an ant hill. We are to reply: If he was not too great to create, he was not too great to bestow thought upon both us and the ants. So also, if God was not too great to think about drops of dew and atmospheric pressure, shall we say that *we* are too great? But we may have other and more needful work in hand? That is possible. Doubtless, one highly important exercise of a Christian is, to abstain from lawful things when inexpedient. St. Paul had something else to do than study astronomy, and many intellects of a high order have a like self-denial to practise. This will only show, that if there be benefits to the mind to be derived from such studies, (for the benefits to the arts and accommodations of life none will question,) it becomes so much the more important to impart a certain acquaintance with these things in the early period of life, before a person's time is too fully occupied with more urgent employments.

It often happens that a vague disapprobation of science is grounded upon an opinion that the Epistles of St. Paul appear certainly never to recommend it, and often to contain warnings against it. *Philosophy and vain deceit* are most intimately joined; and it is implied that philosophy is opposed to faith, and is a corrupter of the truth. That this should influence the mind of those who are ignorant of the history of the apostolic times, is not to be wondered at. But by those who know what a mixture of truth and error, of tradition and facts, of proof and dogmatism, Greek and Oriental philosophy in those days was; it is surprising that any weight should be attached to St. Paul's words, as though they were against modern science. For the misfortune was, that the Greek philosophy was not only full of error and fable, but had not learned to discriminate *its own sphere and limits.* Hence it was ever intermeddling to settle subjects that are perfectly beyond human knowledge, and on which we can only know any thing by direct revelation; as about *æons* or genii, theogonies and cosmogonies, the soul and its immortality, and even the sacred Trinity. But it would be as unreasonable to infer mischief in the modern sciences from Paul's censure on Greek philosophy, as to reject modern physicians because the physicians of king

As a practised astrology or sorcery. In fact, it must be remembered that the censure must apply equally against all literature; for in St. Paul's days, the philosophers were the literary men; nor was the distinction yet established between literature and science. Also in those days, it was from Metaphysics more than from Physics, that mischief resulted; or indeed, from an undue mixture of the two.

The persons to whose objections we refer, are often inadequately impressed with the fact, that the revelation of God in Scripture is *based upon* the revelation that he has made of himself in nature. They practically regard them rather as parallel systems, of which each is independent of the other; a mistake which perhaps is not corrected, till they meet with a polytheist or an atheist. This instantly elicits the truth, that Christianity, *as an authoritative revelation*, has no peculiar weapons for the conviction of such minds; but like Paul preaching at Athens, is forced to borrow the common topics of natural religion. Miracles, it has been often proved, have no weight on the mind or conscience, unless there is a previous apprehension of the righteous judgment of God. They may be admitted, and yet seem like the tricks of fairies and genii. It is true, that there is a majesty and impressiveness in many of the Scripture miracles, such that we do not believe they could be beheld by an atheist without the deepest emotion. But it does not appear that the same effect is produced by hearing of them in distant ages, (be the argument what it may,) as by the sight. However, nothing is farther from our thought than to underrate the value of any part of the Christian evidence. Our own belief is, that the two parts of the subject go hand in hand, and cannot be separated without mischief. But minds differ: and if atheists can be found who resist the evidence of nature, but who are forced to bow before the historical evidence of miracles, we certainly shall not cavil at them. The persons who undervalue the evidence of natural theology, are generally as ill disposed to give weight to the argument from miracles; because, they say with truth, it appeals so much more to the head than to the heart. They are, therefore, desirous of resting the whole of Christianity, singly and solely, on the moral evidence of the Scriptures; or on the force which it exercises on the conscience. This is doubtless often sufficient, especially among ourselves, who have been at least acquainted with moral right and wrong from our childhood. But it appears very unwarrantable, when God has given numerous sources of conviction, to cut away all but one; and regardless of the difference of minds, to demand that all should be satisfied with just that, in which we have ourselves most complacency.

Perhaps, however, the appeals to God in nature, with which

the Scripture abounds, satisfy them that in some sense natural * religion has truth. But after this admission, they proceed to decry natural theology, under the title "beggarly elements." Against this we wish to enter a protest. No person can read the Epistle to the Galatians fairly, without seeing that it is *ceremonial worship* which the apostle calls by this name: those "carnal ordinances, which were imposed till the time of reformation," as it is expressed in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Gentiles and Jews alike were taught to worship God, not in spirit and in truth, but with outward service; with sacrifice of beasts, with purifications of outward water, with abstinence from meats and drinks. All this therefore is, "the rudiments of the world." But why is the Spirit promised to us in the new covenant, but that we may understand God better in all things; in nature, as well as in his word? The guidance of the heart to the love of all that is holy and good, helps to enlarge the intellect, so that the Christian *ought* to make a better natural theologian than the heathen. It has been complained by some, that deists light their lamp at the fire of Christianity. What is this, but to confess, that Christ has taught men how to reason concerning God? The apostolic instruction was not a mere dictating of the letter of truth, but an infusion of the spirit; by which we ought to discern and embrace truth, not merely because it is authoritatively alleged, but because the anointing which we have of Him abideth in us. He whose heart is elevated by a contemplation of nature, to admire more fervently, and adore more humbly, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, is not filling his mind with beggarly elements, but is learning that all things are his; because, "His Father made them all."

Another argument is then brought forward, to discredit natural philosophy. Give me, it is said, the devotion of the unscientific peasant; let me see God in clouds, and hear him in the wind; let me, with David, view the majesty of the sun and stars; let me, with Job, admire the terror of the behemoth and leviathan: but let me not hear of this frigid philosophy; atoms, forces, matter, carbon, oxygen; where is God in all this? This objection we allow to be very plausible; and sometimes to carry away minds of much consideration, but of warm feelings. And it derives strength from the notorious fact, that men of science may, and, alas! often do, see every thing in nature but God. But

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* Some appear prejudiced against the word *natural* because of its use in 1 Cor. ii. 14. We have often heard this text pressed to mean that all theology that can address itself to the natural intellect is false. Though we believe this is a sense which even our authorized version would never warrant; it may be well to remark, that the word is better translated *sensual*, in Jude 19. More literal still would be, *The animal man.*

this is no real objection. Countless thousands of the unscientific, who can admire and love nature spread out before them in her beauty or terror, are equally insensible with the hard philosopher.

Experience however proves, that this rude contemplation of nature, unchecked by methodical inquiry, ever tends to the grossest errors. When the ancient Arab "beheld the sun as it shined, and the moon walking in brightness; his heart was secretly enticed, and his mouth kissed his hand; he denied the God that is above!" The frigid consideration of matter and forces, which is such an offence to some, is of immense value to prevent our mistaking the creature for the Creator. His works are so great and so glorious, as to overwhelmn the undiscriminating mind; and it is a most wholesome check, to find out that they are but machines, moved by some unseen master hand, and but witnesses of his Almighty power and wisdom.

So much room, indeed, is there for alleging that the unphilosophic mind goes wrong, that a celebrated modern sceptic treats the doctrine of the unity of God as a refined invention of philosophers. Perhaps no nation ever looked with greater freshness on the world around them, and with less disposition to lose feeling in science, than the most ancient Greeks. But where they did not, as the Sabians, turn the creatures directly into gods, they made Gods many and Lords many. Every fountain, every grotto, had its tutelary deity; as well as the greater elements, air, sea, and fire. Nor was it until philosophy dawned among them, that the proofs of unity displayed in nature, began to recall the primitive truth, that there is but one God. Whatever were the defects of Greek philosophy, it seems to have had this merit. There were causes that made it frivolous, erroneous, and sometimes impious. But we say, that where science exists, polytheism has a formidable antagonist; and where science does not exist, rude nature tends strongly to polytheism. On the other hand, it must be confessed, that under a perverted *metaphysics,* pantheism finds shelter, as do numberless impieties.

Even where the doctrine of God's unity is jealously guarded by the authority of traditional religion (be it Jewish, Mohammedan, or Christian) ten thousand superstitions manage to find root, repugnant to the spirit of religion, and many ways injurious, if a systematic study of nature be neglected. Witchcraft and all sorts of dealing with the devil, charms, astrology, and other divination, find a ready belief to this day, in spite of the Scriptures. Nor is it wonderful; for the Scriptures are only *indirectly* opposed to these delusions, by fortifying the heart with faith in God, and dissuading trust in any thing else. But so indistinctly is the line drawn on such matters, that some well-meaning persons refuse the aid of physicians, thinking that it implies distrust in God, and condemning it nearly on the same ground as witchcraft. Per-

haps, if we had had the writing of the apostolic epistles, we think that we would have made many of these things plainer. But the wisdom of God has thought fit so to order matters (we confess we should not have expected it), as to make the general tone of knowledge in his church rise and fall with that in the world around. It is a disgrace to the church if she plunge deeper in superstition than does the world in the same age and country; but if she keeps a few inches higher out of the slough, it is, perhaps, all that we can expect of human nature. When civilization and knowledge sank, Christianity sank with it, in spite of recent apostolic tradition; superstition and barbarism overwhelmed church and world alike. The dawn of literature led again to an elevation of Christianity; the progress of science has been accompanied with a vast bursting of the bonds of superstition. Even where superstition has made science the enemy of religion, matters are not so bad as before the rise of knowledge; and infidel France has more religion in it than bigoted Spain. If such is the fact, it is unwise to contend against it by our opinion, that the church, being complete in Christ, *ought* to be independent of every thing without: the argument would apply against Greek and Latin, as well as against natural philosophy. Yet we allow, that it does disappoint many of our expectations; it does surprise us to see the errors of good men in darker times, while yet the Bible was in their hands. The remark applies to morals, as well as to natural theology. At present, it appears the part only of hard-hearted mercenary wretches to defend the abominable slave-trade; but the excellent John Newton could not only patronize it, but practise it; and never came to think it other than a lawful, but disagreeable livelihood. Acts of religious persecution that even the hottest fanatics would now condemn, our forefathers, less than two or three centuries ago, would justify in cool blood. We cannot attribute the difference to any direct supernatural agency, as though that wherein we excel them were given us specially *in Christ;* for the unbeliever of the present age has the same thing in common with us. Thus are we forced to admit, that it is by the influence of general causes, affecting the whole age, that the church is purer in morality, and clearer from superstition. Doubtless, God will judge each age by its own light, and it is not for us to boast over our fathers. But, if it be better to have the mind free from the load of superstition, and the senses exercised to discern good and evil, we ought not to throw away the experience which the Christian church affords us by ages of shame and of confusion.

It is not the *universal* study of science that can be for a moment looked for; but, if there is an adequate body of men pursuing such subjects, the rest feel the influence of it. The more general it can be made, consistently with a due regard to all other neces-

sary occupations and important instruction, the greater will be the advantage. Science comes forward as the adversary of Christianity, chiefly, we are persuaded, because Christians are resolved to have it as their adversary. If its study were more general, *they* would less provoke attack by holding to mere traditional opinions, and would take larger and truer views of the word of God; while *the others* would be more willing to learn than now, while they think that we are afraid of the truth, and turn our backs on it. On some points we might believe otherwise possibly, (for it is but a supposition) than we do; but, taken as a whole, our faith would have a broader basis, and be much safer in time of trial. On the other hand, it seems beyond all doubt, that if the church neglect to study the book of providence, and the book of nature, she must either be content to borrow light from unbelievers (tainted as it may be by passing through their medium), or, if that were entirely shut out, she would sink from generation to generation into grosser superstitions, just as in that dreadful period of suffering and darkness to which history points with amazement.

One more topic, and we have done.

As ages rise and pass, and civilization stamps new features on the mind of a nation, old trains of thought once powerful to enforce certain conclusions, frequently become inefficient. In natural theology this is entirely the case. New philosophy supplies new facts and copious fresh testimony to the divine author of nature; but it also supplies new objections; and often it will make arguments appear shallow and unmeaning, which a past age received as all-convincing. We must not blame philosophy on this account. It is the infirmity of the human mind: or rather, perhaps, is divinely ordained to prevent us from ever resting in torpid contentment upon the intellect of past generations, as though the dead had adequately settled all questions of importance to the faith of the living. However, whether we choose or not, in a period of intellectual activity men will philosophize; and if not directed to noble and important subjects, and with right principles, then, (as the Greek sophists, Roman rhetoricians, and English schoolmen,) they will philosophize on flimsy and worthless subjects. Nay, what is most vexatious, those are often the most determined metaphysicians, cosmogonists, and astronomers, whose mouths are full of declamations against science—and who have persuaded themselves that they never reason at all. Thus the question is not whether we will or will not have theory and science; but whether we will have it true or false. Our own age is pursuing a host of interesting and worthy investigations, which reveal fresh and fresh beauties in this wonderfully formed world: but new objections, it is more than possible, will hence arise

against the received arguments of natural theology. We have many apprehensions that a sufficiently broad basis is not laid in the minds of thousands, who are accustomed to hear that we are to believe there is one God, *because the Scriptures say so.* It is easier and shorter to settle all such questions by reference to a text; and some will even speak as though it were a slight upon God, to try "to add to the certainty of his word." But the effect is, that when any thing forces the inquiry on the mind, whether that word is so certainly from God, many a person painfully feels something unsubstantial in his faith. He then dreads inquiry, thinking it may lead to unbelief. When fresh difficulties press, he has less power to resist than before; and he is gradually apprehensive that there is a hollowness in the whole system, which makes him every way ill at ease.

We do not speak of the scepticism of vicious and ill-disposed persons; but of a scepticism arising, as we fully believe, more from *want of right instruction,* than from any other cause. Preachers appeal to the Scripture, not only when reasoning with the church, but in speaking to the world; and it seems not to occur to many, that some present may have doubts concerning the truth and authority of the sacred volume; nay, are not at ease on prior questions of natural theology. But no one can handle these topics usefully, unless acquainted with the particular class of doubts which in the present day prevail; and aware what are the points obtruded by cavillers, and what those on which serious minds feel anxiety. To carry on an argument against cavillers, is perhaps always useless; but there are many persons, in cultivated congregations, of a different stamp. They would be frightened to be called "infidels;" (the name is bestowed controversially with a painful asperity!) and the dread of receiving some such repulse, forbids them from saying plainly what are their doubts, even with a view of receiving satisfaction. Much less would they drop any thing, to hurt what they think the *professional* feelings of a religious teacher. Whether it is from the pulpit or not, that such topics are to be treated, we feel satisfied of the importance of not taking our foundation too much for granted. In an inquiring age, it must tend to produce unbelief, if the Christian part of it, and especially the teachers of religion, are *behind the average* of their contemporaries in sound information concerning the basis of all religion: or are unable to sympathize with and enter into the difficulties which others encounter. But to do the latter, it is requisite not only to see nature as the peasant and the sailor see it, but somewhat also with the eye of a man of science.

The difficulty of uniting in one man the numerous qualifications looked for in the pastor of a church, might perhaps lead to the inquiry whether lectures on these and other topics might not be

profitably read, under the superintendence of the minister, by persons duly qualified by their studies and habits. But it is enough at present to have adverted to the deficiency, in hope that, if there be truth in any of our remarks, some abler minds may be directed to the further consideration of it.

Art. VI. 1. *An Appeal to the Society of Friends.* By Elisha Bates. 8vo. pp. 28. London: 1836.

2. *Extracts from the Writings of the Early Friends.*

3. *The Miscellaneous Repository.* Edited by Elisha Bates. London: 1836.

4. *Reasons for Receiving the Ordinance of Christian Baptism: to which are added some observations on the Lord's Supper, in a Letter Addressed to the Society of Friends.* By Elisha Bates. 8vo. pp. 20. London: 1836.

5. *Correspondence between Elisha Bates and others upon the Subject of his having been Baptized.* 8vo. pp. 12. London: 1836.

6. *Brief Remarks on the Scriptural Evidence in Favour of the Observance of Water Baptism and the Lord's Supper; to which are added some Observations on the Propriety of Reading the Scriptures in Assemblies for the Worship of God.* 12mo. pp. 51. Kendal: 1836.

FEW of the contemporaries of George Fox, whether ranking amongst his persecutors or disciples, ever imagined, probably, that he would prove the founder of a large and influential sect; still less that the strange rhapsodies which excited the wonder of an ignorant peasantry, or the brutal merriment of a scarcely more intelligent magistracy, would, in the nineteenth century, be appealed to as oracles, by a body of intelligent, philanthropic, and, in a great number of instances, truly religious men.

About the middle of the seventeenth century George Fox first promulgated the doctrines of the Friends in England. He deserves, undoubtedly, to be regarded as a preacher of righteousness. Visiting fairs, markets, and other places of public resort, he inveighed in strong terms against the licentiousness of the times, and directed all the terrors of the law of God against injustice, drunkenness, and other vices. Those who sat in high places did not escape his warning, and were equally, with humbler delinquents, the subjects of his rebuke. He stood forth, a firm and courageous advocate of the rights of conscience; and, whenever occasion offered, fearlessly denounced civil injustice and religious intolerance, even in the presence of the chief magistrate of the nation.

Honouring his zeal and fortitude, and grateful for the good of which he was the instrument, we should prefer to pass over the inconsistencies of his character, and the errors of his creed; but there are times when silence upon such topics is criminal; when the interests of truth require an unflinching exposure of the errors of men whom we highly respect, and to whom we feel greatly indebted. Such is our case at the present moment, and therefore, without venturing for a moment to impugn the sincerity of George Fox, we cannot forbear the expression of our strong sympathy with those who, from the purest motives, and with the best practical design, have lately directed particular attention to the unscriptural and most pernicious doctrines that are to be found in his writings.

In this good work, the pious and amiable author of the pamphlets before us, has occupied a distinguished position, both in this country and in America; while the manner in which he has conducted a somewhat protracted and irritating controversy, which has deeply interested the whole Quaker body in both hemispheres, is alike honourable to his Christian integrity and candour.

That controversy should exist, and that it should assume precisely the character of the one in question, might have been long ago predicted; and, from a careful observation of the principles and circumstances of the Society of Friends, would appear to have been inevitable. It would be a work of supererogation to attempt in these pages to show, that the children of the righteous, are not, by virtue of their natural descent, certain to grow up in the fear of God; yet, connexion with the Society of Friends, or as it is more commonly called Quakerism, does descend from father to son, and hence have arisen many of the evils under which the Society now labours. The same distinctions of religious character are found within its bosom as prevail without it. There is a strange mingling of the elements of earth and heaven; an unlawful and most injurious confederation between the disciples of Christ and his enemies.

Under such circumstances controversy must arise, and controversy that cannot but end in actual, if not avowed, separation. On the one hand, every opportunity will be seized, and every means employed, to degrade the standard of authority and the rule of duty, and thus to destroy the *practical influence* of Divine revelation; while on the other, the declarations of the Bible will be regarded as ultimate truths which admit of no question, and a standard of duty which allows of no appeal.

To this point may be easily traced as to their common origin, all the differences which now agitate the Society. Mr. Bates receives the Bible as the word of God, he knows no other standard of truth, bows to no other authority, and for this simple reason, that its own completeness and sufficiency form an im-

portant part of the revelation it conveys to man. The Society, of which he is a member, however highly they may value the sacred records, have evidently other standards which they exalt as equal, if not superior to the Bible. Against this lies the whole Appeal of Mr. Bates and his friends.

'The question,' he says, 'whether or not *Christianity*, as plainly set forth in the Holy Scriptures, shall be received, or even tolerated by the Society of Friends, is now fairly at issue; and on the decision the most important consequences must depend. This question is presented in a two-fold point of view. First, Whether the simple, unadulterated doctrines of Christianity, both as to faith and practice, as those doctrines are recorded in the Holy Scriptures, shall be received: and second, Whether an individual practically holding that form of doctrine, which has been delivered unto us in the Holy Scriptures, shall be deprived of his reputation as a *consistent friend*, and be subjected to *official censure*.

'It is the undeniable duty of every body professing to be *Christian*, to subject all its doctrines and practices to *correction*, by the recorded revelation of the will of God. When, however, this is not only neglected or refused, but the Scriptures are overruled and made to bend to the authority of the accredited writings of that body; and when those who endeavour to obey from the heart that form of doctrine which has been delivered unto us, on the authority of God himself, are subjected to official censure, the case assumes a fearful character. I therefore appeal to this religious community for the correction of those things, whether of principle or practice amongst us, which are inimical to the revival of primitive Christianity. I know the reply which will be made by many—That *Quakerism* is *primitive Christianity revived*.

'I ask then where are we to find primitive Christianity clearly and authoritatively set forth? in the Holy Scriptures, or in our own writings? If we take the Holy Scriptures, some part of our own writings must be given up. If on the other hand we take our own writings, some parts of the Scriptures will be virtually set aside. Should this preference to our own writings be so enforced upon our members, by official acts, as to subject those to censure who *do* conform to the Scriptures, but who, in so doing, deviate from some sentiments expressed in our own writings, then, plainly *Quakerism* will be set up in opposition to *Christianity*, and the language and authority of *early friends* be opposed to the language and authority of *Jesus Christ*. I ask you, my friends, are you prepared to take this ground?

'The controversy now existing in the Society, arises from a difference on the fundamental doctrines of religion, but it is not confined to those fundamental doctrines. On the one side the Holy Scriptures are taken, as containing the whole body of Christian doctrine, as God himself was pleased to give it. On the other hand, it is insisted that *our* writings contain the form of doctrine that is binding upon *us*. However speciously some may endeavour to conceal the fact, it cannot be denied, that a fair examination of our own writings by the stan-

dard of Scripture is not allowed; but, on the contrary, we are enjoined to receive the Scriptures as they are interpreted by our early friends.

'Now, besides the fearful discredit which is thus cast upon the Word of God, the question arises—Are our own writings in full and perfect agreement with the Holy Scriptures? This of necessity brings us to an examination. To make this examination fairly, we must not entertain the belief that our early Friends were infallibly led by the Holy Spirit. Their inspiration was so confidently asserted by some of them, and has been so often repeated and admitted, that even the intimation that this was not the case, is regarded by many as proof positive, that the individual who entertains doubts on this subject, is himself under a delusion.

'Considering the important bearing of these things on individuals, and on the very truth of the Gospel itself, how, I ask, are they to be met? The privileges of the members of this Society— the prosperity of the body—the salvation of souls—and the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, are all immediately concerned. To say, in general terms, that our early Friends were *mistaken* in some things, in which they supposed they were led by immediate revelation, is regarded at once, as evidence, that those who say so are in error. This, if it related only to personal reputation, might be endured. But when it bears directly on things which relate to life and salvation, it becomes a serious question, how far we shall refrain from stating facts to prove not only that our early Friends were *fallible*, but that, *on some important points they really were mistaken*, when they confidently professed, that they were taught by *immediate revelation*.'—Appeal, pp. 1—3.

The line of conduct adopted in refusing to try the writings of early Friends by the word of God, and in officially censuring the conduct of those who, however devoted to the interests of the Society, yet as Christians, feel bound to make that word their ultimate rule of faith and conduct; is nothing less than the very principle and spirit of popery. "Disguise it as we may, exclusion from Christian communion, is either a punishment justly incurred, or a wrong. To exclude a true disciple of our Lord from fellowship, because, refusing to call any other than Christ master he appeals from tradition and human writings to the Word of God; is, in our view, to be guilty of a flagrant wrong. Such an appeal cannot be overruled; it is a legitimate one; and who is he that, in such a matter, can have a right to judge his brother?" *

In this light the subject is viewed by Mr. Robert Benson, of Liverpool, in his Advertisement to the Tract containing the Correspondence between Mr. Bates and others, on the subject of his having been baptized; he says—

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* Eclectic Review, vol. xv., N. S., p. 191.

'Whilst expressing no opinion of my own, upon the act itself which has occasioned this correspondence, I may perhaps be permitted to say, that I fully accord with my valued friend, Elisha Bates, in the judgment that it should be published. For, when those who are filling the most prominent stations in the Society, are thus presuming, in the exercise of one of its subordinate functions, to issue unqualified declarations upon a question whereon we differ, not only from the understanding and belief of the apostles themselves, but also of the primitive Christians and all other sects, from the day of Pentecost down to the present day—when acting upon these declarations, they are doing all in their power, and using all their influence to bring down upon an individual the censures of the church, and that too, in a case wherein it is not pretended that any law exists—it is time that the members of the Society, generally, should be apprised of what is going on—it is time that their attention should be seriously called to the subject. Though at first sight it may appear to be only an affair of *individual* interest, yet, truly, is it one of *general* interest, when viewed in all its bearings. It involves a principle—a principle, of which the pernicious operation has been abundantly exemplified in the history of the church of Rome—a principle, into the abuse of which, the character of recent proceedings amongst us, in this neighbourhood, most incontestably shows, that we, as a Society, are but too prone to slide.'—Correspondence, p. 4.

Mr. Bates was, as he informs us, a member of the Society by birthright, and grew up in a strong attachment to the distinguishing doctrines and manners of the Friends; and after having for some time exercised his ministry among them in America, his attention was called to subjects which he had formerly passed over as requiring no examination. He says:

'An anxious inquirer asked me, What good reason, or what were the best reasons, which we had for laying aside the ordinances? I gave an answer, which though it did not satisfy the inquirer, put an end to the conversation on the subject.

'My mind, however, was directed to the Holy Scripture, to find some reasons, in addition to those we had already advanced, in support of our peculiar views. The subject of baptism first engaged my attention. But my disappointment can scarcely be conceived, when, instead of finding additional arguments in favour of the disuse of ordinances, I perceived that the very passages on which we had relied, did not support the conclusions we had drawn from them; but, on the contrary, presented evidence of an entirely opposite character. Disappointment increased the earnestness of my research. I still hoped to find something which would fully sustain us. And when again and again, every argument which I could frame to myself, was laid prostrate before the simple testimony of Holy Scripture, I determined to suspend my decision, sought for assistance and right direction in prayer, and returned again to the examination of the subject.

'More than twelve months elapsed before I gave up the hope of finding sufficient evidence in Scripture, for believing that we had been right in laying those practices aside.

'But when at last, the conviction was forced upon me, that our predecessors were not warranted in the disuse of baptism and the supper, the difficulties in which they had placed us, by so doing, came fully into view. How to recover what they had thus abandoned, was, and is, attended with difficulties, which can be fully realized, only after the mind is convinced upon the primary question.

'I need not notice those difficulties in detail, on the present occasion. But it is proper to remark, that my mind was turned to the Lord, in frequent and fervent prayer for right direction. Few, if any, of my most intimate friends knew the process through which my mind was led. For as I was not, and could not be, prepared, publicly to promulgate the doctrine, until I was enabled to meet it in a practical way, I found it to be my place, rather to seek knowledge for myself on these subjects, than to undertake to communicate it to others. Sometimes, however, the question arose in conversation, in a way that did not allow me to turn aside from the expression of my own judgment, so far as it had been formed.

'But being fully convinced, in regard to the abstract question, I was bound to seek for the wisdom which is from above, to direct me in regard to the practical difficulties which arise from our peculiar position. These difficulties were at length removed, but not till the time of my last visit to London. My conclusions were not the result of personal influence, from any quarter whatever, but of the full convictions of my own mind.

'After several interviews with Dr. J. Pye Smith, I was baptized by him, at his own house, at Homerton, on the 15th inst. A few Christian friends were present. But though I preferred to pursue a very simple course, in accordance with some of those deeply interesting examples, which are recorded of primitive believers, I never wished the transaction itself to be regarded, in any degree, in the character of a *secret*. I am not ashamed of the profession I have made of faith in our Lord and Saviour, nor of the manner in which *that* profession was made. I rest on the authority of the commandment of our risen and adorable Redeemer, and the example of believers in the purest age of the church. And while I most tenderly sympathize with my beloved friends, who may have been alarmed or pained at hearing of the step which I have taken, I do sincerely rejoice, in that sense of the love and of the Providence of God, which has been given me.

'And now, in the feeling of brotherly regard, I will endeavour to remove from your minds every painful impression which you may have received on the occasion.

'And, in the first place, I will remark, that in being baptized, in conformity with the command of Christ, and the examples of the apostles and primitive believers, I did not intend to abandon the Society of Friends, it being distinctly understood, that it was not an initiation into the particular Society of which Dr. Pye Smith is a pastor. I shall leave it to my friends, in their official capacity, to say whether to *walk* as we have the apostles for an example (see Phil. iii. 17) be totally inadmissible in our Society or not.

'In disposing of this question, let it be remembered, that there is not, and, so far as my information extends, there never was any rule of discipline touching the question. How, then, can you undertake to censure an individual as having violated the *discipline*, in a case in which there is no discipline at all? If you think the discipline *ought* to prohibit those things, which the apostles commanded and practised, in the name of their Divine Master, must you not have such a rule of discipline formed, and not leave it to individuals to act in their own discretion in such momentous cases? But in making such a rule, as it would be taking ground which never has been taken, you should seriously consider both the consequences of the measure and the authority on which you proceed.

'As to the doctrinal writings of the Society, we know that they are not discipline. If they are to be regarded in that point of view, they must be taken so in all their parts. But who would now be willing to be bound by all that early friends have written on subjects of doctrine. There are declarations in their writings, and those not a few, which no pious Christian could adopt, in the common and obvious sense of the language. If they intended these writings to be taken as of absolute authority, no one could safely dare to accede to such an idea. If they did not, the advocates for their writings cannot fairly draw from them such an inference.'—Reasons, &c., pp. 4—6.

Mr. Bates then quotes the declaration of the last yearly meeting in London, in a document which it embodied in the General Epistle, that 'The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Tes-'tament were given by inspiration of God; that therefore the 'declarations contained in them rest on the authority of God 'himself; that there can be no appeal from them to any other 'authority whatever; and that no doctrine which is not con-'tained in them can be required of any one to be believed as an 'article of faith.' 'Now if these declarations were really in-'tended to be carried out in practice,' Mr. Bates asks, and we conceive there is great force and pertinency in the question, 'how can you, on questions of doctrine, appeal to any other au-'thority than the Holy Scriptures?'

As soon as it became known that Mr. Bates had been baptized, he received a letter, dated London, 10th month, 4th, 1836, signed, Josiah Forster, Samuel Gurney, and George Stacey, from which we select the following sentences:

'We heard, with much concern, after thou left London, that thou hadst thought it right to undergo the rite of water baptism, and cannot but deeply lament so painful a symptom of alienation from those spiritual views of the Gospel dispensation which our society has ever thought it right to uphold.'

They ask,

'Is there not an obvious inconsistency in thy acting as a minister in our society, whilst thy sentiments are at variance with those of the body to which thou belongs?'

To this Mr. Bates replied, aiming throughout his letter to show his sincere attachment to the society, but at the same time his *supreme* regard for the word of God, and arguing, that in taking this for his guide in the matter at issue, he had acted in accordance with the professed sentiments of the society, while he had in no particular violated its discipline. This letter was answered by another from Mr. Forster, enclosing 'the minute of the 'morning meeting of ministers and elders,' dated the 10th of 10th month, 1836, which states that,

'Information has been now received, that Elisha Bates, an acknowledged minister of Ohio Yearly Meeting, who came over to this country in the spring to attend to some business, has, since this meeting was last held, during a short residence in the neighbourhood of the city, submitted to the ceremony of water baptism, which was performed by a minister of a dissenting congregation.

'This meeting thinks it right, in much Christian love for Elisha Bates, to record its deep concern on the occasion; and its continued sense that the practice thus adverted to (against which our religious society has uniformly believed itself called upon to bear a public testimony, as no part of the Christian dispensation), was not instituted by our Lord and Saviour, whom we have always acknowledged as the only and supreme Head of his Church.'

To this Mr. Bates replied, in a temperate, scriptural, and argumentative letter, from which we will only extract the following:

'Thou knowest, my dear friend, that one of the heaviest charges against the Church of Rome, is that of her undertaking to decide important questions of doctrine by Church authority and not by the Scriptures. The assumption involves the claim to infallibility of course. Now I ask, if it is desirable for the morning meeting, or any other meeting of the Society of Friends, in this day to try that often repeated but abortive experiment? And yet in what other light can we regard the document which you have recently issued? In one single sentence you have undertaken to decide an important point of doctrine, by your own simple assertion, without the least shadow of proof from Scripture. To say without proof 'that the practice thus adverted to, was not instituted by our Lord and Saviour,' places your decision solely on the ground of Church authority, and we are called upon to believe as the Church believes, under the penalty of her displeasure. And that penalty is not to be determined by any specific rules of discipline, but by her own discretion. To you who happen just at present to have this power in your own hands, it may seem to be both safe and salutary. But as thou, and some others of you, *do not* agree with all that early friends have written, you cannot tell how soon some more consistent advocates of quakerism may dispense to you the measure you are now dispensing to others. Of one thing you may be certain; you must go the length of advocating *all* that early friends have written, or you will be no longer safe than you can keep the reins of power in your own hands.'

With this letter, which, with the others quoted, was published under the direction of Mr. Benson of Liverpool, after Mr. Bates had left this country for America, the controversy ceased for the present; but Mr. Bates has left behind him, in the pamphlets before us, a mass of important matter, which demands the most serious consideration on the part of those more immediately concerned.

Such of our readers as are familiar with the names only of Fox, Penn, and Barclay, as of men deservedly distinguished for their patient suffering under persecution, their laborious diligence in what they conceived to be their calling, and their manly and Christian boldness in asserting the great principles of civil and religious liberty, may be astonished at the apparent severity of the animadversions which have been made upon their Theological sentiments. But a very superficial acquaintance with this controversy, will suffice to show, that those sentiments have been at the root of all the evil which has ever obtained in connexion with the Society. When we name the Society of Friends, we are not designating a body distinguished by unity of sentiment on the grand doctrines of Revelation. On the contrary, there are included under the general denomination of Friends or Quakers, men, who while united in some points of external peculiarity, are of every variety and grade of religious belief; uniting in unhallowed and injurious alliance, the confirmed deist, the mystic quietist, the boasting pharisee, and the humble and sincere Christian. The believer has been able to satisfy his conscience while remaining in communion with the infidel, and has been deterred from coming out from among them, by a morbid fear of producing schism among those who hold some peculiar tenets in common: while the merely nominal professor has been willing to share the respectability which belongs to the Christian name, when it could be cheaply purchased by attention to a few externals of supposed religion.

We should not accomplish the design of this article—which is simply to communicate information on the subject in question—were we to close it without extracting from the pamphlets before us a few sentences and paragraphs, which will amply set forth the unscriptural and ungodly sentiments which abound in the writings of the early friends. In the following we have the doctrine of *a revelation apart from the Bible;* than which no dogma can be more pernicious, or more directly at variance with the inspired oracles, opening wide the floodgates of error, and affording an easy entrance to every kind of delusion, superstition, and spiritual bondage.

'Though we do acknowledge the Scriptures to be very heavenly and divine writings, the use of them to be very comfortable and necessary to the Church of Christ, and that we also admire and give praise

to the Lord for his wonderful providence in preserving these writings so pure and uncorrupted as we have them, through so long a night of apostacy, to be a testimony of his truth, against the wickedness and abominations even of those whom he made instrumental in preserving them, so that they have kept them to be a witness against themselves; *yet we may not call them the principal fountain of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the first adequate rule of faith and manners;* because the principal fountain of truth must be the truth itself, *i.e. that*, whose certainty and authority depends not upon another. When we doubt of the streams of any river or flood, we recur to the fountain itself; and having found it there, we desist, we can go no further, because there it springs out of the bowels of the earth, which are inscrutable. *Even so the writings and sayings of all men, we must bring to the word of God; I mean the Eternal Word, and if they agree hereunto we stand there.* For this word always proceedeth, and doth eternally proceed from God, in and by which the unsearchable wisdom of God, and unsearchable counsel and will conceived in the heart of God is revealed unto us." (Barclay's Apology, Prop. III. S. II. p. 71.)

'For the Light and Spirit of Christ which we *only* do, and all Christians ought to own, for their standing rule and trusty teacher, are infallible. But your PROFESSED STANDARD, which is no other than *that outward text*, and the Papist's, which is no other than tradition, taken from that dark, and worse than dubious Oracle (viz.) the erring mind and mouth of their grand ghostly Father ARE BOTH BUT FALLIBLE.'

S. Fisher's Works, p. 129.

While the word of God is spoken of as not 'the principal 'fountain of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the first adequate 'rule of faith and manners,' but only 'the outward text' and a 'fallible' guide, men, who are convicted of folly, inconsistency, and mistake, are exalted to a superiority above prophets and apostles, and declared to utter the 'Word of the Lord.' In the preface to the Journal of George Fox, by William Penn, an account is given of the visions, revelations, and miracles of this extraordinary man, of which Mr. Bates has made excellent use in his 'Appeal.' He has also embodied, in his pamphlet, several extracts from the manuscript papers of George Fox, which have recently come to light; and which serve to illustrate the pernicious doctrines which he propagated. The deluded mystic, indulging the natural indolence of the human mind, yields to its unwillingness to meditate upon eternal realities, under the pretence of 'silently waiting for the Spirit.' The self-righteous pharisee stifles the voice of conscience, and it may be the rebuke of friendship accusing him of remissness in duty, by replying that 'he is not moved to it by the Spirit.' And the Deist, Socinian, or Pantheist, renders his daring impiety, his infidel sophistry, and his mystic absurdity, more abominable by asserting that it is the truth, not of the 'Letter' but of 'the Spirit.' Once do away with the authority of the Word of God, refuse to make

it the standard of doctrine, the rule of life, and the test of character, and the step is easy to the idle vaporing of Fox in his Visions and Revelations, or the unblushing infidelity of Elias Hicks.

For the 'Society of Friends,' we cannot but feel and express our unfeigned respect. As members of the body politic, their influence has always been conservative of the principles of commercial integrity and civil liberty. As Protestant nonconformists their uncompromising opposition to religious intolerance, and their judicious and persevering exertions on behalf of our great principles as Dissenters from a State Establishment, demand our warmest gratitude and deserve our more decided imitation: while as members of the great human family, as citizens of the world, they are eminent as the cordial and persevering promoters of every philanthropic enterprise.

It is then in the spirit of the purest friendship that we would echo from without the warning that has been given by some members of their own body; being assured that however opposed to some of the tenets of Quakerism, the *Beacon* of Isaac Crewdson and the *Appeal* of Elisha Bates, demand their calm and unprejudiced examination, as faithful expositions of the truth of God, and able apologies for our common Christianity.

Art. VII. 1. *Church Rates.* Quarterly Review.

2. *Church Rates.* Fraser's Magazine, for February, No. 66.

3. *Letter to the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, on the Subject of the Church Rates.* By George Wilkins, D.D., Archdeacon of Nottingham.

4. *The Present a Religious Crisis.* By Rev. Edward Duncomb, M.A., Rector of Newton-Kyme, Yorkshire.

5. *A Letter to the Editor of the Quarterly Review, on the Subject of Church Rates.* By a Lay Dissenter.

NO two things can be more opposite in their nature than Christianity and Church power. By Christianity, of course we mean the religion of the New Testament; and by Church power, that which subordinates this religion to the unhallowed purposes of a worldly or spiritual domination. That there should be any intimate connexion between objects so totally irreconcileable in their genius and spirit, in their principles and operation, is a moral problem not easily to be solved. Such connexion indeed implies the utter debasement of all that is divine and holy in the system of the Gospel. To secularize Christianity is to deteriorate its character; to convert its ministers into a priesthood armed with authority to control the consciences of men, and to sacrifice their lives and liberties on the altar of their

intolerance, is to exchange the angel of light for the demon of darkness—the Prince of Peace for a relentless tyrant—the richest boon of heaven for the foulest curse of the bottomless pit.

That was a fatal day for the pure and spiritual church of Christ which opened to her the treasures of the world. The wealth that allured into her sacred offices the ambitious and the covetous, the proud and the venal, prepared the way for the monstrous existence of this spiritual wickedness in high places. Pastors soon became priests; priests aimed to be princes—and at length one of them dared to place on his brow the triple crown, assuming the impious title of Vicar of Christ upon earth. But how did they contrive to accommodate the simple institutions of Christianity to their worldly and despotic views. The ecclesiastical polity of Judaism occurred to the most sagacious as suggesting a plan which could with little difficulty be brought into operation wherever the retiring priests of superstition might afford them an opportunity to ascend their vacant thrones. But in setting up the national polity of the Jews as a model for the imitation of the Christian church, one of two things must be provided; either a theocracy in the true and proper sense of the term, must be the basis, the sanction, and the glory of the ecclesiastical institute; or a vicarial representative, and infallible head, must be set over it, with the very titles and prerogatives of the invisible Deity. As the first could not be pretended, the second was resolved upon. It never entered into the minds of those who were intent upon establishing an exclusive church, which was to assume the power of wielding the temporal destinies of kingdoms, and the eternal fates of all mankind, to arm themselves with any thing short of divine authority, and immediate and intimate communication with the infallible God. This master-stroke of infernal policy was at last achieved, and the man of sin erected in the city on the Seven Hills a throne from which he looked proudly down upon all the empires of the world, claiming them as his own, and laying them all under the heaviest contributions to support his arrogant and impious usurpation.

It may be instructive to trace the progress of this spiritual tyranny in its connexion with the civil power; and we would counsel those who wish to employ themselves in this useful inquiry to notice the unpresuming humility by which it gradually gained the favour, and divided the power of the magistrate; the haughty and despotic tone in which it afterwards gave law to sovereigns and subjects; the zeal with which, in the first desperate moments of decline, it armed the people against the magistrate, and aimed at re-establishing its dominion on the ruins of civil order; and the asylum which it at last found against the hostilities of reason in the prerogatives of temporal despotism, of which it had so long been the implacable foe. Here are several

distinct epochs, which if we rightly mark, we shall be able to appreciate the true character of every secular establishment of Christianity. The first and last of these periods will prove that the priesthood are servilely devoted when they are weak; the second and third, that they are dangerously ambitious when strong. In a state of feebleness they are dangerous to liberty; possessed of power, they are dangerous to civil government itself. It is consoling to perceive that their reign is fast hastening to its close; and we have increasing confidence in the prediction of a late eminent statesman, that "church power (unless some revolution auspicious to priestcraft should replunge Europe in ignorance,) will certainly not survive the nineteenth century." While expressing this conviction, however, we would *in limine*, declare that we wage war only with the abuses of liberty and the unjust political encroachments of churches connected with the state, and not with the churches themselves. A church that must fall unless sustained by the civil arm to the injury of other communions, deserves not to stand. Let its own dead weight pull it down for ever. But we are no such enemies to the Protestant Church of England as even to imagine, much less to encompass her destruction. Our free constitution will work for us the most salutary changes, without exposing us either to revolution or anarchy. Restrictions on liberty must yield to the spirit and progress of the age. Church power must retire within its own limits, without presuming, when the last vestige of tyranny falls from its grasp, to interfere with the equal rights and privileges of free-born Britons. Dissenters and churchmen must no longer be relative terms, implying civil and social degradation or honour, but simply as designating those classes of the community which range themselves under different religious denominations.

At the reformation the Powers of the state in England wrested from the pope his spiritual dominion, not for the purpose of emancipating the people from the bondage which had so long enthralled them, but to consolidate one mighty tyranny in the person of the most despotic of our monarchs; which tyranny, with a slight interruption, he bequeathed to his successors; a tyranny which would have rivalled that of Spain and Rome, had it not been for the spirit and principles of a class of men who cherished the sacred name of liberty in their bosoms, who abhorred all despotism, but especially that which aimed to enthral and debase the human mind. The struggles of the puritans and nonconformists during the reign of Elizabeth and the two Charleses, down to the period of the glorious revolution, exposed the persecuting, despotic, and atrocious character of church power, as exercised by those nursing fathers and nursing mothers of the church, so heartily lauded by Archdeacon Wilkins. Yet tyrants as were the Tudors and the Stuarts, they were merciful and tolerant as com-

pared with the priesthood, who not only sanctioned their cruelties, but frequently urged them on to perpetuate deeds which have scarcely their parallel, amid the wailings and the horrors which brought down the wrath of heaven upon the idolaters of the Valley of Hinnom.

At the restoration, such was the spirit of the civil as well as the ecclesiastical rulers of that day, the Church of England was solemnly reinstated in all her exclusive prerogatives, and the existence of any other churches within the realm, was marked as a crime punishable by the laws. In spite of the common sense principle, which commends itself to the meanest capacity, namely, that a church cannot legislate beyond its own pale, and that those who do not belong to its communion cannot properly be subject to its control, and yet whlie renouncing the infallibility of Rome and therefore the divine right of being the only church to be tolerated in the British dominions, the Protestant Church of England actually set up the audacious claim, and proceeded, by pains and penalties, by imprisonments, by legalized murders, and unauthorized massacres, to enforce it upon the nonconformists of the South; while, with "the point of her sword," to use the characteristic language of Milton, "she wrote a bloody rubric on the back of the Scotch." The revolution of 1688, though it altered her circumstances, produced no change in her character. An Act of Toleration passed the legislature, but offended intolerance made episcopal and other palaces ring with its lamentations and regrets. The church, like Pilate, washed her hands of all participation in this liberal measure of the government. She was as much opposed to the repeal of the Five Mile Act, as she is at this moment to the abolition of the Church rates. The Test and Corporation laws were dearer to her than all her thirty-nine articles, and the day that should see them erased from the statute book, she predicted would be fatal to her existence. Now the fearful omen of her doom comes, in the "questionable shape" of justice to Dissenters, whom for centuries she has maligned and persecuted, and yet compelled to contribute to her worship and her buildings, her surplices and her sacraments. As the confederated foe of liberty, both civil and religious, she uniformly complains of aggression upon her constitution, as "part and parcel of the law of the land." When those whom her domination has excluded from the possession of their equal rights, as men and Englishmen, demand their restoration, and apply to parliament to redress their manifold wrongs, they are instantly stigmatized as directing all their efforts against the church, the bulwark of religion, the conservator of the monarchy, and the apostolic instructor of the people. When they attempt to effect, by constitutional means, any salutary change in an oppressive law, forthwith they are denounced as the descendants of the Regicides who brought

the martyred Charles to the scaffold; as political agitators, "given to change," and spreading anarchy and confusion for no other purpose than the destruction of Christianity, which, by an ingenious device peculiar to Churchmen, they identify with their own arbitrary assumption of civil privileges, withheld from their non-conforming Christian brethren. When, we may confidently ask, has any attack been made upon the church, upon its legitimate property, and its zealous endeavours, as a religious institution, for diffusing the principles and the spirit of piety through the nation? Dissenters have already gained much from the liberal concessions which a British parliament has made to the justice of their claims; but have not those concessions, at every step, encountered all the opposition that church power has been able to bring against them? What invective has been too keen, what calumny too foul, what hatred too rancorous, to be employed against the Dissenters by perjured pluralists and a hireling press, when they have dared to implore the legislature to break their chains, and to grant them a civil equality with their defamers and persecutors! It is true that in their present arduous struggle to be relieved from the burthen of an odious impost, which they have too long patiently endured, they are encouraged and sustained by liberal churchmen, both in and out of parliament, and that thousands of all religions and professions feel that church rates are a national grievance, and that it is high time that the church should build and repair her own sacred edifices. Yet, where are the dignified clergy that "rear their mitred heads in parliament," or comfortably repose in their cathedral stalls, who echo back the voice of justice, or respond to the feelings of suffering millions, who complain of "a yoke that neither they nor their fathers could bear?" The hierarchy, true to its own consistency, will yield nothing—not any thing but by *compulsion*—it abhors the voluntary principle except in receiving "the wages of unrighteousness;" it must be "*on compulsion*" or not at all. Its fingers have acquired, by long usage, the habit of contraction, and cannot relax except coerced by the galvanic battery of popular indignation. What with abuse, unsupported and gratuitous statements, sophistical and jesuitical attempts at something like argument, they have made out their case. What it is really worth, as bearing upon the question, either of the equity, the legality, or even the expediency of continuing the church rates, we shall succinctly show, we doubt not, to the full satisfaction of our readers and the public.

The abuse of our opponents we regard as a betrayal of their cause; an evidence at once of their imbecility and their depravity. Usurped power, and iniquitously obtained wealth, are usually defended and maintained by weapons worthy of their possessors. Fraser, in espousing a cause which every friend of justice and

religion condemns, is as vituperative and abusive as on former occasions. Still the Tory assassin, and the hired bravo of the Church, he writes with the air of a man who well knows that he is uttering calumny, and indulging in gross and wilful misrepresentation. Having, it seems, little character beyond the Tweed, from whence he is a voluntary exile, nor any "local habitation" in England, unless it be in some office, alien to the society of Christians and gentlemen, he is reckless of all consequences, and cares not, if he can earn the bread of infamy, by whom he is hated and despised.

From Archdeacon Wilkins, a titled and a beneficed clergyman, and filling a high ecclesiastical station, a different spirit, and a more courteous demeanour, might have been expected. If actuated less by Christian charity than worldly policy, he should at least have assumed the appearance of candour, and refrained from using harsh names, and imputing evil motives. Till the appearance of his present pamphlet, on "the subject of the Church-rates," we had no knowledge of Archdeacon Wilkins, except what we derived from a production of William Howitt, in which this venerable personage makes a very sorry figure. His letter to Lord John Russell now before us, is sufficient evidence, that from the hands of the offended and calumniated Quaker, he received no severer castigation than his peculiar merits deserve. The Church may well cry, when defended by such advocates, "Save me from my friends!" The opponents of Church-rates, according to the testimony of the Archdeacon, are "extravagant and mischievous partizans," their "pretext of tenderness of conscience a miserable piece of hypocrisy and deceit," and "their present object political, if not revolutionary." They are, moreover, taunted with their numerical insignificance, "the paltry amount" of their contributions in the form of Church-rates, their opposition or indifference to the best interests of the poor, their ingratitude to the Church of England for "the ample toleration they have so long enjoyed under its mild, and liberal, and protecting influence;" as well as for the benefits it indirectly confers upon them, as a religious institution, —affording them "a better land to live in, the purification of the moral atmosphere in which they breathe: benefits more than equivalent for any sum they may be compelled to pay to a church which thus blesses them against their will." These are some of the various counts in the bill of indictment which, on the part of the Church, has been drawn up against the enemies of her aggressions upon liberty and conscience. They are all, more or less, contained and answered in the publications whose titles are placed at the head of this article.

Passing over the impotent malignity which imputes "hypocrisy and deceit" to those who plead "tenderness of conscience" as the ground of moral and religious action, in cases which involve

opposition to existing laws and institutions, as betraying a secret more disgraceful to the accusers than the accused; a secret which ought to place them beyond the pale of every church that deserves any other name than that of Antichrist:—we may briefly notice the charge of "extravagant and mischievous partizanship," combined for the attainment of an object which is "political, if not revolutionary:"—If there were any thing vague and indefinite in the publications, speeches, resolutions, and petitions of the Dissenters, in their efforts to obtain the redress of their grievances, their enemies might avail themselves of this circumstance, in order to fix upon them the charge of a sinister and ambitious design. But, as the avowal of their sole object is as plain and explicit as can be conveyed by language, those who charge them with entertaining ulterior views are no better than defamers. If the removal of what is a barrier to the full and free enjoyment of all the benefits of a civil constitution, founded on the basis of just and true liberty, equal and impartial liberty, to good subjects of every class, irrespective of their religious creeds and professions, churches and modes of worship: if to attempt this, be extravagant and mischievous partizanship, the Dissenters are not ashamed to declare, that this, and nothing short of this, will ever satisfy them; and whatever of the hierarchy must be sacrificed to the rights and privileges of the nation at large, so that no individual shall have to complain that he sustains the slightest injury in person, character, or property, on the pretext of his being a schismatic, a heretic, or a Dissenter;—this must be conceded; and, if the Church of England will not yield all that, in the violation of this great principle she has unjustly usurped, why then she must be compelled by the legislature. And, may we ask, What is there "political or revolutionary" in this? The Dissenters demand civil and social rights, not for themselves only, but for all their fellow-subjects. If civil and social wrong have no existence in the body politic; if, in Church and State, the interests and happiness of all are equally regarded—revolution is impossible, and the agitation of the country, on account of imaginary grievances, must recoil with vengeance upon its authors. But, if serious injustice be maintained and inflicted; and, if an arrogant and self-sufficient portion of the community sternly persist in opposing the remonstrances and demands of the aggrieved and the suffering, we may justly charge upon them whatever political evils may result from their obstinacy. Those who refuse to change laws no longer applicable to the state of society, and who enforce them at the point of the bayonet; who revive obsolete statutes, and get up writs of rebellion against the members of a different church they have for centuries oppressed, and at last driven to madness; these are the political incendiaries, these the revolutionists, and the insane abettors of anarchy. We perceive

it has, of late, been attempted to create a distinction between the pious and the political Dissenter; the former is complimented for his devout acquiescence in all the grievances which a dominant church has attached to dissent; while the latter is classed with infidels, papists, and radicals, because he asserts his own rights as a Christian and a Briton; and determines to employ all lawful efforts to wipe off the stigma of intolerance and injustice from the Christian name. Because he does not tamely submit to be insulted and robbed at the same time; to be told, that he has no hope but in the unconvenanted mercy of God, and yet that he must pay to the covenanted church, just as cheerfully, and to the same amount as the most favoured of her sons; because he appeals to the good feeling and manly sense of his country against insolence and impiety like this, he is stigmatized with the character of a Political Dissenter. Political Dissenters of this stamp, and we know of no others, may well smile at an imputation which comes with an admirable grace from a hierarchy which has no other than a political existence; which claims the first magistrate of the empire as its head; which has for its rulers barons in the House of Lords; which allows its clergy to intrigue for electioneering purposes, in order to gain preferments to cathedral stalls and prebendal dignities; which permits them to be seen on the hustings at every contested election, and to sit on every magisterial bench.* If to be political be a crime, then the Church of England is only a mass of iniquity. It is, in body, soul, and spirit, a political establishment. The religion of Dissent is the religion, not of rubrics, and canons, and acts of parliament; but of the New Testament. It repudiates every political connexion, and is based on this principle, that spiritual sanctions are alone applicable to a spiritual institution, which knows no head but Christ, and receives no laws for its government but such as belong to a kingdom which is not of this world. There is so much ludicrous inconsistency in taunting the Dissenters with their numerical inferiority, and the insignificance of the amount of their ecclesiastical exactions; and, at the same moment, insisting upon their payment of these exactions as indispensable to the very being of the Church, and representing their present opposition as so formidable that nothing less than its ruin will ensue, that we only mention it again as exhibiting the kind of tactics which the hierarchy employs when its craft is in danger. When it is considered that the Catholics of England and Ireland, the Presbyterians in Scotland, and the inhabitants of Wales, who as distinguished from its resident and non-resident episcopal clergy, comprehend within a mere

* See the speech of the Rev. John Blackburn, at Ipswich, January 16.

fraction the entire population;—the Dissenters of the whole empire, properly so called; together with an immense and an increasing number of liberal Churchmen, are all of them thoroughly pledged to the total annihilation of Church-rates,—it may, perhaps, become Archdeacon Wilkins's National Church to be a little more reserved, and to adhere with greater strictness to the truth, instead of arrogating to herself the pompous title of 'National.' The Established Church of England she is; and, if she mean to continue so, she must become a pupil in a school where we fear she has long been either a truant or a dunce, and whose fundamental lesson is, to churches as well as individuals, 'Do justly; love mercy; walk humbly with God.' We rejoice, that many of her clergy are awaking to a sense of their relative position, and that of their church. Mr. Duncombe, the rector of Newtonkyme; and Mr. Gillmor, the perpetual curate of Illingworth, have written, in a spirit of manly independence and of Christian liberality, which reflects infinite honour upon their character; and there is a passage in the letter of the Rev. Henry Rolls, the rector of Aldwinkle, addressed to the 'Globe,' which we hope the venerable Archdeacon will 'read, mark, learn, and inwardly 'digest.' 'Is it come to this,' he exclaims, 'that the whole 'body of the Catholics in Ireland—those millions of an injured, 'insulted, and despised people, shall, with becoming scorn, reject 'the humiliating offer of a state provision for the support of their 'church, whilst we meanly submit to be the degraded stipendi-'aries, or rather the legal plunderers, of those whom nothing but 'dire necessity compels to contribute to our ecclesiastial re-'sources."

The claim set up for the Church of England, that it is the poor man's church, and that, if deprived of the emoluments derived from the "Church-rates, the most dreadful oppressions will be committed against the poor; and that the poor cottager, thus driven from the sanctuary of his fathers, to which he has been attached from his infancy, would be compelled to attend the conventicle, and be made subject to pew-rents and other contributions, as implying a charge against the Dissenters, is one of the most Utopian that a perverted imagination has ever invented. Judas cared for the poor, for he was a thief, and had the bag. The poor man's church, forsooth! Has any church on earth been so culpably neglectful of the poor as the hierarchy of England? The Church in Wales, for a long series of years, expelled the poor from its sanctuaries, and consigned them to ignorance and profligacy; the churches were universally deserted, and the people became the most depraved in the empire. The little band of evangelical heroes who laboured to reclaim them, and, with astonishing success, driven with their numerous flocks from the pale of the establishment by the most wanton and cruel

persecution, diffused religion through the length and the breadth of the land; but none of them have returned to the bosom of the Church. Throughout England the poor have been abandoned to the sectaries, and, but for the liberal and unwearied exertions of Dissenters, they must have perished. And, at the present moment, our cities and manufacturing towns, our collieries and agricultural districts, would be destitute of the bread of life were it not supplied to them from the same sources. Mere church-room is all, for the most part, that this boasted poor man's church has furnished, to meet the spiritual exigencies of this rapidly increasing class of our fellow-subjects; and this has proved altogether inadequate; and the poor are still left without the means of religious instruction. How repulsive and alarming is the condition of the poor in Ireland, where Protestant bishops have frequently interfered to put down the zealous efforts of pious clergymen and laymen to enlighten and to save them!

Archdeacon Wilkins has made revelations as to the moral condition of the poor of Nottingham, which show the utter inefficiency of his own labours, and those of his coadjutors, to remedy the crying evil. As it regards the poor, the Church of England is comparatively a nonentity. For twenty years the Lancasterian and Sunday schools, the Tract and Home Missionary Societies of the Dissenters, and, more recently, the Christian Instruction Society and the City Mission, have effected more for the benefit of the poor than all the gorgeous and costly machinery of the state church for centuries. 'Teach a poor man to think,' says the late Robert Hall, 'and you give him the principle of all pro-'perty, raise him to importance, place him in the rank of a bene-'factor, and by the penny he cheerfully subscribes to advance the 'interests to which he has learnt to attach the highest value,' you lift him up, according to Dr. Chalmers, in the scale of society; you impart to him moral dignity by stamping him with moral worth. The poor have seat-room to a far greater extent, of which they avail themselves, in Methodist and Dissenting chapels, than they have ever yet found in the parish churches. Formal prayers, and cold sermons, and habitual neglect of their families and interests, which prevail in so many large districts, will neither attract them to church nor improve their habits. The Church in Wales, we repeat it, has absolutely done nothing, nay worse than nothing; the religious character of the people must be ascribed to other causes; and similar facts go far to establish the same conclusion as it regards the other portions of the country: what the Church of England has any where attempted for the spiritual edification of the poor, she has been compelled to do by the pressure from without. Fraser and the Quarterly utter an infinite deal of nonsense on this subject. The tithe processes and writs of rebellion, the murders and massacres of Ireland speak

volumes, which the nation well understand; they perceive that there is a peculiar sense in which this poor man's is also the poor widow's church. Is this a period when churches can safely throw away the shreds of character which cling to them in spite of themselves, and proclaim their utter destitution of human feeling and divine philanthropy?

But the ingratitude of the Dissenters to the state Church. Monstrous! They forget their obligations, 'the ample toleration 'they have so long enjoyed under its mild, and liberal, and pro-'tecting influence!' It is not easy to forget what never had any existence. How little do such writers as Fraser and Archdeacon Wilkins understand the nature of true religion; and they are most strangely ignorant of the past. Mr. Prebendary Townsend, in the fervour of his apostolic zeal, once wrote a work which he entitled, 'The accusations of History against the Church of Rome,' and rather unnaturally exposed the shame of the Mother; would he not be rendering an essential service to the dignitaries and hirelings of his own communion, were he to publish a similar work to unveil the amiable and tolerant character of the daughter? It is not in the nature of an established church to tolerate; and the Church of England has never betrayed the slightest tendency to a weakness so totally at variance with her constitution. With what relentless cruelty did she persecute the Puritans? and what was her intention when she compelled the state to pass with such indecent haste the Act of Uniformity? Did she not deliberately, and with forethought and savage delight contemplating the fatal consequences, drive two thousand holy ministers from their pulpits, and brand them as outlaws, hunting them and multitudes of other excellent men from every market town in the kingdom, harassing them with the Five Mile and Test and Corporation Acts, and reviving against them every sanguinary statute, consigning as many as she could 'clutch' to the dungeon where they were doomed to pine and linger in the deepest wretchedness, and where some of them actually perished? And, ever since that period, has any thing like toleration to Dissenters been regarded in any other light than as aggression upon her prerogatives? How often has she called upon the public and the legislature to give vigour to the law, and raise its strong arm to crush the sectaries! The 'Lay-Dissenter,' in replying to the Quarterly, assails him with the following just and pertinent rebuke:

'We are told, forsooth, that, 'so long as the Dissenter was content with his position in the state, which was that of complete toleration, and did not seek to disturb the Establishment, his scruples were respected.' Toleration! the toleration of the spoiler towards the despoiled; continuing just as long as the latter does not attempt to withhold the booty! There is an infinity of insolence in that word toleration. Men professing to be Christians, indeed, *tolerating* the

worship of God by a fellow-Christian, and contenting themselves with merely taking, for their own use, *a portion* of his goods and chattels! There is toleration for gambling-houses all over the metropolis; for tea-gardens and open shops on the Sabbath; for gin-palaces in all directions; for the thousands and tens of thousands of prostitutes who nightly defile our streets and public ways with obscenity; and the Dissenter has also toleration, and ought, forsooth, to be well contented to pay for it; saying, with Shylock, to those who condescend to take his money—

> ' Shall I bend low, and in a bondman's key,
> With 'bated breath, and whispering humbleness,
> Say this—
> 'Fair Sir, you spit on me on Wednesday last;
> You spurned me such a day; another time
> You call'd me, Dog. And for these courtesies
> I'll give you thus much monies!'

'Your kindness, Mr. Editor, knows no bounds. You have 'for some time, sunk the sin of schism, as if there was not a word about it in all Scripture.' Perhaps there is as much wisdom as liberality in having thus sunk it; for the schism mentioned in the Scriptures cannot mean secession, especially from the Church of England, for that Church was not in existence till ages after the Scriptures were written; and if it mean secession from any established form, then the Church of England is essentially schismatic."

As a further evidence of dissenting ingratitude to the Church of England, we are reminded of the benefit which it indirectly confers upon us. However we may be rated, it seems, according to Archdeacon Bather, 'we have our full equivalent, in having a 'better land to live in; the purification, through the gospel, of the 'moral atmosphere in which we breathe, being worth more than any 'man has to pay for it.' Now dissenters are so ungrateful as to think, that if this charge has any weight, it falls most heavily upon the state church; which owes on this score every thing to them. In this case they contend, they have been the benefactors; this 'better land' is indebted for its improvement to them; this moral atmosphere is created by their purification, through the gospel; and the lungs of the establishment must ascribe their healthy action, to those who drained the stagnant and pestiferous marshes, and reclaimed the hideous wastes around them: and this too when the clerical husbandmen were too indolent to take the field, or lend the least aid in converting the desert into the garden of God; nay, while during a series of years, they employed a worldly and infidel energy, to counteract the disinterested and arduous efforts of methodist and sectarian zeal. The author of the Book of the Denominations* has proved this beyond the pos-

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* Why is this work suffered so long to remain out of print? This is the crisis for its reappearance.

sibility of contradiction. But for the reformation of the eighteenth century, begun by Mr. Whitfield, and the Wesleys, and whom the church cast out of her bosom, such was the general ignorance and negligence of the clergy, and such the total indifference of the people, even to the semblance of religion, that the nation was fast sinking into a state of heathen darkness. And let it never be forgotten, that of this reformation, and of its progress down to the present day, the church has been the persecutor and not the patron. Those clergymen who, in the spirit of a true and evangelical piety, have entered into the labours of their apostolical predecessors, are only so far encouraged by the rulers of the church, as the spirit of the age has forced them into a reluctant acquiescence in what they heartily disapprove. At a moment when Sunday schools assumed an important attitude, Bishop Horsley, as the organ of the church, denounced them as 'schools of atheism and disloyalty;' and it was not till the suppression of them was despaired of, that the hierarchy condescended to adopt the measure as its own. The plan of national education, introduced practically into the country by Joseph Lancaster, experienced the same treatment, and was followed by a similar result. Missionary societies, which, to the disgrace of the protestant reformation, had been for centuries unknown, no sooner rose among the dissenters, than they were opposed by the church. Every attempt was made to preach and write them down, till the unholy zeal brought universal odium upon the establishment. Then was instituted the Church Missionary Society; and a royal proclamation called upon the country, at a subsequent period, to embark in the laudable undertaking of evangelizing the heathen; yet is this missionary society a voluntary association within the bosom of the church, without enjoying its patronage, and the royal mandate has never yet been responded to, so as to render the conversion of the world one of the objects of the state church, in its corporate capacity. The Bible Society shared the same fate; and to supplant it in public estimation, the Christian Knowledge Society was resuscitated for the occasion; and as the Bible could not be arrested in its progress to the cottages of the poor, this venerable institution roused its energies to promote its wider circulation, in juxta-position with the Book of Common Prayer. The dissenters and methodists filled the country with chapels and meeting houses, and had their evening services. It was then found expedient to build new churches (not however at the expense of the hierarchy), and to place in their pulpits the most popular preachers that could be obtained, and all with the simple view of upholding the church. Now, it should be observed, that all these measures originated with the dissenters, and were rendered imperiously necessary by the wants of the people, utterly neglected by the clergy, who were fattening on taxes wrung from their vitals, we mean tithes, church rates,

and surplice fees. If, therefore, the moral atmosphere of the land we live in is purified, through the gospel, whatever share the church may have contributed, she is not entitled to the credit she arrogates to herself. Those who have borne the heat and burthen of the day, and who are at this moment supplying her lack of service, are surely entitled to be free from her exactions. If a pecuniary balance must be struck on the side of the moral and spiritual improvements of our people the church would have a large share to refund to the dissenters, and ought for shame to relinquish for ever any further demand upon them, to repair her buildings, and sustain her worship.

We have no wish to institute odious comparisons, or to utter one syllable in depreciation of the really excellent men, who in the church of England, are labouring to promote the salvation of the lost and perishing around them. Yet when this church puts forth her extravagant claims, and when her advocates are lauding to the skies the efficiency of her clergy, and that with the view of fixing their compulsory support upon those who, in separate communions, are their voluntary fellow-labourers in the same good work, we hold it to be incumbent upon us to rebuke the pride and the insolence which would attempt to perpetuate such flagrant injustice.

Lord Henley, it seems, believes that this is the moment of the church's unprecedented prosperity; and that she never knew a period like the present, when she could reckon among her sons so many devout pastors, making full proof of their ministry. This may be true, and if it be, we fear it implies much in favour of the dissenters, while it reflects little honour upon the church, when we ascertain the relative proportion which these devout pastors bear to the whole body of the clergy. Are they furnished by the patronage of the court, and his majesty's government? Are they among the sons, nephews, cousins, cousins german of their lordships the bishops? Are they the offshoots of the nobility; the younger sons so piously educated at our universities? Do we find them in any considerable numbers, among the thousands of voluntary non-residents and pluralists, who take good care to feed themselves, but not the flock of God? Among the simoniacal and perjured, who enter upon their sacred functions with a lie in their right hand; Or do they teem from Oxford and Cambridge, unsophisticated and pious youths, burning with ardent zeal to promote the interests of a church, whose articles they were taught blindly to subscribe at their matriculation? and who have either no knowledge of Christian theology, or whose views are so discordant, that they scarcely hold two opinions in common? who think more of pleasure than of preaching, who are more familiar with a round of ladyships than with the Pearsons, the Taylors, the Barrows of the olden time? Or are these faithful evangelists, who evince so strenuous

a desire to perform the duties of a laborious and watchful ministry, to be found among those fellows of colleges, who are compelled to take orders, or lose their fellowships, and who, taking orders as a *matter of course,* remain as worldly, as idle, as vicious as they were before?

As the Quarterly Review, Archdeacon Wilkins, and the various writers who take their side of the question, lay so much stress upon the moral and spiritual benefits which the church confers upon the whole nation, without deigning to notice how much more, in this respect, has been done by other ministers of different communions, we have dwelt the longer upon this branch of the subject. The question of Church rates, and the arguments pro and con by which they are defended or condemned we shall possibly notice in our forthcoming number for April.

Art. VIII. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

A Work will shortly appear bearing the rather eccentric Title of "Piso and the Præfect, or the Ancients off their Stilts." In this production it has been the object of the Author to exhibit the Citizens of old Rome in a new point of view, which, if not particularly favourable, may be more consonant with truth than those generally held.

"The Felonry of New South Wales;" with an exposure of the system of the present Colonial Government. The whole proved by documentary and other Evidence, and interpersed with curious Anecdotes, illustrative of the extraordinary nature of Colonial Society. By James Mudie, Esq. of Castle Forbes, late a Justice of Peace for the Territory of New South Wales.

A new issue of "The Library of Romance" is now preparing for publication.

Miss Stickney is engaged on a third volume of her "Pictures of Private Life." The Work will be published in a few days.

Art. IX. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

EDUCATION.

Education Reform; or the Necessity of a National System of Education. By Thomas Wyse, Esq. M.P.

THEOLOGY.

The Present State of London. A Discourse by Robert Ainslie.

The Christian Citizen. A Sermon by John Harris.

Remarks on an Article in No. 130 of the Edinburgh Review, on Evangelical Preaching. By Thomas Byrth, Rector of Wallasey.

Sorrow for the Dead regulated and restrained. A Sermon occasioned by the death of the Rev. Samuel Summers. By Edmund Steane. With the Address delivered at the Interment. By T. S. Crisp.

Services at the Ordination of W. A. Salter, as Pastor of the Church in Henrietta Street, Brunswick Square.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Early Christians; their Manners and Customs, Trials and Sufferings. By the Rev. W. Pridden, M.A.

The Young Lady's Friend; a Manual of Practical Advice and Instruction to Young Females on their entering upon the Duties of Life after quitting School. By a Lady.

The History of Sandford and Merton; originally written by Thomas Day. Revised by Rosina Maria Zornlin. Many wood-cuts.

The North American Review, No 94. January 1837.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

For APRIL, 1837.

Art. I. *A Sketch of the Church of the First Two Centuries after Christ, drawn from the writings of the Fathers down to Clemens Alexandrinus inclusive, in a Course of Sermons, preached before the University of Cambridge, in January*, 1836. By the Rev. John J. Blunt, late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Small 8vo. pp. 218. 1836.

THE name of Mr. Blunt is, we doubt not, well known to many of our readers, as that of an author who has distinguished himself by the great acuteness and success with which he has sought out arguments in proof of the authenticity of the sacred writings, drawn from accidental coincidences found in the writings themselves. Indeed, in the investigation of this species of evidence, he has, in previous works, displayed a degree of shrewdness and tact, which has proved him not inadequate to succeed, in the ranks of Christian warfare, the celebrated author of the Horæ Paulinæ. It was therefore with no small satisfaction that we learnt, that Mr. Blunt had directed the same eye of curious and vigilant inquiry to the consideration of the scanty remains of the Primitive Church, with the view of proving how close a correspondence there subsists between the discipline of the church then and of the church of England now, or, to use his own words,

'That though the gradual progress of society has, no doubt, given a shape to the church in some matters indifferent, yet that the platform is of very early date; and that, even in the details, it is built upon very ancient foundations: that a fair reference to ecclesiastical antiquity is so far from being unfriendly to it, that it will prove its best ally, by showing that a primitive church, rightly understood, is not a community of Christians without organization, or discipline, or sta-

bility, but a body well jointed and knit together in its members, of a grave aspect, and uniform plan.'—pp. 2, 3.

Of course this must be chiefly levelled against the notions of Congregational Independency; and indeed from what follows it is evident, that it is Mr. B.'s design most particularly to point out traces in the primitive church of the distinction between the three orders of bishop, priest, and deacon, and of the existence not only of diocesan, but even of metropolitan episcopacy. These two topics occupy the first and second of his discourses. In the third sermon he considers the question, whether the worship of the primitive church was liturgical. The two last are engaged with the doctrines of the primitive church. His work is especially recommended to our attention by its being the result of original inquiry; and while he modestly acknowledges that 'he cannot 'pretend to make discoveries in a department of knowledge 'which has been so often and so ably investigated,' he is certainly quite right when he expresses his hopes 'that his statements may 'gain in freshness what they lose in learning, by being derived 'from his own application of what he has himself read; and be 'thus likely to produce a more lively impression than essays of 'greater and more ponderous worth.'

We feel convinced, that many of our readers will be glad to have met with an author, capable of doing justice to his argument, who has undertaken to state the grounds, on which the Church of England claims her vaunted title of apostolical; and if, on careful consideration, they arrive at the conviction, that Mr. Blunt has failed to substantiate his case, they will rest satisfied, that the failure has not originated in the incompetency of the advocate, but solely and entirely from the intrinsic badness of the cause.

The first point which Mr. B. aims at establishing is, that the Primitive church was, like the English church, *Episcopal.* He commences with the Scriptures—

'Now it must be confessed that if Scripture itself has not decided the question, it has laid the train for a decision. To say the least, there is something very like the functions of a bishop entrusted to that man, who, though a youth, having therefore no natural aptness for the task such as years give, is nevertheless instructed by St. Paul whom of the elders to rebuke, and whom to honour (1 Tim. v. 17, 19, 20). There is something, too, very like the functions of a bishop entrusted to that other man, he, like the former, so young as to be in danger of being despised, who is charged with the duty of setting in order matters ecclesiastical in every city of a whole island, where the cities were many in number (Tit. i. 5); and still more must we discover traces of such an institution in the fact, which we find recorded in the Acts, of St. Paul sending for the *elders* of the church of Ephesus to meet him at Miletus, as compared with that other fact

which we find recorded in the Revelations, of God's message conveyed by John, so few years after, to *the angel* of that self-same church. In all these instances I do certainly detect symptoms of one head of many members, of a single ruler over a whole body ecclesiastical.'—pp. 6—8.

Now the office, to which Timothy and Titus were deputed, strikes us as being essentially distinguished from the episcopate, by being merely occasional, and to all appearance extraordinary in its character. This appears especially in the case of Titus, who is expressly said to have been left in Crete for the purpose of completing defective arrangements, and appointing elders in the several cities (Tit. i. 5): and accordingly we learn from the second Epistle to Timothy (iv. 10), written subsequently, that this work being performed, Titus had rejoined the apostle, and had been sent by him into Dalmatia—very probably on a similar errand. Timothy, likewise, in the same epistle, receives directions to leave Ephesus, and to come to him quickly. Nothing is said of a successor to either. What evidence does this afford of Timothy and Titus constituting in the churches to which they were sent a regular order to be perpetuated by successors? Yet this is the distinguishing feature of episcopalianism.

In respect to the angels addressed in the Revelation, little need be said in order to escape the argument drawn by episcopalians from the supposition of bishops being the characters designated by the term. Even on this supposition it yet remains to be shown that this bishop *was the bishop of more churches or congregations of believers than one*, before the passage will answer the purpose for which it has been quoted by Mr. Blunt. For the question is not whether there might not have existed in the early church instances of a congregation so constituted, as that among several teachers one was regarded as presiding—but whether these overseers were diocesan bishops, and such as had the *exclusive* power of conferring ecclesiastical ORDERS. This is the real question, which Mr. Blunt would have done well to have stated more precisely at the very commencement of his argument.

Some of these churches will come under review again presently, in considering the epistles of Ignatius; meanwhile, we may add, that the seven churches with their seven bishops, were contained in seven neighbouring towns—probably all of them together containing a less actual population than an inferior European metropolis, while of this population perhaps but an inconsiderable fraction professed Christianity. The whole district in which they are found would seem hardly to have been greater than a single English diocese.

We are next referred to Hermas:

'Now in one of the 'Visions' of the Shepherd of Hermas, for this is the first authority to which I will refer, Ecclesia is represented as

ppearing to Hermas with a book in her hand, which she gives him to ranscribe. He is to send one copy to Clemens, and one to Gapta—Clemens is to communicate the contents to the cities at a distance, and it is added, 'for he has power to do this'—Gapta to the widows and orphans. Hermas himself is to read the same to his city with the elders who preside over the church. (Vis. ii. § 4.) There is nothing decisive to the point here, it is true; but at least the passage answers well to the supposition that Clemens was then Bishop of Rome; that by virtue of his office he could distribute religious documents throughout his diocese; and that Hermas being himself but a presbyter, was proportionally circumscribed. But there is another 'Vision' in the same work still more to our purpose. It is a tower built upon the waters, (this particular too is worthy of observation), of square stones. ——— Afterwards is given the interpretation of the parable. The church is the tower—its various members are the stones; it is built upon the water, 'because our life is and will be saved by *water*;' the stones which are fitted together 'are *apostles*, and *bishops*, and *doctors*, and *ministers*, who have entered God's mercy, and have borne their episcopate, and taught the elect of God, and ministered unto the same, both unto those who sleep, and to those who still live in holiness and modesty.' (Vis. iii. § 5.) That is, the several ranks of the hierarchy were, *apostles*, *bishops*, *presbyters*, and *deacons*; for that so the Latin (which is all that here remains) is to be rendered, is certain —the word 'episcopi' being in another place of Hermas actually explained by the term præsides ecclesiarum (Tim. ix. § 27); whilst the word 'doctores' is proved by Bp. Pearson from a similar use of them in Tertullian and Cyprian, to be presbyters as distinguished from bishops. But indeed the several offices of these several orders are defined plainly enough in the sentence which follows the announcement of their titles; where it is said with a reference to the 'episcopi,' that they had to bear their episcopate, that is, to overlook; to the 'doctores,' that they had to teach, that is, to preach the word; to the 'ministri,' that they had to serve, that is, to assist in the regulation of the congregation, the administration of the elements, and the providing for the sick. Moreover the passage before us further implies that, at the time it was written, such a church polity had been of some continuance; for it speaks of the generation that was dead having enjoyed it, as well as the generation that survived.'—pp. 9—13.

It is unnecessary to enter upon the much-mooted question of the authenticity and age of these writings. We will grant, for the sake of argument, that they are just what they pretend to be. It will be sufficient to remark that the power here ascribed to Clement of communicating the letter to *foreign* cities (for the Latin runs thus, Mittet autem Clemens in *exteras* civitates; illi enim permissum est) would naturally arise from the great influence which would necessarily accrue to him as well in Rome as elsewhere, from his having been a companion of the apostles, supposing him to be the same as is mentioned by Paul, and further among foreigners, by his enjoying such high estimation

among the converts in the imperial city of Rome. When we find the church of Rome addressed by Ignatius, if indeed it be he, in such lofty terms as these, ἥτις προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ρωμαίων, ἀξιόθεος, ἀξιομακάριστος, ἀξιέπαινος, ἀξιοεπίτευκτος, ἁξίαγνος, καὶ προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης, Χριστώνυμος, Πατρώνυμος, Πνευματοφόρος—epithets of honour beyond our powers of translation—we shall not feel any surprise at the humble churches of foreign districts being willing to receive a book recommended by a leading presbyter of that church, whose authority might perhaps have sufficed to give currency even to the puerile fictions of a Hermas, supposing that he could have been induced so far to honour them. As to the argument derived from the mention by Hermas of 'apostoli, et episcopi, et doctores, et ministri,' what if it should be acknowledged that in many (at least) of the primitive churches or congregations there was, as has been already supposed, a separation of the offices of teaching and ruling?—a notion which is confirmed by Rom. xii. 7, 8, 1 Cor. xii. 8, 28, Eph. iv. 11. It yet remains to Mr. Blunt to show that Hermas' Episcopus was præses ecclesiarum, and not merely præses ecclesiæ; and he has no manner of right to interpret the words of one whom, it would seem by his being mentioned first, he supposes to have written in the first century, by the signification attached to those words by writers in the third.

The next reference is to Clement's beautiful letter to the Corinthian church, on occasion of another out-break of that factious spirit which had called down upon them the censure of St. Paul. The date generally assigned to this composition is A.D. 96.

'Clemens, in obedience to the maxim of anointing the lips of a bitter cup with honey, makes his approach to the Corinthians by reminding them of the high character the church of Corinth sustained before this unhappy schism, and enumerates various virtues it taught and practised. Ye acted,' says he (§ 1), 'in all things without respect of persons. Ye walked in God's laws, obeying those who had the *rule over you* (τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν), and paying due honour to your *presbyters*.' The ruler and presbyter are here stated as distinct; the one an object of obedience, the other of respect; and as ecclesiastical relations alone are contemplated, it is difficult to imagine what others can be meant than *bishops* and *priests*.'—pp. 14, 15.

Whether 'ecclesiastical relations alone are contemplated,' or whether Mr. Blunt has translated most consistently with the context, will be best decided by the reader, on having the passage with its context as it stands in the Greek put before him. It is as follows: ἀπροσωπολήπτως γὰρ πάντα ἐποιεῖτε καὶ τοῖς νόμοις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπορεύεσθε, ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν, καὶ τιμὴν τὴν καθήκουσαν ἀπονέμοντες τοῖς παρ' ὑμῖν πρεσβυτέροις·

νέοις τε μέτρια καὶ σεμνὰ νοεῖν ἐπετρέπετε· γυναῖξίν τε ἐν ἀμώμῳ καὶ σεμνῇ καὶ ἁγνῇ συνειδήσει πάντα ἐπιτελεῖν παρηγγελλέτε. Can it be doubted that the true sense is about as follows? 'Ye did all things without respect of persons, and walked by God's laws, submitting yourselves to your rulers, and paying due honour to the seniors among you; and to young persons ye recommended sobermindedness and gravity; and to women ye gave directions to do all things with a blameless, and grave, and chaste conscience.' And that this is the writer's meaning will appear by comparing the passage quoted by Mr. Blunt, with another which, it is to be observed, he has not quoted, in the twenty-first chapter: τοὺς προηγουμένους ἡμῶν αἰδεσθῶμεν, τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἡμῶν τιμήσωμεν, τοὺς νέους παιδεύσωμεν τὴν παιδείαν τοῦ φόβου τοῦ Θεοῦ. Τὰς γυναῖκας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν διορθωσώμεθα, κ. τ. λ. which plainly means this, 'Those who rule over us let us reverence, those that are older than we let us honour, the young let us train in the fear of God. Our wives let us bring into the good way,' &c. It is needless to say more upon this head; except that we hardly think that an unprejudiced person can rise from the perusal of this letter of Clement, without feeling satisfied that there was no officer such as we understand by a bishop, at all in the Corinthian church, at the period when the letter was written. An excellent note on this subject will be found appended to the second chapter of Mr. Waddington's History of the Church.

After some judicious remarks, concerning the scanty mention of matters of ecclesiastical discipline in the writings of the early fathers, Mr. B. proceeds thus.

'At length, however, we do arrive at the proof we have been seeking, in the epistles of Ignatius. In these the three orders are repeatedly asserted; and in terms so express as to admit of no dispute as to meaning. For instance, 'I would give my life,' writes Ignatius, 'for those who are obedient to the bishop, the priests, and the deacons, and be it mine to have my portion in God with them;' and then addressing himself to the clergy, for he had been speaking to the laity in the former sentence; 'Labour one with another,' says he, appealing to the three ranks, 'strive together, run together, suffer together, together sleep, together awake, as God's stewards, and assessors, and ministers.' (ad Polycarp. § 6.) where the offices of bishop, priest, and deacon are made to correspond respectively with those of οἰκονόμος, πάρεδρος, ὑπηρέτης. And in another epistle, that to the people of Tralles, he enforces obedience to the bishop, the priests, and the deacons, alleging that 'there can be no church, properly so called, without them.' (§ 3). The letters are full of passages as unequivocal as these. Once admit, therefore, the epistles of Ignatius to be genuine, and the question of Episcopacy is set at rest. Nothing was left then for the impugners of that ordinance, but to deny their authority; and accordingly, the argument for episcopacy, at this point,

shifts its ground, and from the interpretation of doubtful testimonies of accredited authors, passes to the investigation of the credit due to an author whose testimony is clear.' pp. 18, 19.

We do not design to discuss the authenticity of Ignatius' Epistles, or whether the larger or the smaller edition possesses the stronger claim upon our attention, subjects into which Mr. B. has entered at some length, pp. 20—27. We, however, incline to think, that if either of them be authentic, it is the larger. But as it does not much affect the present question, we shall not press the point here; and, in order to meet Mr. B. on common ground, shall refer to the smaller edition, unless we expressly state the contrary. We admit then, frankly, that the epistles of Ignatius do compel us to believe, that at the time when they were written, supposed to be A.D. 106, there were many churches which were each of them under the management of deacons and elders, with a superior named a bishop. But these epistles do not inform us, that the bishop thus presiding over elders was a diocesan bishop (i. e. one who had the management of more congregations of believers than one), nor that the *orders* of the bishop were distinct from those of the elders; points which Mr. B. has yet to prove, or he has proved nothing to his purpose. And, indeed, in respect to the first point, we think that there are several passages, clearly indicating that the churches with bishops at their head, addressed by Ignatius, were *not* combinations of congregations, but separate congregations. We shall cite such passages, both for the purpose of proving our point, and also to furnish our readers, who may not have read the letters themselves, with some knowledge of the general tone adopted by Ignatius in relation to this matter. In the epistle to the Ephesians (§ 5) he writes, 'Let no man be deceived; unless a man be within the altar, he 'is deprived of the bread of God. For if the prayer of one or two 'has so much efficacy, how much more the combined prayer of the 'bishop and all the church? He, therefore, that does not come 'together to the same place with it (the church), at once proves 'himself a proud man, and has condemned himself. For it is 'written, God resisteth the proud. Let us, therefore, make it our 'care not to resist the bishop, that we may be the subjects of 'God.' Ibid. §. 20. 'Especially if the Lord reveal to me, that 'ye all of you in common, by name, in grace, come together in 'one faith and in Jesus Christ, to obey the bishop and the pres-'bytery with an undivided mind, breaking one loaf, which is a 'medicine of immortality, an antidote that we should not die, but 'live in Jesus Christ for ever.' To the Magnesians §. 7. 'As, 'then, the Lord without the Father did nothing, neither in his 'own person nor by means of his apostles, so neither do you do 'anything without the bishop and the presbyters. Neither endea-

'vour for any thing to appear reasonable to yourselves alone '[such seems to be the translation, comparing the passage with the 'version of it in the larger copy], but (being come) together, (let 'there be) one prayer, one supplication, one mind, one hope in 'love (and) innocent gladness. Jesus Christ is one, than which '[i. e. oneness, as we suppose from a comparison with the larger 'edition] nothing is better. Do ye all therefore come together 'as into the temple of God, as to one altar, as to one Jesus Christ, 'who came forth from one Father, and is in one, and went '(back) to one (εἰς ἕνα ὄντα καὶ χωρήσαντα.)' To the Philadelphians §. 4. 'Make it then an object to partake of one eucharist; 'for there is one flesh of one Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup for 'the oneness [i. e. to show the oneness] of his blood; *one altar*, '*as one bishop*, together with the presbytery and the deacons, 'my fellow-servants, that ye may do whatever ye do according 'to God.' To the Smyrneans, §. 8. 'Do ye all follow the 'bishop, as Jesus Christ (did) the Father, and the presbytery as 'the apostles; and reverence the deacons, as being a command 'of God. Let no one, without the bishop, do any of the things 'which pertain to the church. Let that be deemed a valid eucha-'rist which is under the bishop, or one entrusted by him. 'Wherever the bishop appears, there let your number (or assem-'bly, πλῆθος) be; as wherever Christ Jesus is, there the catholic 'church is. It is not lawful, without the bishop, either to baptize 'or to celebrate a love-feast; but whatever he approves of, this 'is also well-pleasing to God; that all that is done may be safe 'and valid.' Out of the seven letters, we have cited from four; of the remaining three, in which we cannot find any thing bearing upon the point, one is addressed to Polycarp, and a second to the Roman church, in which there is a total silence relating to any bishop presiding in that church. These passages, however, which we have cited, seem pretty distinctly to intimate, that there was only one congregation of believers in the several places to which he addresses his letters; and, therefore, that the bishop who presided over them was in fact nothing more than a pastor, in no respect, that appears, different from a pastor among ourselves, except that he had under him a subordinate band of elders or presbyters, who, probably (for we have not met with any evidence to determine the matter decidedly), co-operated with the pastor or bishop in the work of instruction, and other church engagements. That the deacons contemplated by Ignatius, were persons engaged in the distribution of the charities of the church, or in the ordering of the materials for the Eucharist and the Agapæ, and similar matters, and did not take part in what we commonly call ministerial work, appears from the epistle to the Trallians, §. 2. 'The deacons, also, as being deacons [διακόνους, ministers] of the mysteries of Jesus Christ, ought by

'all means to please all: for they are not (merely) ministers '(διάκονοι) of meats and drinks, but servants [ὑπηρέται] of the 'church of God. It behoves them, therefore, to avoid offences 'as fire.'

The reader will therefore observe these three particulars: first, that the epistles of Ignatius do not show that the *orders* of the bishop were essentially different from those of the presbyters, though their *offices* were somewhat different; secondly, that the bishops, of whom so much is said, were not diocesan bishops, but the pastors of separate congregations; and thirdly, that the deacons were not, ex officio, preachers. The epistles of Ignatius do not, therefore, prove the agreement of the church of England with the church of that time, in *these* particulars.

The next reference is to Justin Martyr; and a citation is made from that author, which our readers will most probably think extremely irrelevant, even after they have attended to Mr. B.'s comment. We shall adduce both citation and comment, merely to give a fair exhibition of Mr. B.'s argument. It is a part of the very interesting account, which Justin lays before the Emperor, of the rites of Christian worship.

'On the day called Sunday,' says he, 'there is an assembly in one place of all who are in town and country. And the records of the apostles, or the writings of the prophets, are read as long as time serves. When the reader has made an end, the *president* prays and gives thanks with all his might. And the distribution and reception of the elements is proceeded with to each individually; and they are communicated by the hands of the ***Deacons*** to those who are absent." (Apol. I. §. 67. p. 83.) Here, it is to be observed, express mention is made of the president and the deacons, and of none other; the former term studiously used, it should seem, for it occurs twice. Now that which recommended it, I conceive, was this; that it is a term of *general* import, and would serve for bishop or priest, as it might be. For in one of the apostolical constitutions, as they are called, it is provided, with reference to the eucharist, that the deacon is not to make the oblation, "but the *bishop or priest* making it, he is to give it to the people, not as a priest, but as a servant of the priest." (Apost. Const. viii. 28.) And in another, which relates to baptism, it is said, "The bishop is to bless the water and the oil [sic!]; or if he be not present, the priest, the deacon standing by; but when the bishop is present, then both priest and deacon are to stand by." (Ibid. viii. 29.) It was in contemplation, therefore, of either case, the presence or the absence of the bishop, that the expression *president* (ὁ προεστώς) was adopted, which would serve whichever of the two might actually officiate in the celebration of the rite; and the deliberate choice of such an expression, favours that distinction in the orders which so much other evidence tends to establish. I have not scrupled to call in the help of the Constitutions, in illustration of Justin. For though the date of that compilation is doubtful, and though some of the precepts it con-

tains are obviously as late as Constantine, yet many again bear internal evidence of a much more ancient origin, and, on the whole, it is a storehouse of minute information on the early practices of the church, not lightly to be passed by.' pp. 28—31.

It might seem obvious enough to some, that the reason why Justin used ὁ προεστώς, and not ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, or πρεσβύτερος, or διάκονος, might very probably have been his willingness to express himself in a manner which the Emperor could understand. With reference to the use made of the Apostolical Constitutions in the argument, and the reason alleged for its being done, we can only express our wonder.

The last two witnesses produced by Mr. B. are Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria; the one being assigned to the close of the first century, and the other contemporary but rather younger, entering into the third century. Before, however, we attend to the evidence they give, let us first consider the circumstances under which it is given.

We think that it appears, from the previous discussion, that it was no uncommon thing, even in the first century of the Christian era, for a church to be managed by an officer named a bishop, with elders (also sometimes called bishops, as every body acknowledges) and deacons under him. The limits of their respective functions, supposing they were so clearly defined as some have been prone to imagine, do not, as has been already intimated, appear assignable from the documents which have been spared to us; for, of course, we disallow altogether of any attempt to interpret the names of offices, used in the first or even second century, by the signification which we very well know they came afterwards to bear; a course which, nevertheless, as we have just seen, Mr. Blunt has thought proper to adopt. Such an attempt proceeds upon the supposition, that things remained unaltered in the church from its very first formation; a supposition, one might suppose, too palpably contradicted by facts to require any further examination. It may, therefore, be a matter of astonishment to some of our readers, that this flagrant absurdity, for other we cannot name it, is habitually committed by writers of a certain school, not inactive in the present day, who not only interpret the writers of the first two centuries by those of even the fourth, but also require that the discipline and practices of the church in the fourth century shall be regarded as of apostolical authority, binding upon the church *now*. In proof of our assertion, which some might feel disposed to think exaggerated, we invite our readers to the perusal of the Oxford "Tracts for the times."

If, however, we consider the circumstances of the church, we think it will be apparent, that the form which it exhibited, even towards the close of the second century, but still more clearly in

subsequent years, was the natural result of the operation of acknowledged facts, upon what was originally a system of a much more simple and inartificial character. We had designed attempting a sketch of some of these circumstances, but we fear that the article would be extended beyond due length. We will, therefore be content to refer, merely, to the general illiteracy of the Christians, for the most part of the lower orders, and the advantage thus given to their teachers, who were necessarily men of more information; the little knowledge and limited circulation of the Scriptures (which were in manuscript) leading to the same result; the piety and self-devotion manifested by the teachers, infusing sentiments of veneration which would be very likely (as we know it did) to exceed proper bounds; the fluctuating state of the laity (as they very soon came to be called), arising from the uncertain storms of persecution, while the teachers, though exposed most of all to their fury, would generally be permanent; the natural progress of the religion, in which one church would be the parent of others in the neighbourhood, which would be likely to acknowledge the authority of the leader of that church from which they themselves had sprung, as happens, we might remark, in the present day among dissenting churches in the towns and their country colonies; the deference due, and paid to the probably superior character and talents of this leader, by other teachers; the influence of the superior wealth of metropolitan churches, especially when backed by the high distinction of their apostolical origin; by and by the influence of the councils of clergy, which very soon became common, in consolidating this precedency into formal authority. Is it at all unnatural to presume, that these circumstances, with others which probably will occur to the reader, which the clergy would not be backward to improve—not merely from a worldly-minded lust of power, but even from a conscientious desire to do good, in many cases—would speedily develope the nucleus of a simple bishop, such as we have supposed, into first a diocesan bishop, and then into a primate? But it does not therefore follow, that the *bishop*, who afterwards, and in some cases very speedily, extended his authority over a district, was originally vested with any right to this authority, or with an authority which was designed to become thus extended; neither do we think it reasonable to infer, that a form of ecclesiastical discipline, resulting from circumstances such as we have hinted at, is always binding even in cases where such circumstances no longer exist. The unflinching partizan may advocate such an hypothesis, but the candid impartial inquirer will reject it, as unsatisfactory and groundless.

But we are wandering a little from our subject: we grant, then, most unhesitatingly, that if there had been more abundant documents left to us to illustrate the state of the church in the

latter part of the second century, we should have seen that diocesan and metropolitan episcopacy was rapidly becoming, if it had not already become, the most prevalent discipline. The documents, however, which remain are very slender; yet it may be conceded that they do infer as much. We shall therefore only cite one of Mr. Blunt's testimonies, one from Irenæus. Mr. B. writes thus:—

'But in Irenæus, which is our authority after these, two passages are found, almost, if not altogether, as decisive of the question of episcopacy as the letters of Ignatius themselves. In one of these he tells us that it would be tedious to produce the succession of bishops in all the churches; that he will, therefore, confine himself to the greatest, the most ancient, and universally known, the church founded by the most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul, that of Rome. He then proceeds to say, that 'the blessed apostles having established and built this church, placed the ministry of its bishopric in the hands of Linus; of which Linus Paul makes mention in his epistles to Timothy. Anacletus succeeded him. Clemens is appointed to the bishopric the third from the apostles; he had seen the blessed apostles, and conversed with them, and heard with his own ears their preaching, and observed their traditions. Nor he only, for still many survived who had been taught of the apostles. Euarestus followed Clement; Alexander, Euarestus. Then came Xystus, the sixth from the apostles. After him Telesphorus, who nobly endured martyrdom. Then Hyginus, then Pius, then Anicetus. Soter came after Anicetus; and Eleutherus,' it is added, 'now holds the bishopric, the twelfth from the apostles. In this order, and in this succession, hath the tradition of the apostles in the church, and the preaching of the truth, descended unto us.' Iren. iii. 3, 2, 3. Surely we have here very strong evidence of an episcopal rank as distant from that of presbyters, though the distinction is not drawn in so many words. For it seems that there had been but one bishop of Rome at one time, from the very first, down to the age of Irenæus himself. Yet Rome contained great numbers of converts; it was, in fact, the chief church of all, and must therefore have had many presbyters, though one bishop sufficed to preside over the whole body. I say, the converts must have far exceeded one congregation. St. Paul had already told us of a church in the house of Priscilla and Aquila, in a manner which would lead us to suppose that there were then other such churches. (Rom. xvi. 5). Tacitus speaks of the Christians in the capital, in Nero's time, as a '*vast multitude.*' (Annal. xv. 44.) And in the middle of the third century, that is, some sixty or seventy years later than the period we are upon, we know, from Eusebius, that there were seven deacons, forty-six presbyters, and still only one bishop.' (Hist. Eccles. vi. 43.) pp. 31—34.

The only point to which we wish to advert, in the passage just cited, respects the apostolical origin claimed by Irenæus on behalf of the bishops of the Roman church. In the first place it appears

that in this very passage Irenæus asserts what we can, from the Scripture itself, *prove to be false*, viz. that the Church of Rome was 'founded by the apostles Peter and Paul.' The Epistle to the Romans by Paul makes it most positively certain that the church was founded before Paul had been there, and that it already had various *orders* in it—exhorters, teachers, prophets, rulers, deacons, visitors of the sick, almoners—when the apostle wrote. The same epistle makes it all but certain that Peter had never been there. To say that 'founded by Peter and Paul' means that they together made a new constitution for the church, is a mere fiction, to save the credit of Irenæus, and is inconsistent with Paul's practice not to stretch himself into other men's labours. Next we remark that there are, as we think, other circumstances belonging to the traditions of the infancy of that church which merit attention, as tending in no small degree to invalidate their authority altogether. It has been said that Tradition is so notorious a liar, that her testimony ought never to be taken, except when confirmed by some witness of really competent authority. Irenæus, we see, asserts that Peter and Paul were the establishers and builders of this church. Tertullian, who is thought by many to have had some connexion with it, some deeming that he was one of its presbyters, and who was undoubtedly a man of great acquirements, tells us, in his book De Præscript. adv. Hæres. (cap. 36), that John likewise had been at Rome, where he had been thrown into boiling oil without sustaining any injury. Now this is a circumstance which Irenæus would not have failed to mention, had he been aware of it, or had he believed it. If it was a fact, but Irenæus did not know it, then Irenæus is not an authority whose statements concerning the Roman church can be admitted as decisive. If, on the other hand, Tertullian was mistaken, what reason have we to suppose that Irenæus was so much better informed as to be secure from error? They are just contemporary witnesses, and Tertullian seems quite as likely to be in the right as Irenæus. But this is not all. Tertullian, in the thirty-second chapter of the same treatise, asserts that Clement was the first bishop of Rome, and that he was ordained by Peter. Whereas Irenæus says, that Linus was the first, being succeeded by Anacletus, but that Clement was the third. Here, again, is a diversity in the facts recorded, seeming to indicate, as well as the one before mentioned, that the history of the infancy of the church in question is involved in uncertainty, and that therefore the *fact* of the apostolical succession of bishops and clergy, so exclusively claimed by the churches of papal Rome and England, is likewise involved in uncertainty. It is, moreover, a noticeable circumstance, that the larger, and as we are disposed to think earlier, edition of Ignatius' epistles mentions some of these names, but without any reference to the exalted dignity with which, in Ig-

natius' eyes, they would have been invested, if they had been *bishops* of the church of Rome. 'What are deacons,' he says, writing to the Trallians (§ 7), 'but imitators of the angelic powers, 'waiting upon the bishop, [as the angels upon Christ,] in a pure 'and irreproachable ministry, as the holy Stephen upon the 'blessed James, and Timothy and *Linus* upon Paul, and *Anen-* 'cletus (or *Anacletus*) and *Clement* upon Peter?' It may be further remarked, that Ignatius, in his address to the Roman church, makes no mention of any bishop presiding there—an opportunity of doing reverence to episcopal authority which he could not have resisted, had it really presented itself; nor, again, in Clement's letter to the Corinthians, is there any reference to the fact of his episcopate. We grant that this would not be decisive against stronger evidence; but we think it is quite enough to outweigh the slender authority of a tradition so vague and inconsistent as this of the Roman church, which we have been attending to; and the bishops of Rome, we know, were not so late as the time of Irenæus in greedily grasping at every thing that would promote their ambitious love of power and preeminence; it is therefore reasonable to suppose that they seized with avidity upon any, the slightest grounds, to assert their dignity as succeeding in the apostolical chair. It is very probable that these persons, mentioned by Irenæus as the first bishops of Rome, being prominent characters as teachers in the church at that place, were raised to the episcopal throne in the regular succession described, *posthumously;* but the voices of the electors being divided, the list has therefore come down with the variations that we have seen.

Towards the close of the sermon Mr. Blunt adds:

'Such is the testimony which the fathers of the first two centuries down to Clemens Alexandrinus inclusive, bear to a primitive episcopal church; and, though succinctly stated, and not accompanied by all the comment I might have added, does, I think, comprise nearly all that can be gathered from the ecclesiastical records within that period which have reached our times.' p. 40.

We have attempted to set forth Mr. Blunt's arguments in as fair a light as possible, leaving him generally to speak at length for himself. Our notice of the remaining sermons must be briefer, and our quotations less frequent or extended.

In stating the object of the second, we shall do best to quote his own summary given at the close, and then consider the particulars.

'Thus, then, it seems, that there were metropolitans in the primitive church, whose superintendence was general; that there was a succession of ministers, not self-appointed, but duly ordained by their ecclesias-

tical superiors, who themselves derived from the apostles; that these same ecclesiastical superiors were charged with preserving the integrity of Scripture, with administering the alms of the church, with excommunicating those who would not stand by the church's confession, and receiving them again on their coming to a better mind; for that there was a uniformity of faith; a uniformity secured by confessions; confessions obviously framed to exclude heresies, for such are glanced at in the symbol I have produced; and that those confessions were invariably exacted at the admission of the parties to church-membership, by the functionaries who administered the rite.' pp. 87, 88.

We shall pass by the view which it is attempted to gain of these facts from the ground supplied us by Scripture, being persuaded that Mr. Blunt himself cannot lay any great stress on this part of his argument: we shall therefore go on in his company 'to observe how the ark of our church rode in the times which 'follow.' The first quotation is from Clemens Romanus (cap. 40, 41), being made for the purpose of showing 'the impression that 'there was among the early fathers of the necessity of a regu-'larly constituted church.' Clement says (we adopt Mr. Blunt's translation),

'Wherefore having searched into the depths of divine knowledge, we must do all things in order, whatsoever the Lord hath commanded us; to wit, make our prayers and oblations at the stated seasons, and not irregularly and by chance, but at the times and hours appointed. Moreover, he hath determined, by his sovereign will, where and by whom they shall be offered up, that every thing being done holily, and according to his good pleasure, the same may be acceptable unto him. They, therefore, who make their offerings at the seasons appointed, are accepted and blessed; for following, as they do, the commands of their Lord, they err not. For his own proper services are assigned to the high priest; and their own proper place is prescribed to the priests; and their own proper ministrations are imposed on the Levites; and the layman is bound by laic rules. Each of you, then, my brethren, give thanks to God abiding in your own order, in all good conscience; not overstepping the established line of your own ministry, in all gravity. For sacrifices are not offered in every place, neither those which are daily, nor vows, nor sin-offerings, nor trespass-offerings; but in Jerusalem only; neither in every part of Jerusalem, but before the temple, at the altar, having been first examined by the high-priest and the ministers aforesaid.' pp. 49, 50.

At first sight, this reference to the high priest, priests, and Levites, might seem to have been made with an eye to bishop, priests, and deacons. But, on closer examination, it will be found that it is only one out of many illustrations of the propriety of order; and, in the 36th and 42d chapters, it is explicitly stated, that Jesus Christ is the High Priest of the Christian economy.

Indeed Mr. Blunt does not seem to consider it in any other light; for he only cites it as 'pleading strongly for the *general* question 'of an establishment, a hierarchy, discipline, ordinances, under 'the Gospel.' But Mr. Blunt seems to think that there can be no discipline, nor order, without the three distinct orders of bishops, priests, and deacons.

He next quotes from Ignatius' epistle to Polycarp, directions 'given by him,' Mr. Blunt thinks, 'as Polycarp's superior,' 'to 'summon a council at Smyrna, of which Polycarp himself was to 'be president, with a view of filling up the see of Antioch.' Let us, however, listen to the evidence.

'It is for you, most blessed Polycarp,' so he writes, 'to assemble a most reverend council, and to ordain (χειροτονῆσαι) one whom you hold right dear, and who will be zealous, so that it may deserve to be said of him, that he is running the race of God; him to charge with the honour of proceeding to Syria, that he may set forth your unwearied desire for the glory of Christ.' Then follow more minute directions for the gathering of this council. 'Since I have not been able,' says he, 'to write to all the churches, by reason of having to sail on the sudden from Troas to Neapolis, such being God's pleasure, you will write to the neighbouring churches, for you are in the councils of God, that they may concur in this same object.' Ignatius then adds certain salutations, and this among the rest: 'I salute him who shall be accounted worthy of proceeding to Syria. Grace will be with him in every thing, and with Polycarp who sends him.' Ep. ad. Polycarp, § 7, 8.—pp. 54, 55.

A stubborn fact—if it be one. For there are some other passages in Ignatius which Mr. Blunt has not referred to, but which seem to throw a very different light over the whole affair. In the epistle to the church at Smyrna, of which Polycarp was the bishop, occur the following words: 'Your prayer has come upon the church at Antioch in Syria;' [the larger edition adds, 'and it is in peace,' which explains the meaning]; then presently; 'In order that your work may become complete, both on 'earth and in heaven, it is meet for the honour of God that your '*church* [compare this with the *holy or most reverend council* mentioned in the epistle to Polycarp] should appoint [χειροτονῆσαι, the same word as that which in the epistle to Polycarp Mr. Blunt translates 'ordains'] a God-ambassador [Θεοπρεσβύτην, i. e. as we suppose, a messenger for religious purposes], in order that, getting as 'far as Syria, he may rejoice with them, because they enjoy peace, 'and have recovered their proper size [i. e. numbers], and because 'the little body which belongs to them [τὸ ἴδιον σωματεῖον] has 'been restored to a sound condition. It appeared therefore to me 'a proper thing that you should send [that such is the sense, appears from what has preceded, as also from the larger edition]

'some one of your body with a letter, that he may join in cele-
'brating the tranquillity granted to them by the will of God, and
'because by your prayer they were gaining [or, according to the
more probable version in the larger, 'I have gained] a haven [of
'rest].' § 11.

Again, in the letter to the Philadelphians: 'Since, agreeably
'to your prayer, and the bowels which ye have in Christ Jesus,
'tidings have been brought to me that the church at Antioch in
'Syria is in peace; it is meet for you, *as a church of God, to ap-*
'*point* [χειροτονῆσαι, again] a deacon to go on an embassy of God
'to that place, to rejoice with them, being come together, and
'glorify the Name. Blessed in Christ Jesus is he who shall be
'deemed worthy of such a ministration [διακονίας], and you will
'be glorified. If you are disposed it is in your power (to do so),
'for the name of God; and also the nearest churches [to you?]
'have sent some *bishops* [ἐπισκόπους], some elders, and deacons.'
§ 10.

This last clause will alone suffice to show that Ignatius had not a thought of Polycarp's ordaining his own successor at Antioch. Indeed, the words which follow the very passage which Mr. Blunt has himself cited would serve to prove how much he has mistaken the sense; after the words which he has cited, 'you will write to 'the neighbouring churches that they may concur in this same 'object,' [or, as we should have translated it, 'that they may also 'do the same thing,' εἰς τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς τὸ αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι], follows this; 'that those who can may send messengers, and others, 'letters by the hands of those who are sent by you.' So much for this *most reverend council* to be gathered at Smyrna!

Mr. Blunt thinks that he discovers in the style adopted by Ignatius, in writing to various churches in Asia Minor, the air of one who has a right and title so to do; from which he gathers that he was a primate. For ourselves, we can perceive nothing in the tone of his letters to Polycarp and the churches, more than what an old man, who was, and had (it is thought) long been, *bishop* in the metropolitan city of Antioch, and was now on his road to martyrdom, would naturally assume.

Mr. Blunt further states, that in one of his epistles, Ignatius styles himself 'the bishop of Syria.' On reading the passage referred to, (Ep. ad. Roman. §. 3.), we observe, that the point to which he is immediately adverting, is the circumstance that he should have been brought by the providence of God from so great a distance. 'Grant me nothing more,' he says, 'than that I may 'be offered up to God whilst an altar is yet ready; in order that, 'forming a choir in love, you may sing to the Father in Christ 'Jesus, because God has thought τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας worthy to 'be found in the west, having fetched him from the east. It is 'good to SET from the world to God, that I may RISE into him.'

The context and the Greek, we think, clearly justify us in taking the words we have left untranslated, in the sense of 'the Syrian 'bishop,' i. e. 'him who is one of the bishops of Syria.' But even if the translation 'the bishop of Syria' be admitted, we hardly think that Mr. Blunt can safely build an argument upon the expression. If ever the title *Bishop of Syria* had been acknowledged as the right of the Bishop of Antioch, it is incredible that it should have been dropped. But that Ignatius, who, (as has been justly said by Dr. Campbell), preaches the bishop's right, in season and out of season, should give himself a fine title, is nothing extraordinary. In reference to this question, of the extent of the charge under Ignatius' care, we have observed, that at the conclusion of all his letters, he either requests or gives thanks for the favour of the prayers of those whom he is addressing, on behalf of the people that he has left behind him. These, in four of the epistles, are described 'as the church which is in Syria,' and this might seem to confirm but Mr. Blunt's hypothesis; but, in the other three, he expresses himself more accurately, and says, 'the church which is at Antioch,' (ad Philad. §. 10, ad Smyrn. §. 11, ad Polyc. §. 7.); and even in one of the first four (ad Ephes. §. 21.) the larger copy has 'the church of the Antiochians 'which is in Syria.' Now it is reasonable to interpret the less definite expression by the one which is more clear and distinct, and to suppose, that in all the cases, (supposing the proper reading to have come down to us, which, however, may be suspected of having been tampered with), he means 'the church at Antioch in Syria.'

The references made in pp. 57, 58, to the fragments of Serapion and Dionysius, which bear date at the latter half of the second century, will not be of much consequence, after our having admitted that the rise was very early, both of diocesan and metropolitan episcopacy.

Mr. Blunt finds the boundaries of *dioceses* mentioned in Ignatius' epistle to the Ephesians (§. 3.) *οἱ ἐπίσκοποι οἱ κατὰ τὰ πέρατα ὁρισθέντες*, words which do not occur at all in the larger, and, as we incline to think, more ancient copy; and which, moreover, may be just as fairly translated 'appointed in the utmost 'bounds of the earth,' as we observe other translators have rendered them; but the whole sentence is apparently corrupt and scarcely intelligible. He further discovers a reference to the limits of Ignatius' *province*, in the epistle to the Romans, (§. 9), *καὶ γὰρ αἱ μὴ προσήκουσαί μοι τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ κατὰ σάρκα, κατὰ πόλιν με προήγαγον*, which he renders, 'the churches which do not be-'long to me, have assisted in forwarding me, city by city.' In this version, the words *τῇ ὁδῷ*, or *τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ κατὰ σάρκα*, as is also read, are omitted altogether; if he had translated them, he must have rendered them 'in my journey,' or 'in my journey accord-

ing to the flesh.' We doubt whether it would be quite natural to express this sense in Greek, without prefixing the preposition ἐν. But, besides this, the words which immediately precede seem to lead to a wholly different meaning. The whole passage most probably means this, 'My spirit salutes you, and the love 'of the churches which received me in the name of Jesus 'Christ, not as one whose route lay their way (οὐχ ὡς παροδεύοντα); 'for even those who did not belong to my route [perhaps, literally, 'belonged to me in point of my route'] [according to the 'flesh] assisted in forwarding me city by city:' i. e. 'I was not 'regarded as a mere traveller passing by; in which case none 'but those who lay in my route would have helped me on 'in my journey; but the churches in those regions generally re-'garded me [in a spiritual light] as one who bare the name of 'Jesus Christ; and therefore, though out of my track, [accord-'ing to the flesh,] testified their sympathy, by severally coming 'down and joining those who lay in my way, in conducting me 'onwards.' We shall next quote Mr. Blunt's own words.

'We have next to consider the manner in which these rulers of the church exercised their authority, and the proof it affords that the system was restrictive. First, then, they ordained to the ministry. This, indeed, would follow from their very constitution; for unless they had this power they had none. It may seem, therefore, superfluous to adduce testimony to a fact so obvious. However, we read in the epistle of Clemens Romanus, in the course of his remonstrance with the factious church of Corinth, the following remark. "Our apostles knew, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be contentions touching the overseership (ἐπισκοπῆς). For which reason, they, having certain foreknowledge, *ordained the persons aforesaid;* and further made such arrangement, that when themselves should be no more, other approved men should succeed to their ministry. We hold it, therefore, an unjust act, that these parties, ordained by them, or afterwards by other men of repute, the whole church approving, when they have ministered blamelessly to the flock of Christ in all humility, in peace, and not grudgingly, and when all bear witness to their work, for a long time, should still be ejected from their ministry." Clement, it seems, rests the iniquity of dispossessing these men of their ministry, not merely upon their personal character, but upon the validity of their orders, which they received through the line of their apostles.' pp. 60–62.

It would appear that this is the only passage in the writings which he takes into immediate consideration, that Mr. Blunt can adduce, in proof of the right of ordination having then resided exclusively in the hands of the diocesan bishop. This is a very important circumstance; for according to the maxims of the Church of England, it is the exclusive power of ordaining that forms the great distinction between the *orders* of a bishop and those of a priest. The scantiness of testimony he endeavours to

supply by the argument, that 'if they had not the power of ordi-'nation, they had none:' an *enthymeme* on which really we hardly like to venture an opinion. Can Mr. Blunt mean, that their power consisted wholly in ordaining? If not, might they not have had other power, but not this of exclusively ordaining? He must surely have some premises in view, with which, not being acquainted, we will not seek any further to 'darken words without 'knowledge.' We will, therefore, now turn to Clement. We are not sure that Mr. Blunt has represented Clement's meaning quite correctly; we doubt whether the translation of ἐπισκοπῆς by *overseership* and not *episcopate*, and of κατέστησαν and καταστα͡ξέντας by *ordained* (a word expressing a *mixed mode*, in present usage, which cannot be proved to have attached to the Greek at that early period) rather than *appointed*, is perfectly fair; nor can we see why he should have given two different senses to the word μεταξύ, in one place giving it *further*, and in the other *afterwards*, (its true sense in both). We do not feel satisfied, either, with his referring κοιμη͡θῶσιν to the apostles, and not to the persons first *ordained*, as if it were κοιμη͡θῶσιν αὐτοί, and translating ἐάν *when*, and not *if*. All that is asserted by Clement is this, that the apostles appointed to be 'bishops and deacons,' the first fruits of their ministry, in the several places where they preached, 'when they had proved them by the Spirit,' δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι. (Ep. chapter 42); that to avoid contentions, they subsequently made arrangements, that in case of the death of these first officers, other men, of proved character likewise, (δεδοκιμασμένοι), should succeed to their ministry; and lastly, that certain 'men of repute' appointed others to this ministry, WITH THE SANCTION OF THE CHURCH. Now Clement does not assert that a *bishop* had ordained these men, whom the Corinthians had so unjustly deposed; on the contrary, we are fully persuaded, from the general contents of the epistle, that there was no such officer in existence at Corinth when Clement wrote. His words are perfectly compatible with the supposition that the ἐλλόγιμοι ἄνδρες, whom he mentions, were men of remarkable excellence at Corinth, in whom the apostles gave the initiative, in appointing successors in the ministry to those whom they themselves had appointed. However, we will not express any very decided opinion, what the real meaning of this obscure passage may be; but one thing seems clear, that it affords no overwhelming evidence of the doctrine it was cited to substantiate, especially standing alone as it does.

Another function of these diocesan bishops was, 'to watch with 'all vigilance against heresy and dissent,' the proper duty of every minister of Christ. In illustration of their care to exclude dissent or 'schism' from their churches, our author quotes one or two passages from Ignatius and Irenæus, in which they denounce

those who do not assemble with the *bishop*, adding, however, that 'schism was in those days probably all but synonymous with 'heresy—the schismatic usually denying some fundamental prin-'ciple of the Gospel.'

He next observes that the excommunication of heretics 'ema-'nated, it should seem, from the ecclesiastical superior' (pp. 68—73), in proof of which he refers to certain facts relating to the ecclesiastical system, which began to come into play towards the close of the second century, and for the purity of which we have no desire to contend. He cites no evidence of the least moment respecting the order of proceeding in the earliest times. We may, however, add, that it always must emanate from some one, and this will nearly always be the bishop or pastor, as now among our own churches. But it was always received that the church was to confirm the sentence. Diotrephes, indeed, cast out of the church whom he pleased, but St. John did not approve of his behaviour.

The traces which Mr. Blunt has sought to elicit (pp. 73—83) of the existence of formal confessions of faith in the second century are gathered from Clemens Alexandrinus, who speaks of 'the confession which obtains among us' (*τὴν ὁμολογίαν—τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς*); 'the canon of the church' (*τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα*); and 'the canon of the truth which a Christian has received at his baptism;' expressions by no means so clear and explicit as to substantiate the point contended for; and from Irenæus, from whom he cites a passage, which, both as being interesting in itself and as fairly representing the general bearing of the other evidence which he adduces, we give entire.

'The church, though dispersed over the whole world, received from the apostles, and from their disciples, a belief in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and the seas, and all things in them; and in one Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who took flesh for our salvation; and in the Holy Ghost, who proclaimed by the prophets the incarnation, advent, birth of a virgin, passion, resurrection from the dead, and bodily ascension into heaven, of the beloved Jesus Christ our Lord, and his coming again from heaven in the glory of the Father to restore all things, and to raise up all flesh of all mankind; that to Jesus Christ, our Lord, and God, and Saviour, and King, according to the pleasure of the invisible Father, every knee should bow of things in heaven and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess Him, and that he should do just judgment upon all, and consign to everlasting fire the spirits of evil, the angels who transgressed and became apostates; and amongst men, the impious, and unjust, and lawless, and blasphemous; and that to the just and holy, and to such as kept his commandments and abided in his love, whether from the first or after repentance, he should give freely life and immortality and everlasting glory.' 'The church,' it is then added, 'having received this doctrine and faith, dispersed

as she is over the whole world, keeps it diligently, as though she occupied but one house; 'and believes in these things as though she had but one soul and one heart; and preaches, and teaches, and delivers down the same with one consent, as though she had but one mouth; for though the languages of the world are divers, the force of tradition is one and the same; so that the churches have held no other faith, and delivered down no other, whether they be established in Germany, in Spain, in Gaul, in the East, in Egypt, in Libya, or in the middle of the world.' (Irenæus, I. x., 1 and 2.) pp. 77—80.

Now Mr. Blunt considers that this passage, 'which differs but 'very little from the apostles' creed,' contains 'the substance of 'the canon,' of which Clement and Irenæus have made mention, 'as being a confession required of those who sought admission 'into the church by baptism; a confession so uniformly exacted 'at baptism, that the latter, is once in Clemens Alexandrinus, 'called by the name of the confession;' and that 'it is a very 'valuable and early testimony, if not to the existence of that creed '(the apostles') at that time in its present form, at least to the 'matter of it.'

That the substance of the apostles' creed was then universally received in the church is what no orthodox dissenter will deny; and this is, after all, as Mr. Blunt himself is at last constrained to admit, the whole amount of the evidence which he has collected. We are, however, further disposed to doubt, whether, if the Apostles' Creed had been at that time generally required from the candidate for baptism, Irenæus would not have preferred citing it *totidem verbis*, or at least have made some direct mention of its existence. An explicit appeal to its formal statements would have been a complete triumph in his argument. A confession to this effect might indeed have been generally made at baptism, and it is natural to suppose that the confession, embodying, as it mostly would, the same truths, would be apt to run in similar phraseology; but that 'the canon of the church' was more than this, Mr. Blunt himself seems to feel that he has not made out.

We need not enter into particular examination of the other points mentioned by Mr. Blunt; that the preserving the integrity of Scripture and the administration of the alms of the church rested with the bishop. The second, indeed, as he has stated it, is inconsistent with the episcopal as distinguished from the diaconal functions; and Mr. Blunt cannot, we imagine, mean any thing more than that in certain cases when, for example, the members of one church sent relief in alms to those of another, the bishops were the medium of communication: for a case of this kind is all that he cites.

Once more Mr. Blunt obtrudes the Apostolical Constitutions on his hearers, which we shall pass over in silence. This concludes the argument of the second sermon.

The third aims at establishing the proposition that the worship of the primitive church was liturgical, and that traces of the liturgy now used by the Church of England may be discovered in the Christian Fathers of the two first centuries. The argument is as follows:

After glancing at the liturgies of the Jewish synagogues, in which it is probable our Lord himself joined, and to the form of words which he conceded to the request of his disciples, he adds, 'It might therefore be supposed that forms of prayer and praise 'thus sanctioned would find a place in the primitive church: the 'more so as scattered passages occur in the early Fathers, which, 'when put together, argue the worship in those days to be in 'general and in other respects systematic and organized.' On the authority of Clemens Alexandrinus, who the reader will recollect lived in the latter part of the second century, and the beginning of the third, he instances turning to the east when prayers were offered, having set hours for prayer, the third, the sixth, and the ninth; having set days for fasting, the fourth and the sixth; and adds, 'it is difficult to believe that where order is observed 'in so much that is indifferent, it would be neglected in more 'that is essential.' (p. 97.) He then quotes from Clement of Rome, and his namesake of Alexandria, two instances of 'set forms,' as he calls them, of address to the Deity, concluding with doxologies, 'in evidence of the shape which addresses to the 'Deity already assumed, and as affording some ground for sup-'posing that such compositions were familiar to the early church.' We will take the shorter one, from Clement of Rome. 'The all-'seeing God and master of spirits, and Lord of all flesh, who 'hath chosen the Lord Jesus Christ, and us, through him, for a 'peculiar people, give to every soul that calls upon his august 'and holy name, faith, fear, peace, long-suffering, continence, 'chastity, prudence, according as is well pleasing to his name, 'through our High Priest and Advocate, Jesus Christ, through 'whom be to Him glory and majesty, and strength and honour, 'now and for ever and ever. Amen.' (The reader will remember the early date of this composition, A.D. 96.) Next is cited a passage from Irenæus, affirming that the orthodox believer 'will 'condemn all who separate from the truth, that is, from the 'church; but he will be himself condemned of none, for he will 'be in all things consistent; he has perfect faith in one *God* '*Almighty*, of whom are all things, and in the *Son of God*, &c., 'and in the *Spirit of God*, who,' &c. (p. 102.) Mr. Blunt adds, 'The ground upon which Irenæus could predicate these facts of 'any member, every member of the Christian church, probably 'was, because he knew that every such person participated in 'some such Trinitarian form of expression as he here describes.' Incidentally, however, to what appears his main object in this

discourse, Mr. Blunt shows that in the public services of the primitive church portions of the Old or New Testament were read, then a sermon preached.

'Then followed the prayer, and the language of Justin (Apol. I. c. lxvii. p. 88.) would give us to understand that it was congregational prayer, begun, concluded, and expressed, in concert. His terms are these: 'Then we all rise together and offer up our prayers; and when the prayer is ended bread is brought, and wine and water.' The words, I think, imply a litany or general supplication, and I feel the more assured of this from an incidental remark in Clemens Alexandrinus: 'For we too,' says he, 'have an altar here upon earth;' even a congregation intent upon their prayers; who have, as it were, one mind and one voice in common.' Now nothing short of a written form of prayer would secure this unanimity in the *language* as well as the *subject* of the prayer. The celebration of the Eucharist succeeds; 'and the president,' so the passage in Justin Martyr continues, 'puts up prayer and thanksgiving with all his might: and the people respond by an amen [ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων Ἀμήν].' Finally, there is proof indisputable that psalms or hymns composed and written in honour of Christ, and chanted in response by the congregation, formed also a part of the liturgical service of the two first centuries.'—pp. 105—108.

Such is the evidence which Mr. Blunt has collected upon this subject, and which we leave to our readers' judgment. The language of Justin ('*we* all rise up together and offer up our 'prayers—the *president* puts up prayer, &c.') does seem to favour the idea, that the people did not maintain that entire silence which is usual in our congregations, but united in some manner in the expression of the first prayer, mentioned by Justin, while they only returned a response of amen at the close, or in the course of the prayer (for the language of Justin does not determine which he means) offered up by the leader of the worship. But whether this would infer the use of a *written* liturgy, appears to us extremely doubtful.

The words used by Justin with reference to the 'president,' that 'he puts up prayer and thanksgiving *with all his might*,' seems decisive against *his* using a written form in that particular part at least. We think it, however, right to state, that dissenters do not so much object to forms of prayer as such, as to a forced uniformity, without any leave to the minister to alter a phrase that hurts his conscience. Mr. Blunt must avow that the church had no such restraint in the *first two* centuries, and therefore his argument proves nothing for the Church of England system till the act of uniformity is repealed. The remainder of the sermon is taken up with endeavouring to recover some further tokens of what these primitive offices actually were.

'For I think traces may be discovered (faint I allow them to be) both of what that litany and what that communion service actually

were; and that they will be found, as far as any thing can be concluded concerning them, to have been the prototypes of our own litany, and our own communion service; the substance of which, it is well known, was immediately conveyed to us from early times, through the offices of the Roman Catholic Church.' pp. 110, 111.

We shall not follow Mr. Blunt through this part, but shall only say, in general, that his conclusions seem to us to be extremely precarious and unsatisfactory. One point, however, we do think it right to notice, as touching upon the general question, whether the public worship was in fact liturgical: Mr. Blunt writes as follows:

'Irenæus is describing the strange way in which the heretics perverted holy writ, in order to establish their system of Æons. 'Moreover, St. Paul, they maintain, had their theory of Æons in his mind when he used the expression τοῦ αἰώνος τῶν αἰώνων (Ephes. iii. 21); and we ourselves, *i.e.* we orthodox Christians, they contend do in truth signify the same thing 'when we say at the Eucharist, to Æons of Æons.'

pp. 117, 118.

This would be a strong point in his argument, were it not that the expression ἐπὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, which he renders 'at the 'Eucharist,' may quite as fairly be translated 'at the giving of 'thanks,' as indeed it is in the ancient Latin translation of Ruffinus; reference being had to the common conclusion of doxological praise 'for ever and ever,' which so perpetually occurs both in the Scriptures and in the earliest writings of the church; we might particularly specify Clemens Romanus. If it be 'at 'the Eucharist,' it would only prove that a doxology at that ordinance was already become formal, if, indeed, it proves so much; but that the *whole* was not a form in Justin's days has already been shown.

We have now seen with what success Mr. Blunt has laboured to establish the accordance of the Church of England with the Primitive Church in those points in which the former differs from our own Churches. It has not been our object to become assailants of the establishment, but only to consider the real value of what Mr. Blunt has alleged in its honour. We wish, in concluding, to express the pleasure we have felt in perusing the two remaining discourses, which, with some slight exceptions, we heartily recommend to our readers as an excellent digest of the evidence to be gathered from the earliest writers in vindication of those great doctrines in which we are all agreed. We had marked several passages for citation; but our article has already run to too great a length for us to make use of them. Those who desire a brief manual on the subject will find reason to be satisfied with what Mr. Blunt has here provided.

Art. II. *An Autumn Dream: Thoughts in Verse, on the Intermediate State of Happy Spirits. To which are appended, Collections from Various Authors, on the 'Separate State,' on 'the Immateriality of Mind,' &c. With a Dissertation on the Opinions Cited Concerning the Lower Animals.* By JOHN SHEPPARD, Author of 'Thoughts on Devotion,' and 'Essays for Christian Encouragement and Consolation.' 12mo. pp. 328. London: W. Ball.

HOW frequently, how successfully, has the language of poetry been drawn upon to embody the bright or gloomy images which are presented in the phantasmagoria of dreams, from the date of Shakspeare's matchless conception in "A Midsummer Night's Dream," to the publication of Byron's harrowing "Dream —which was not all a dream!" To the list must now be added the poem before us. We do not, of course, mean to insinuate that verse is the only vehicle in which visionaries communicate with the world, much less that the faculty of dreaming is the prerogative of poets; this would be to challenge the truth of the most palpable every-day evidence to the contrary. Bunyan gave to the world, "under the Similitude of a Dream," one of the most soul-interesting, spirit-moving prose fictions in our language; and the Marquis of Worcester recorded a dream of the Steam Engine, which may almost be said to have been prophetic. The world, indeed—we mean the active, money-making, anti-poetical world, is full of day-dreamers. Between the reveries of the poet, and the speculations of the stock-jobber, or the hallucinations of the projector, there is commonly this obvious generic difference: the former professes to be dreaming, even when he is most aware of being surrounded by all the stirring realities of life—yea, while he feels that the eye of his mind is most quick and commanding in its motions, and the eyes of his body wide open, and keen to take in the beauties of creation, and survey the actions of mankind: but the latter, while he is gravely laying down projects with the most elaborate precision, calculating results with the most cautious accuracy, and afterwards weighing the probabilities of success or failure, is not seldom dreaming as surely and as delusively as if his brain was under the influence of opium. And yet, to dream, is a glorious attribute of sentient beings, and is by no means confined to man—though we do not know how far it accompanies other common phenomena, in the descending scale of animated existence. But since we are not about to review a work on dreaming, to continue these lucubrations further might expose us to the suspicion of being dreamers ourselves—though of reviewers alone can it *not* be said, at one time or other, that

> 'Realities appear as dreams;
> Dreams as realities.'

We are not quite prepared, however, to admit that the title of this work is the best that could have been adopted—at all events, it is scarcely, if indeed it can be said to be at all indicative of the subject of the poem: in this matter, an author should be the best judge; nor ought a critic, perhaps, strongly to object, unless prepared to suggest something better, which we confess we are not. But had we known nothing of Mr. Sheppard, and merely met with the title as it stands at the head of this article, we might have been led to anticipate that the "Autumn Dream" of a poet would introduce us, in one way or another, to scenes and sentiments pertaining to that richest of the "Four Seasons," which, in this country at least, is occupied with the ingathering of nearly all the ripened vegetable of our varied year. So far, however, from the trite but never-tiring themes—never-tiring in the description, because annually renewed in its freshness, its glory, its importance—so far from the trite theme of almost every young versifier who would emulate therein the success of our oldest and sweetest poets, being that to which our author has addressed himself, he hardly devotes half a dozen lines formally to the subject: and these are so inconsequential to the main topic —the "high argument" of the poem, that lines descriptive of spring, summer, or winter, might be substituted without palpable interference with the immediate bearing or general issue of the story. If, however, the head line of the title be ambiguous, the explicatory portion of it is clear enough—it runs thus at length: 'An Autumn Dream: Thoughts in Verse, on the Intermediate State of Happy Spirits. To which are appended, Collections from Various Authors, on the 'Separate State,' on the 'Immateriality of Mind,' &c. With a Dissertation on the Opinions Cited Concerning the Lower Animals.'

It will be at once admitted, that the subject selected by Mr. Sheppard, for the trial of his poetic strength, is one of vast importance, in a sense transcendently above and beyond that in which poetical success or failure is concerned: it is in fact one, in the treatment of which the daring of true genius, and the delicacy of pure taste, however successfully combined, must be regarded as subordinate to higher and holier considerations. To forecast the scope of such a subject, so as not only to avoid collision with the outposts of reason or revelation, but with such skill as to implicate the support of both, pre-supposes the possession of an amount of metaphysical and theological knowledge, and a soundness of judgment, which few persons who "discourse in rhyme" may be expected to possess. While in the carrying out of such a conception, the poet will require all the tact and appliances of his art—all the vigilance of self-suspicion, to prevent what he intends to be very sublime from becoming very ridiculous: for the distinction between the original and the absurd in poetry, consists

not so much in saying that which has never been said before, as in saying that which every rightly constituted mind feels could not have been said better, and will never, so to speak, be *unsaid;* and which, embodying thought, as all poetic language *ought to do*, instead of being merely the echo of vacuity, as much that is called poetry *is*, will always excite in ten thousand other minds, ideas or emotions corresponding to those which gave birth to the expression. Having placed the conditions upon the possession of which alone, we think any person ought to approach such a subject as the one before us, so far above the reach of ordinary aspirants, it will not be thought small praise, when we add, that we found ourselves progressively interested during the perusal of Mr. Sheppard's poem, the general structure of which we must now briefly describe, making a few remarks upon certain portions as we proceed.

We have already adverted to the trifling degree in which the leading term in the title can be said to characterize the design of the poem: its appropriateness may be said to rest on the first lines of the following passage;—

> '———— At the evening hour,
> On a grey fragment, by the topmost bend
> Of sheer and ivied cliffs, beside whose front
> Deep Avon winds, in pensiveness I lean'd,
> Watching the opponent steep of wood-crown'd heights
> And their still foliage. Not a faded leaf
> Dropp'd—nor the yellow poplar's lightest spray
> Shook in the quiet air. One rocky dell,
> Down which night's minstrel trills her frequent song,
> Was rich with summer verdure, all unting'd.
> Yet was it autumn: and each twisted shrub
> That cloth'd the summits or the southward brow
> Of those fair heights, told Autumn's saddening tale.
> So did eve's early shadows, calmly dusk
> At the quick sun-set.
> Then was seen a star,
> A lonely star, of pale yet lucid beam,
> Which o'er the darkened outline of those woods
> Hung glimmering. I admired its silent light,
> And mus'd on the departed: but the while,
> Some lulling influences of that wild hour
> Wrapt me in gradual slumber; and a scene
> Of blest though strange enchantment straight possess'd
> My wakeful spirit.
> Seem'd the lonely star
> Grown vast in the dark firmament; while I,
> By some mysterious but auspicious power,
> Was wafted towards it: till at length appear'd
> (As æronauts discern our native world

At their descending) its wide hemisphere,
Like a new earth beneath me; where the vales,
Precipitous peaks, broad forests, far-spread lakes,
Slept as in clearest moonlight.'

Thus our theological poet, overleaping at once the vulgar Purgatory which, as well as Hell and Paradise, Dante explored in his sublime poetic vision, and turning from that mysterious scriptural Hades, where the souls of the good are supposed to enjoy the presence of Christ, soars boldly to a sphere which may be said to have been previously almost unvisited, even in imagination. The "shining soil," upon which he in vision alighted, seems to have been that of one of the more recently discovered planets, for the aërial motion of the inhabitants of the "unearthly region" alluded to, agrees with that hypothetically assumed of beings on the surface of Vesta and Juno: for, we are told that so different is attractive force at different places, that 'a man of moderate 'size, would weigh about two tons at the surface of the sun; 'whereas, at the surface of the four *new* planets, he would be so 'light, that it would be impossible to stand steady, since he would 'only weigh a few pounds.' Thus Mrs. Somerville, in her work on the Connexion of the Physical Sciences. It seems too, according to our poet, that the blessed inhabitants of that rarefied region, are clothed with a kind of "vapoury raiment."

'——— For the fleecy dews,
Exhaling from the streams and verdant plains,
By some conceal'd affinity, involve
Each with their rarest particles—each morn
Sending the pearled vest which nature wears,
Fresh from her secret treasury.'

The poet presently meets with a friendly spirit, whom we at once recognize as the departed Cowper, and between whom and the strange earthly visitant of that unearthly sphere, much pleasing but rather diffident discourse ensues; and first, as might be expected from the relative position of the interlocutors, concerning the "stuff of which dreams are made:"—

'As he so spake, 'I was all ear:'—intense
Desire to learn, amazement, gladness, awe,
Met in my aspect; scann'd at once by him,
Who thus resum'd:—I mark the questionings
Which thy voice uttereth not: thou dost inquire,
'Abide I in the flesh?'—or of that garb
Is my free spirit uncloth'd?—Nor can we solve
Thy doubt so clearly, but thou still shalt feel
As Paul did, that 'he knew not.'—In the phrase
Of mortals, I might tell thee, here thou art
'*Out* of the body;' since its visible mould

Terrestrial, on that far earth whence 'twas form'd,
Sleeps, lull'd by Autumnal airs, a tranced sleep.
Yet,—to profounder and more accurate sense,
Still thou art '*in* the body;' for that rare
Vitality, divinely interfused,
Like fluent tissue exquisitely wrought,—
And, though it radiate from the seat of mind,
Yet permeating all the grosser frame
With subtile co-extension—the inner form,
Which seldom aught but the chill touch of death
May extricate,—is now in this thy trance
Awhile set free, and doth thy spirit invest,
Even as when soon thou tak'st thy happier way
To join us deathless, and to part no more.'

The friends, thus unexpectedly, but delightfully introduced, shake hands; and our author justifies himself in an elaborate note against the credulity of those readers who, not having attended to philosophical investigations on the nature of matter, may be startled by the ascription of a certain solidity or property of resistance to compression, to that which is represented as subtile and ethereal.

The rapt poet, still in company with his courteous conductor, encounters successively the spirits of Fenelon, Klopstock, Haller, Boyle, Howe, and a number of others—some of them "little, and unknown" to fame on earth, but who had departed in the blessedness of the church's hopes. Between our author, and these exalted personages in the beatific vision, much holy interchange of thought takes place—but we have not space for specimens. The poet anticipates and answers a very natural question in the following graceful lines:—

'———— Here each speaks
And loves the best, his own maternal tongue;
Yet all each other's know, and welcome most
From all; nor less though unacquired on earth.
So in our frequent happy colloquies
Alternate or successive,—and in hours
When one delights the many,—each employs
His native language. But where'er we join
Many or few, in strains of choral praise
Making high harmony, then must we needs,
And 'nothing loth,' in loftier speech combine,
Heard erst in paradise.'

It is, however, with the ineffably exalted spirit of Howe, that our poet explores the sublimer scenes, and enters into the more mysterious secrets of the planetary paradise. With such a guide in such a place, who that has a spark of sanctified feeling in his soul, could fail to drink of celestial exhilaration, even in a dream?

We abandon the passages which, in reference to various touching disclosures of sacred feeling, we had marked for extract, with the less reluctance, when we recollect that the reader's gratification will be by so much the more perfect, as those passages are first met with in their legitimate association with the context. There are likewise frequently recurring descriptions of scenery which attest that our author has a poet's perception of what is most beautiful in nature; indeed, we are occasionally reminded of Milton, by the happy style in which striking and notable objects on earth are alluded to as suggesting faint ideas of the splendour of those which are paradisaical.

> ' ———— Shores, and all their occupants,
> Beheld in clearness: clearness—to compare
> Things ultra mundane with terrestrial—more
> Exceeding the bright landscapes of the south,
> Alpine, or Tuscan, or Athenian views—
> Than these in their distinctness the soft scenes
> Of our dear native isle.'

There is one circumstance connected with our pious poet's visionary paradise, which we ought hardly to pass over unnoticed, since, by an essay, specially adverted to in his title page, Mr. Sheppard has assigned to it a substantive importance in this theory of the intermediate state of happy spirits—we allude to the presence of animal existence in forms inferior to its developement in man. Not only have we birds, beasts, and fishes, "the spirits of some nobler animals;" but even insects, "the life which dwelt in oft minute and oft despised forms," partaking with the saints the air, the serenity, and the happiness of a new state of being! The spirit of Haller is thus made to rebuke the misgiving which might naturally be expected to arise on the announcement of such a transcendent metempsychosis and destination:—

> 'Bethink thee, whether each particular ray
> Which from the sun achieves its linear course
> Without deflection, to your rolling orb,
> Nay, which from Sirius or Arcturus streams,
> (Through lengths where potent triangles are foil'd,
> And fancy drops her wing,) hath not its guide—
> The guide unerring?—And shall spirits lack
> Their Father's hand—or is an insect *life*
> Less worthy of that transit, and less meet
> For the sure guidance of the Omniscient power,
> Than every lifeless sun-beam?'

It need be no disparagement to the merit of Mr. Sheppard's "Autumn Dream," that we recognize the archetype of its conception in the "Divina Commedia," of Dante. Apart, however, from any thing like comparison in every other respect, we are

afraid the English poet must suffer immensely as compared with the Italian, in the actual *hold* which their different descriptions of the "Separate State" is calculated to take upon the mind—the former having rejected the advantage to have been gained by making the Hades of Scripture the theatre of his vision, while the latter has made it the ground of the most tremendous associations. For, although it be true that of the purgatory of the Romish Church we really know no more than we know of the inhabitants of one of the Asteroids: yea, though we believe the former to be but a figment of the prelacy, while in reference to the latter, we do actually perceive a luminous point—still, the *reality* of a belief in the existence of the papal limbo, has given to Dante the advantage of a spiritual leverage, so to speak, which no mere *peradventure,* however solid its fulcrum of probability, can secure to the poet who peoples a star, in moving the soul of man. The spirits of our kindred and friends, "departed in the faith," *may,* according to the bard, be blessedly awaiting the consummation of all things, in yonder glittering region—nay, but they *are,* says the priest, enduring the ordeal of purgatorial fires—*where,* it is not said; certainly neither in earth, heaven, or hell, though as the holders of this heresy would teach, the probationary locality lies

"Somewhere within created space."

We have devoted thus much of our space to the consideration of this poem, not merely because it is the production of a superior mind, but because it has obviously been the offspring of moments when the author, a man of sound and healthy sensibilities, had his soul warmed with the subject. Of the general staple of the versification, the reader will be enabled, in some degree, to judge from the specimens already given—the passages have, however, it is right to say, been selected rather as illustrating the drift of the narrative than as characterising the poetical merit of the work; to which, indeed, they do less than justice. The "Autumn Dream" will be welcomed by a large class of readers as a pleasing addition to a list of works which, combining the essentials of piety with the graces of poetry, throw a charm over our popular literature, not to be rivalled in its meliorating influences on the religion and happiness of thousands of our fellow beings, by all the epic and dramatic perfection of Greek or Roman song.

Of the matter in the shape of notes, of which more than one-half of this handsome volume consists, we have as yet taken no notice; there is, however, the less ground for regret at our want of space for either opinions or extracts, inasmuch as the matter alluded to is not original, but consists of "Collections from Various Authors," on a variety of important doctrines connected with the immortal existence of man, and illustrating, in most cases,

certain passages in the poem itself. The closing Dissertation must be excepted from the bearing of the foregoing remarks, as in it, Mr. Sheppard, after having presented, in their own language, the views of several eminent writers concerning the mind of the lower animals, ingenuously, and ingeniously too, states the real inferences to which, by comparison of the opinions cited, his own mind has been conducted.

These inferences are, that as the self-moving vitality of animals cannot be material or compounded, so this vitality may and will *subsist* after the bodies of the creatures die, *unless* the Creator, determining that it shall not, withdraw the support on which its existence depends. It is not, however, necessary, according to our author, to infer that, in any changes which the living principle may undergo, reminiscence of the former state, or consciousness of identity is possessed; for it is doubtful whether the lowest classes of living creatures do *at all* possess consciousness; and whether even the highest have a *clear self*-consciousness, or consciousness of identity. This presumption, it is contended, suffices to obviate the perplexing conclusion that there may occur in the whole sentient being of an innocent creature excess of suffering. 'But,' adds our author, 'if we grant a continuation of vitality after 'death, wherever the divine wisdom and justice shall ordain,— '('and one of them shall not fall to the ground without your 'Father')—then, whatever the excess of suffering, there is no 'difficulty in conceiving it amply compensated and overbalanced.'

Into the general merits of this delicate and difficult question, we shall not enter. Unless the investigation of it be conducted with great caution, and by persons holding sound religious views, as well as possessing metaphysical acuteness, there is danger lest the arguments and hypotheses which are adduced to *strengthen* the notion of a perpetuation after death of the immaterial principle of the lower animals, should tend to *weaken* the effect of those conclusions from which the immateriality of the human soul is rationally inferred. Mr. Sheppard appears to be fully aware of this.

It may be mentioned by the way, as somewhat remarkable, that while the difficulty of distinguishing between that *something*, the manifestation of which is called reason in man, and instinct in brutes, is constantly adverted to in questions of this kind, but little notice seems to be excited toward the no less perplexing difficulty of deciding where sentient being ends, and merely organized existence commences. We are aware that the difficulty of defining the limits, or even of appreciating accurately the degrees of a scale so exquisitely graduated, does not necessarily prejudice the main arguments either way. Indeed the idea of parity of spirit—or that all spirit is a *uniform* or like thing, is scouted by our author himself, who properly enough asks, 'Why may not the spirit of a 'microscopic insect differ much more, and far more essentially, from

'the *spirit* of a man—though each is *spirit*—than a mote of dust or 'a pebble, differ from the noblest mountain, or most magnificent 'cathedral, or statue or gem—though each is *matter;* and each a 'congeries of matter?' The atomic theory of modern chemists might perhaps have suggested a more exquisite illustration.

We have alluded to the perplexing question of the suffering of sentient—and, as the argument assumes of *sinless* sentient beings. It is contended in this Dissertation, as already stated, that if we grant a continuation of vitality after death, then, whatever the excess of suffering, we may easily conceive how it may be amply compensated and overbalanced. All this is perfectly clear: but when it is added, 'Nor is there any need, in order to this com-'pensation, of that kind of enjoyment which is accompanied by 'consciousness of identity,' we hesitate. 'Enjoyment not so 'accompanied, but of the same indistinct and imperfect nature 'with the precedent suffering, would of course, overbalance it 'in 'kind,' and that immeasurably as to degree, in a state or states of 'being indefinitely prolonged. The creature, by our supposition, 'had not a clear self-consciousness in suffering. It suffered really, 'but yet as in a sort of dream and somnambulism; (if any simile 'can give an impression of such a mode of subsistence.) And the 'dream of enjoyment, though without reminiscence, in a subse-'quent life or lives, may reduce the prior one of suffering to a 'vanishing fraction.' This is ingenious and plausible; but does it not leave out of account the fact that, in reference to two similar creatures, one having suffered much and the other little, no prolongation of future 'enjoyment' equal in kind, could ever equally 'compensate'—just as no two lines, however indefinitely, but equally extended from a given point, could ever become of the same length, if one of them had previously been more shortened than the other. We entirely agree with our author, that to say compensation avails nothing either in the first or subsequent states of being, because it can neither be prospectively reckoned on, nor subsequently understood or realized, would be reasoning against the value of the arrangement, from a defect essential to the mind or vitality which is the subject of it, and would in effect be to arraign the Creator for *forming* any spirit unendued with a consciousness of identity: indeed, 'there can be no *conscious* compen-'sation, none either desired, hoped for, or realized as such, where 'there is no consciousness of identity in the mind or spirit.' But when it is added that, 'there may be, nevertheless, a real com-'pensation, in an excess of enjoyment of the *same* character with 'the antecedent suffering, which is all that the mind or vitality is 'susceptible of—the only compensation possible to the sentient 'being, while it is what it is and no more'—are we not entitled to ask—if this principle be correct, may it not go to prove that sentient being in the abstract, unendowed with conscious identity or

moral responsibility, (whatever the sufferings of its corporal vehicle) is itself a boon, the enjoyment of which may, for aught we know, have been most frequently or most largely 'in excess,' in those creatures in which the reverse has seemed to be the case? We conclude with the opinion of Dr. Wardlaw:

'Now, as all created existence of every possible description, must be dependent, entirely and unceasingly dependent, on the life-giving God, I can perceive no heresy in the belief, that the same kind of spiritual essence should in brutes be destined to cessation, and in man to a continuance of existence; any more than in the belief (which we know to have the direct countenance of revelation. and which is immediately connected with the other,) that the corporeal part of the man and of the brute, though alike doomed to the dust, is in the former destined to restoration, and in the latter to permanent corruption.'

Lect. on Eccl., vol. i. p. 166.

Art. III. *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club; containing a Faithful Record of the Perambulations, Perils, Travels, Adventures, and Sporting Transactions of the Corresponding Members.* Edited by Boz. With Illustrations. 8vo. Nos. 1—12. London: Chapman and Hall, 1836.

"BOZ" is already favourably known to the public by his sketches, first inserted in the Morning Chronicle. The present work will certainly not diminish his reputation; we are much mistaken if it do not add to it.

It would be somewhat difficult to determine that precise *species* of the very extensive genus of fictitious publications, to which the Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club ought to be referred. Though the principal characters bear us company all the way along, there seems to be no 'regular plot,' in the ordinary sense of those words. In works of fiction which *have* such a plot, or at least which *adhere* to it, all the principal scenes and events have a manifest reference to the catastrophe. The mere episodes—the descriptions or incidents, which are introduced simply to embellish, or perhaps to eke out the work to the orthodox measure of three duodecimo volumes, are always short. In the Pickwick Papers, on the other hand, some of the principal incidents and descriptions seem to have little or nothing to do with the general action of the piece; characters are taken up, dismissed and reproduced, at long intervals, or not re-produced at all. The scene shifts from place to place, with the stage-coaches which carry the "immortal Mr. Pickwick," and the whole machinery of the book to different parts of the country, much in the same manner as Richardson's caravan transports from town to town his company of strolling players. Upon the whole, the work, considered as a work of fiction, (which we *presume*, it must be considered, not-

withstanding the gravity with which the title-page assures us that it is a 'faithful record,') reminds us strongly, in its general plan, of some of the tales of Fielding, Smollet, and others of our older novelists—tales, which are, for the most part, a series of sketches of fictitious scenes and events having little mutual connexion; a sort of book of travels, in which the author draws a little more largely than usual on the traveller's ancient privilege of telling extraordinary stories. They have little in common with the ordinary novel, except that the incidents are invented, and happen, for the most part, to the same character. The present work, is, in fact, what its title tells us it is intended to be, "A Record of Perambulations, Perils, Travels, and Adventures."

From the first chapter, in which we are introduced to the members, and gratified with an account of the proceedings of the Pickwick Club, one would think that it was the author's intention to make himself merry with the harmless follies, and ludicrous enthusiasm, of certain learned or literary Societies; but, with the exception of some mention in the first page of a Paper of the "great Mr. Pickwick" himself, entitled, "Speculations on the Source of the Hampstead Ponds, with some Observations on the Theory of Tittlebats;" a reference to the unwearied researches of the same scientific enthusiast in the neighbourhood of Hornsey, Highgate, Brixton, and Camberwell, and one or two other slight incidents in other parts of the work, there is nothing whatever which countenances such a supposition. The learned Pickwick Club, alas! soon degenerates, like most other clubs, into a society for eating, drinking, laughing, and merry-making. Probably this want of a pervading unity of design is to be attributed to the circumstances under which this series of lively sketches has been produced. They have been brought out in Monthly Numbers; and, when considered in this point of view, they display, it must be confessed, marvellous fertility of invention and facility of execution. But still, as the work was in all probability commenced before the author had projected the whole of his plan, or selected and distributed all his characters and incidents, this want of unity in the work, considered as a whole, was to be expected.

The author has evidently seen a great deal of human life, and viewed it with a very keen and observant eye. We have very rarely met with a writer who more quickly seizes peculiarities of character, or, what it is quite as difficult to seize, the external marks (often trifling enough) by which those peculiarities are indicated, and in which they are embodied. So completely is our author master of this latter art, that a few slight dashes will often give us a stronger conception of the character he designs to set before us, than the longest and most elaborate descriptions. His personages impress us with all the force and vividness of reality.

They are not described—they are exhibited. He has also been equally happy in seizing those peculiarities which discriminate different classes of the community from one another; which mark the various *species* as strongly as other peculiarities do the individual. Bodies of men who live constantly together, associated by community of interest, of one rank, profession, trade, or craft, naturally fall into peculiarities of manner and of habit, which as strongly mark them as do the external badges which designate a particular guild, or an "Odd-Fellow's Club" on a gala-day.

These discriminating marks consist chiefly in peculiarities of manner and language, and our author, it must be confessed, has deeply studied both. In the latter, especially, he is without a rival; he seems to be quite master of the copious language of slang, with all its elegant varieties of idiom and dialect.

Though there is considerable variety of character in the Pickwick Papers, the principal part (in accordance with the serio-comic nature of the work) are taken from the middle or lower classes; from the Inns of Court, and all *other* inns; from the hospitals; from country towns and villages. The work abounds in pictures of lawyers, country magistrates, innumerable *species* of lawyers' clerks, several ditto of medical students, inn-keepers, waiters, chambermaids, boots (if this be the plural of the non-descript word), coachmen, cabmen, cads, &c., &c.

Our author has not given us any very extraordinary combinations of human intellect and passion. Such would not have suited the serio-comic. There are no persons of very exalted and sublime virtue, nor any of those examples of utter and abandoned villany, which it is the chief delight of many of our writers in fiction to represent. Still less are there any of those instances of preternatural and immaculate excellence which we should in vain look for any where but amongst the heroes and heroines of novels; nor of that super-human and demoniacal wickedness, which may be pronounced about equally edifying and probable. It is humanity in its every-day dress—it is the little follies and foibles of our nature, which are our author's chief game.

Conformably with the general cast of his characters, and the scenes in which they act and move, the whole work is one of fun, mirth, and laughter; there is not a serious incident in the whole book, as far as yet published, unless *a marriage* might be so denominated.* The very distresses are all of a ludicrous kind, and,

* There are some short tales interspersed with the main story, which possess considerable pathos; still the author's pathos is by no means equal to his humour. The best of the serious tales are the "Stroller's Tale" the "Madman's Manuscript," and the "Convict's Return."

as an Irishman might say, the most tragic parts are all comic. There is not a single scene which can elicit a tear, except such as may be extorted, now and then, by an immoderate fit of laughter.

Many of the characters, it must be confessed, are master-pieces in their way. Our chief favorites are old Wardle, the warm-hearted, frank, hospitable, English gentleman and farmer of Dingley Dell; Mr. Nupkins, the conceited and ignorant magistrate of Ipswich; Jingle, the swindler and adventurer, a strange compound of villany and eccentricity; the old coachman, Sam Weller, and his son Sam, first introduced to us in the honorable situation of "Boots," at the White Hart Inn, Borough, and subsequently exalted to the post of servant to Mr. Pickwick himself. Sam (the younger we mean), who is undoubtedly the prime character of the whole book, is admirably conceived, and as admirably sustained. He unites, in about equal measure, shrewdness and honesty; great attachment to his benefactor and master, with a very sagacious perception of his own interests; abundance of mother-wit, and a warm and honest heart. We know not what may be the fate reserved for honest Sam, in the remaining eight numbers, which are to complete the work, but we trust it will be such as to keep up the interest with which he inspires the reader. Sooner than there should be any thing to spoil him, we would rather that our author would do as Addison did with his favorite character Sir Roger de Coverley, when in danger of being unworthily treated by Steele,—*kill* him out of hand. Sam is about the most perfect example, in fictitious literature, of the very best specimens of the English lower classes. Of characters somewhat similar amongst the Scotch, Sir Walter Scott has given us several specimens. The English writers have not done equal justice to their own nation. When our writers of fiction have given us the *honest* Englishman, they have too often seemed to think that it was incumbent upon them to make him very *stupid;* and if they invested him with much *shrewdness*, he was almost sure to have a touch of the *knave*.—A crisis is evidently coming in Sam's fate, for he has just fallen in love with a good-looking well-behaved servant-maid at Mr. Nupkins's, and has actually dispatched his first valentine to her. What may be the result it is impossible to say, for that which turned the brain of Solomon cannot be without danger to that of Sam Weller.

It is a very common remark that the heroes of novels are too generally the most insipid characters in the whole piece; in our judgment, the Pickwick Papers furnish no exception to the general rule. There are no characters in the work who are not sketched with greater force and vividness than the members of the Pickwick Club. They want *individuality*. It is true there is some attempt to discriminate them at the outset; they

are duly introduced to us in different-colored vestments, and their several qualities formally enumerated and catalogued. Mr. Tupman, it appears, is chiefly distinguished by a soft heart, and we think it may be said with equal truth, by a soft *head.* Mr. Winkle is a cockney sportsman, and of course enacts the usual absurdities, which from time immemorial have been fastened upon that very well-known character, on whose exploits some scores of caricaturists have subsisted ever since the invention of gunpowder. Mr. Snodgrass, we are informed, is poetic; but we have no proof whatever of his possessing this quality (which however, we honestly confess, we by no means regret), except the editor's good word for it. Now, these characters were no doubt intended to be very absurd specimens of their various *kinds;* but then they ought to have been made to act and speak more in character; there should have been more individuality about them; they should not have simply belonged (as they all most incontestably do) to the *genus* 'blockhead,' but have been exhibited as belonging to different species of that very extensive class. But, with the exception of the aforesaid general catalogue of their qualities, Mr. Winkle's somewhat too-practical demonstration of his character with his gun, and Mr. Tupman's extreme haste to fall in love, there is nothing which discriminates them. They are alike very solemn and deliberate simpletons. Change their names and their dress, and they might for the most part pass for one another, there being rarely in the dialogues any of those little characteristic touches with which the dialogue-style of Sam Weller, junior, abounds. Though duly ticketed therefore at first, and warranted to possess such and such qualities, the labels on their backs somewhat resemble those which are stuck on the show-bottles in a druggist's shop-window; the said bottles are inscribed, it is true, with very formidable names, but the contents, after all, are nothing but simple water, tinctured with a little coloring matter. Mr. Tupman, Mr. Snodgrass, and Mr. Winkle, are, in like manner, mere water—every man of them; the only difference is a little innocent coloring matter.

About Mr. Pickwick himself there is somewhat more individuality, but there is a very grievous want of keeping and consistency. Nobody can reconcile the instances of absurdity and good sense which are alternately displayed in the conduct of Mr. Pickwick. Sometimes he is represented as saying or recording in his 'Note Book,' (by the bye, the frequent mention of that note book begins to be a nuisance), things which an idiot would not have believed, and at other times talking and acting like a person of excellent sense. We suppose we must set it down that he had a *monomania*—a monomania for inserting eminently silly things in his note book, though in all other respects a very sensible, well-meaning, worthy man. The general character which he exhibits

is that of a very good-natured, benevolent, and somewhat weak-minded man. We are aware of our audacity in applying the epithet weak-minded to Mr. Pickwick, the 'great Mr. Pickwick,' the 'immortal man;' but there is one comfort that he is dead; or better still, that he never existed, and will not therefore be hurt by the freedom of our observations. We trust the editor of his Posthumous Papers will be as little hurt by them.

But it is high time that we should introduce our readers to a few of the very amusing scenes with which this singular work abounds.

Our first extract shall be from the introductory chapter, where a quarrel takes place between Mr. Pickwick and one of the members of his club, who had applied to him, its president, the obnoxious name of 'humbug.' The quarrel, however, is happily made up, in the same ingenious manner in which equally dignified disputes are often made up in the House of Commons; that is, by each party declaring that he used the obnoxious words in a *peculiar*, or, in other words, in a *Pickwickian* sense. There is fine satire in the whole of it.—Pickwick *loquitur*.

'He was a humble individual. (No no.) Still he could not but feel that they had selected him for a service of great honour, and of some danger. Travelling was in a troubled state, and the minds of coachmen were unsettled. Let them look abroad, and contemplate the scenes which were enacting around them. Stage coaches were upsetting in all directions, horses were bolting, boats were overturning, and boilers were bursting. (Cheers—a voice 'No.') No! (Cheers.) Let that honourable Pickwickian who cried 'No' so loudly, come forward and deny it, if he could. (Cheers.) Who was it that cried 'No?' (Enthusiastic cheering.) Was it some vain and disappointed man—he would not say haberdasher—(loud cheers)—who, jealous of the praise which had been—perhaps undeservedly—bestowed on his (Mr. Pickwick's) researches, and smarting under the censure which had been heaped upon his own feeble attempts at rivalry, now took this vile and calumnious mode of ————

'Mr. Blotton, (of Aldgate,) rose to order. Did the honourable Pickwickian allude to him? (Cries of 'Order,' 'Chair,' 'Yes,' 'No.' 'Go on,' 'Leave off,' &c.'

'Mr. Pickwick would not put up to be put down by clamour. He *had* alluded to the honourable gentleman. (Great excitement.)

'Mr. Blotton would only say then, that he repelled the hon. gent's false and scurrilous accusation, with profound contempt. (Great cheering.) The hon. gent. was a humbug. (Immense confusion, and loud cries of 'chair' and 'order.')

'Mr. A. Snodgrass rose to order. He threw himself upon the chair. (Hear.) He wished to know whether this disgraceful contest between two members of that club should be allowed to continue. (Hear, hear.)

'The Chairman was quite sure the hon. Pickwickian would withdraw the expression he had just made use of.

'Mr. Blotton, with all possible respect for the chair, was quite sure he would not.

'The Chairman felt it to be his imperative duty to demand of the honourable gentleman, whether he had used the expression which had just escaped him, in a common sense.

'Mr. Blotton had no hesitation in saying, that he had not—he had used the word in its Pickwickian sense. (Hear, hear.) He was bound to acknowledge, that personally he entertained the highest regard and esteem for the honourable gentleman; he had merely considered him a humbug in a Pickwickian point of view. (Hear, hear.)

'Mr. Pickwick felt much gratified by the fair, candid, and full explanation of his honourable friend. He begged it to be at once understood, that his own observations had been merely intended to bear a Pickwickian construction. (Cheers.)

Here the entry terminates, as we have no doubt the debate did also, after arriving at such a highly satisfactory and intelligible point.

Our next extract shall be equally rich in its way. Mr. Winkle, by a strange mistake, which we have no leisure to explain, has got into a very awkward scrape with Dr. Slammer, an army-surgeon, who forthwith sends him a challenge. Mr. Winkle, who, albeit a sportsman, has no stomach for *that* kind of sport, and yet, like many other inditers and receivers of challenges, has too little courage to be willing to appear a coward—is in an agony of terror lest he should be compelled to fight. He requests his friend Snodgrass to be his second, internally hoping, while he is making the communication, that his worthy friend will reveal the matter to the authorities, and immediately prevent a breach of the peace. The duel is at last happily prevented, but *not* by Mr. Snodgrass. The following is the dialogue between them:

'Snodgrass,' said Mr. Winkle, when they had turned out of the public street; 'Snodgrass, my dear fellow, can I rely upon your secrecy?' As he said this, he most devoutly and earnestly hoped he could not. 'You can,' replied Mr. Snodgrass. 'Hear me swear—' 'No, no;' interrupted Mr. Winkle, terrified at the idea of his companion's unconsciously pledging himself not to give information; 'don't swear, don't swear; it 's quite unnecessary.'

Mr. Snodgrass dropped the hand which he had, in the spirit of poesy, raised towards the clouds as he made the above appeal, and assumed an attitude of attention. 'I want your assistance, my dear fellow, in an affair of honor,' said Mr. Winkle. 'You shall have it,' replied Mr. Snodgrass, clasping his friend's hand. 'With a Doctor—Doctor Slammer of the Ninety-seventh,' said Mr. Winkle, wishing to make the matter appear as solemn as possible; 'an affair with an officer, seconded by another officer, at sunset this evening, in a lonely field beyond Fort Pitt.' 'I will attend you,' said Mr. Snodgrass.

He was astonished, but by no means dismayed. It is extraordinary how cool any party but the principal can be in such cases. Mr. Winkle had forgotten this. He had judged of his friend's feelings by

his own. 'The consequences may be dreadful,' said Mr. Winkle. 'I hope not,' said Mr. Snodgrass. 'The Doctor, I believe, is a very good shot,' said Mr. Winkle. 'Most of these military men are,' observed Mr. Snodgrass, calmly; 'but so are you, a'n't you?'

Mr. Winkle replied in the affirmative; and perceiving that he had not alarmed his companion sufficiently, changed his ground. 'Snodgrass,' he said in a voice tremulous with emotion, 'if I fall, you will find in a packet which I shall place in your hands, a note for my—for my father.'

This attack was a failure also. Mr. Snodgrass was affected, but he undertook the delivery of the note as readily as if he had been a Twopenny Postman. 'If I fall,' said Mr. Winkle, 'or if the Doctor falls, you, my dear friend, will be tried as an accessory before the fact. Shall I involve my friend in transportation—possibly for life!'

Mr. Snodgrass winced a little at this, but his heroism was invincible. 'In the cause of friendship,' he fervently exclaimed, 'I would brave all dangers.'

How Mr. Winkle cursed his companion's devoted friendship internally, as they walked silently along, side by side, for some minutes, each immersed in his own meditations! The morning was wearing away; he grew desperate. 'Snodgrass,' he said, stopping suddenly, 'do *not* let me be baulked in this matter—do *not* give information to the local authorities—do *not* obtain the assistance of several peace-officers, to take either me or Doctor Slammer, of the Ninety-seventh Regiment, at present quartered in Chatham Barracks, into custody, and thus prevent this duel; I say, do *not*.' Mr. Snodgrass seized his friend's hand warmly, as he enthusiastically replied, 'Not for worlds!' A thrill passed over Mr. Winkle's frame, as the conviction that he had nothing to hope from his friend's fears, and that he was destined to become an animated target, rushed forcibly upon him.

Our next extract must be a somewhat long one; but, if our readers are as much amused with it as we have been, they will not regret its length. It is to be observed that Mr. Pickwick and his friends are on a visit to Old Wardle, of Dingley Dell. The infamous Jingle is also one of the party. While here, the soft-hearted Mr. Tupman falls in love with the maiden sister of the host, a spinster about fifty. Under cover of assisting Mr. Tupman, Jingle gains the affections of the somewhat inflammable lady, and elopes with her. Old Wardle and Mr. Pickwick pursue in a postchaise and four, and the following is a part of the vivid and amusing account of the chase:

'Now then!—is that chaise coming out to night?' cried Wardle. 'Coming down the yard now, Sir,' replied the hostler.

Out came the chaise—in went the horses—on sprung the boys—in got the travellers.

'Mind—the seven-mile stage in less than half an hour!' shouted Wardle. 'Off with you!' The boys applied whip and spur, the waiters shouted, the hostlers cheered, and away they went, fast and furiously. 'Pretty situation,' thought Mr. Pickwick, when he had

had a moment's time for reflection. 'Pretty situation for the General Chairman of the Pickwick Club. Damp chaise—strange horses—fifteen miles an hour—and twelve o'clock at night.

For the first three or four miles, not a word was spoken by either of the gentlemen, each being too much immersed in his own reflections, to address any observations to his companion. When they had gone over that much ground, however, and the horses, getting thoroughly warmed began to do their work in really good style, Mr. Pickwick became too much exhilarated with the rapidity of the motion, to remain any longer perfectly mute.

'We're sure to catch them, I think,' said he. 'Hope so,' replied his companion. 'Fine night,' said Mr. Pickwick, looking up at the moon, which was shining brightly. 'So much the worse,' returned Wardle; 'for they'll have had all the advantage of the moonlight to get the start of us, and we shall lose it. It will have gone down in another hour.' 'It will be rather unpleasant going at this rate in the dark, won't it?' inquired Mr. Pickwick. 'I dare say it will,' replied his friend drily.

Mr. Pickwick's temporary excitement began to sober down a little, as he reflected upon the inconveniences and dangers of the expedition in which he had so thoughtlessly embarked. He was roused by a loud shouting of the post-boy on the leader.

'Yo—yo—yo—yo—yoe,' went the first boy. 'Yo—yo—yo—yoe!' went the second. 'Yo—yo—yo—yoe!' chimed in old Wardle himself, most lustily, with his head and half his body out of the coach window. 'Yo—yo—yo—yoe!' shouted Mr. Pickwick, taking up the burden of the cry, though he had not the slightest notion of its meaning or object. And amidst the yo—yoing of the whole four, the chaise stopped. 'What's the matter?' inquired Mr. Pickwick. 'There's a gate here,' replied old Wardle, 'We shall hear something of the fugitives."

After a lapse of five minutes, consumed in incessant knocking and shouting, an old man in his shirt and trousers emerged from the turnpike-house, and opened the gate. 'How long is it since a post-chaise went through here?' inquired Mr. Wardle. 'How long?' 'Ah!' 'Why, I don't rightly know. It worn't a long time ago, nor it worn't a short time ago—just between the two, perhaps.' 'Has any chaise been by at all?' 'Oh yes, there's been a chay by.' 'How long ago, my friend,' interposed Mr. Pickwick, 'an hour?' 'Ah, I dare say it might be,' replied the man. 'Or two hours?' inquired the post-boy on the wheeler. 'Well, I should n't wonder if it was,' returned the old man doubtfully. 'Drive on, boys,' cried the testy old gentleman: 'don't waste any more time with that old idiot!' 'Idiot!' exclaimed the old man with a grin, as he stood in the middle of the road with the gate half closed, watching the chaise which rapidly diminished in the increasing distance. 'No—not much o'that, either; you've lost ten minutes here, and gone away as wise as you came arter all. If every man on the line as has a guinea give him earns it half as well, you won't catch t'other chay this side Mich'lmas, old short and fat.' And with another prolonged grin, the old man closed the gate,

re-entered his house, and bolted the door after him. * * * The stage was fifteen miles long, the night was dark, the wind high, and the rain pouring in torrents. It was impossible to make any great way against such obstacles united: it was hard upon one o'clock already; and nearly two hours were consumed in getting to the end of the stage. Here, however, an object presented itself, which re-kindled their hopes, and re-animated their drooping spirits.

'When did this chaise come in?' cried old Wardle, leaping out of his own vehicle, and pointing to one covered with wet mud, which was standing in the yard. 'Not a quarter of an hour ago, Sir;' replied the hostler, to whom the question was addressed. 'Lady and gentleman?' inquired Wardle, almost breathless with impatience. 'Yes, Sir.' 'Tall gentleman—dress coat—long legs—thin body?' 'Yes, Sir?' 'Elderly lady—thin face—rather skinny—eh?' Yes, Sir?' 'By Heavens, it's them, Pickwick,' exclaimed the old gentleman. 'Would have been here before,' said the hostler, 'but they broke a trace.' 'Tis them,' said Wardle.' 'Chaise and four instantly. We shall catch them yet, before they reach the next stage. A guinea a-piece boys—be alive there—bustle about—there's good fellows.'

And with such admonitions as these, the old gentleman ran up and down the yard, and bustled to and fro, in a state of excitement which communicated itself to Mr. Pickwick also; and under the influence of which, that gentleman got himself into complicated entanglements with harness, and mixed up with horses and wheels of chaises, in the most surprising manner, firmly believing that by so doing, he was materially forwarding the preparations for their resuming their journey.

'Jump in—jump in!' cried old Wardle, climbing into the chaise, pulling up the steps, and slamming the door after him. 'Come along, make haste.' And before Mr. Pickwick knew precisely what he was about, he felt himself forced in at the other door, by one pull from the old gentleman, and one push from the hostler; and off they were again.

They had travelled in this way about three miles, when Mr. Wardle, who had been looking out of the window for two or three minutes, suddenly drew in his face, covered with splashes, and exclaimed in breathless eagerness—'Here they are!' Mr. Pickwick thrust his head out of his window. Yes: there was a chaise and four, a short distance before them, dashing along at full gallop.

'Go on, go on,' almost shrieked the old gentleman. 'Two guineas a-piece, boys—don't let 'em gain on us—keep it up—keep it up.'

The horses in the first chaise started on at their utmost speed; and those in Mr. Wardle's galloped furiously behind them.

'I see his head,' exclaimed the choleric old man, 'I see his head.' 'So do I,' said Mr. Pickwick, that's he.'

Mr. Pickwick was not mistaken. The countenance of Mr. Jingle, completely coated with the mud thrown up by the wheels, was plainly discernible at the window of his chaise; and the motion of his arm which he was waving violently towards the postilions, denoted that he was encouraging them to increased exertion. Mr. Pickwick had just drawn in his head, and Mr. Wardle, exhausted with shouting, had done the same, when a tremendous jolt threw them forward against the

front of the vehicle. There was a sudden bump—a loud crash—away rolled a wheel, and over went the chaise. After a very few seconds of bewilderment and confusion, in which nothing but the plunging of horses, and breaking of glass, could be made out, Mr. Pickwick felt himself violently pulled out from among the ruins of the chaise; and as soon as he had gained his feet, and extricated his head from the skirts of his great coat which materially impeded the usefulness of his spectacles, the full disaster of the case met his view. Old Mr. Wardle without a hat, and his clothes tore in several places, stood by his side, and the fragments of the chaise lay scattered at their feet. The post-boys, who had succeeded in cutting the traces, were standing, disfigured with mud and disordered by hard riding, by the horses' heads. About a hundred yards in advance was the other chaise, which had pulled up on hearing the crash. The postilions, each with a broad grin convulsing his countenance, were viewing the adverse party from their saddles, and Mr. Jingle was contemplating the wreck from the coach-window, with evident satisfaction. The day was just breaking, and the whole scene was rendered perfectly visible by the grey light of the morning.

'Hallo!' shouted the shameless Jingle, 'any body damaged?—elderly gentlemen—no light weights—dangerous work—very.' 'You're a rascal!' roared Wardle. 'Ha! ha!' replied Jingle; and then he added, with a knowing wink, and a jerk of the thumb towards the interior of the chaise—'I say—she's very well—desires her compliments—begs you won't trouble yourself—love to *Tuppy*—won't you get up behind?—drive on boys.'

They still pursue the fugitives however, whom Mr. Pickwick, Mr. Wardle, and their professional adviser, Mr. Perker, discover at the White Hart Inn, Borough. It is here that we first become acquainted with Sam Weller, junior, who, as we have already intimated, was Boots at the aforesaid inn.

We can only afford room for two more extracts; the first is the account of Sam Weller's reading to his father, for his approbation, the valentine which he had just written to Mr. Nupkins's housemaid at Ipswich. The old gentleman plays the critic on the occasion in a very sage and characteristic manner.—We may observe that each number of the Pickwick Papers is accompanied by illustrative engravings; and the engraving which illustrates the following scene is particularly good. Sam Weller, senior, comes in just as his son has finished the somewhat difficult task of putting his thoughts on paper.

'Mr. Weller then divested himself of his upper coat; and lighting the pipe and placing himself in front of the fire with his back towards it, so that he could feel its full heat, and recline against the mantlepiece at the same time, turned towards Sam, and, with a countenance greatly mollified by the softening influence of tobacco, requested him to 'fire away.' Sam dipped his pen into the ink to be ready for any corrections, and began with a very theatrical air—'Lovely———.'

'Lovely creetur,' repeated Sam. 'Tain't in poetry, is it?' interposed the father. 'No no,' replied Sam. 'Werry glad to hear it,' said Mr Weller. 'Poetry's unnat'ral; no man ever talked in poetry 'cept a beadle on boxin' day, or Warren's blackin' or Rowland's oil, or some o' them low fellows; never you let yourself down to talk poetry, my boy. Begin again, Sammy.' Mr. Weller resumed his pipe with critical solemnity, and Sam once more commenced, and read as follows. 'Lovely creetur i feel myself ashamed, and completely cir——' 'I forget wot this here word is,' said Sam, scratching his head with the pen, in vain attempts to remember. 'Why don't you look at it, then?' inquired Mr. Weller. 'So I *am* a lookin' at it,' replied Sam, 'but there's another blot: here's a 'c,' and a 'i,' and a 'd.' 'Circumwented, p'raps,' suggested Mr. Weller. 'No it ain't that,' said Sam, 'circumscribed, that's it.' 'That ain't as good a word as circumwented, Sammy,' said Mr. Weller gravely. 'Think not?' said Sam. 'Nothin' like it,' replied his father. 'But don't you think it means more?' inquired Sam. 'Vell p'raps it is a more tenderer word,' said Mr. Weller, after a few moments' reflection. 'Go on, Sammy.' 'Feel myself ashamed and completely circumscribed in a dressin' of you, for you are a nice gal and nothin' but it.' 'That's a wery pretty sentiment,' said the elder Mr. Weller, removing his pipe to make way for the remark. 'Yes, I think it is raythor good,' observed Sam, highly flattered. 'Wot I like in that 'ere style of writin,' said the elder Mr. Weller, 'is, that there ain't no callin' names in it,—no Wenuses, nor nothin' o' that kind; wot's the good o' callin' a young 'ooman a Wenus or a angel, Sammy?' 'Ah! what, indeed?' replied Sam. 'You might jist as vell call her a griffin, or a unicorn, or a king's arms at once, which is wery vell known to be a col-lection o' fabulous animals,' added Mr. Weller. 'Just as well,' replied Sam. 'Drive on, Sammy,' said Mr. Weller.

Sam complied with the request, and proceeded as follows; his father continuing to smoke, with a mixed expression of wisdom and complacency, which was particularly edifying.

'Afore I see you I thought all women was alike.' 'So they are,' observed the elder Mr. Weller, parenthetically. 'But now,' continued Sam, 'now I find what a reg'lar soft-headed, ink-red'lous turnip I must ha' been for there ain't nobody like you though *I* like you better than nothin' at all.' I thought it best to make that raythor strong,' said Sam, looking up. Mr. Weller nodded approvingly, and Sam resumed. 'So I take the privilidge of the day, Mary, my dear —as the gen'lem'n in difficulties did, ven he valked out of a Sunday,— to tell you that the first and only time I see you your likeness was took on my hart in much quicker time and brighter colours than ever a likeness was took by the profeel macheen (wich p'r'aps you may have heerd on Mary my dear) altho it *does* finish a portrait and put the frame and glass on complete with a hook at the end to hang it up by and all in two minutes and a quarter.' 'I am afeerd that werges on the poetical, Sammy,' said Mr. Weller dubiously. 'No it don't,' replied Sam, reading on very quickly, to avoid contesting the point. 'Except of me Mary my dear as your walentine and think over what

I've said.—My dear Mary I will now conclude.' 'That's all,' said Sam.

'That's rayther a sudden pull up, ain't it, Sammy?" inquired Mr. Weller. 'Not a bit on it,' said Sam; 'she'll vish there wos more, and that's the great art o' letter writin'.' 'Well," said Mr. Weller, 'there's somethin' in that; and I wish your mother-in-law 'ud only conduct her conwersation on the same gen-teel principle. Ain't you a goin' to sign it?' 'That's the difficulty,' said Sam; I don't know what to sign it.' 'Sign it—Veller,' said the oldest surviving proprietor of that name. 'Won't do,' said Sam. 'Never sign a walentine with your own name.' 'Sign it 'Pickvick,' then,' said Mr. Weller; 'it's a wery good name, and a easy one to spell.' 'The wery thing,' said Sam. 'I *could* end with a werse; what do you think?' 'I don't like it, Sam,' rejoined Mr. Weller. 'I never know'd a respectable coachman as wrote poetry, 'cept one, as made an affectin' copy o' werses the night afore he was hung for a highway robbery; and *he* wos only a Cambervell man, so even that's no rule.'

The next and last scene must be from Sam's evidence in a court of justice, in behalf of his master, Mr. Pickwick. Mrs. Bardell, the landlady of that worthy gentleman, has strangely construed some expressions of her lodger into a promise of marriage, and has been persuaded by two unprincipled and intriguing lawyers, Messrs. Dodson and Fogg, to prosecute him for a breach of that promise. They have managed to improve it into a very hopeful and profitable suit.

'It was quite unnecessary to call Samuel Weller, for Samuel Weller stepped briskly into the box the instant his name was pronounced; and placing his hat on the floor, and his arms on the rail, took a bird's-eye view of the bar, and a comprehensive survey of the bench with a remarkably cheerful and lively aspect.

'What's your name, Sir?' inquired the judge. 'Sam Weller, my Lord,'replied that gentleman. Do you spell it with a 'V' or a 'W?' inquired the Judge. 'That depends upon the taste and fancy of the speller, my Lord,' replied Sam, 'I never had occasion to spell it more than once or twice in my life, but I spells it with a 'V.'

'Here a voice in the gallery exclaimed aloud, 'Quite right too, Samivel; quite right. Put it down a we, my Lord, put it down a we.'

'Who is that, that dares to address the Court?' said the little Judge, looking up, 'Usher.' 'Yes, my Lord.' 'Bring that person here instantly.' 'Yes, my Lord.'

'But as the usher didn't find the person, he didn't bring him; and, after a great commotion, all the people who had got up to look for the culprit, sat down again. The little Judge turned to the witness as soon as his indignation would allow him to speak, and said—

'Do you know who that was, Sir?' 'I rayther suspect it was my father, my Lord,' replied Sam. 'Do you see him here now?' said the Judge. 'No, I don't, my Lord,' replied Sam, staring right up into the lantern in the roof of the Court. 'If you could have pointed him out, I would have committed him instantly,' said the Judge.

[Sam bowed his acknowledgments and turned, with unimpaired cheerfulness of countenance, towards Serjeant Buzfuz.

'Now, Mr. Weller, said Sergeant Buzfuz. 'Now, Sir,' replied Sam. 'I believe you are in the service of Mr. Pickwick, the defendant in this case. Speak up, if you please, Mr. Weller.' 'I mean to speak up, Sir,' replied Sam, 'I am in the service o' that 'ere gen'l'man, and a wery good service it is.' 'Little to do, and plenty to get, I suppose?' said Sergeant Buzfuz, with jocularity. 'O quite enough to get, Sir, as the soldier said ven they ordered him three hundred and fifty lashes,' replied Sam. 'You must not tell us what the soldier, or any other man, said, Sir,' interposed the Judge, 'it's not evidence.' 'Wery good, my Lord,' replied Sam. 'Do you recollect anything particular happening on the morning when you were first engaged by the defendant, eh, Mr. Weller?' said Sergeant Buzfuz. 'Yes I do, Sir,' replied Sam. 'Have the goodness to tell the Jury what it was.' 'I had a reg'lar new fit out o' clothes that mornin', gen'l'men of the Jury,' said Sam, 'and that was a wery partickler and uncommon circumstance vith me in those days.'

'Hereupon there was a general laugh; and the little Judge, looking with an angry countenance over his desk, said, 'You had better be careful, Sir.'

'So Mr. Pickwick said at the time, my Lord,' replied Sam, 'and I was wery careful o' that 'ere suit o' clothes; wery careful indeed, my Lord.'

The Judge looked sternly at Sam for full two minutes, but Sam's features were so perfectly calm and serene that he said nothing, and motioned Sergeant Buzfuz to proceed.

'Do you mean to tell me, Mr. Weller,' said Sergeant Buzfuz, folding his arms emphatically, and turning half round to the Jury, as if in mute assurance that he would bother the witness yet—'Do you mean to tell me, Mr. Weller, that you saw nothing of this fainting on the part of the plaintiff in the arms of the defendant, which you have heard described by the witnesses?' 'Certainly not,' replied Sam, 'I was in the passage till they called me up, and then the old lady was not there.' 'Now, attend, Mr. Weller,' said Serjeant Buzfuz, dipping a large pen into the inkstand before him, for the purpose of frightening Sam with a show of taking down his answer. 'You were in the passage, and yet saw nothing of what was going forward. Have you a pair of eyes, Mr. Weller?' 'Yes, I have a pair of eyes,' replied Sam, 'and that's just it. If they wos a pair o' patent double million magnifyin' gas microscopes of hextra power, p'raps I might be able to see through a flight o' stairs and a deal door; but bein' only eyes, you see, my wision's limited.'

At this answer, which was delivered without the slightest appearance of irritation, and with the most complete simplicity and equanimity of manner, the spectators tittered, the little Judge smiled, and Sergeant Buzfuz looked particularly foolish. After a short consultation with Dodson and Fogg, the learned Sergeant again turned towards Sam, and said, with a painful effort to conceal his vexation, 'Now, Mr. Weller, I'll ask you a question on another point, if you please.'

'If you please, Sir,' rejoined Sam, with the utmost good humour.' 'Do you remember going up to Mrs. Bardell's house, one night in November last?' 'Oh yes, wery well.' 'Oh, you *do* remember that, Mr. Weller,' said Serjeant Buzfuz, recovering his spirits- -'I thought we should get at something at last.' 'I rayther thought that, too, Sir,' replied Sam; and at this the spectators tittered again. 'Well; I suppose you went up to have a little talk about this trial—eh, Mr. Weller?' said Sergeant Buzfuz, looking knowingly at the Jury. 'I went up to pay the rent; but we *did* get a talkin' about the trial,' replied Sam. 'Oh, you did get a talking about the trial,' said Sergeant Buzfuz, brightening up with the anticipation of some important discovery. 'Now what passed about the trial; will you have the goodness to tell us, Mr. Weller?' 'Vith all the pleasure in life, Sir,' replied Sam—'Arter a few unimportant observations from the two wirtuous females as has been examined here to-day, the ladies gets into a very great state o' admiration at the honorable conduct of Mr. Dodson and Fogg—them two gen'l'men as is settin' near you now.' This, of course, drew general attention to Dodson and Fogg, who looked as virtuous as possible. 'The attornies for the plaintiff,' said Mr. Sergeant Buzfuz, 'well they spoke in high praise of the honorable conduct of Messrs. Dodson and Fogg, the attornies for the plaintiff, did they?' 'Yes,' said Sam, 'they said what a wery gen'rous thing it was o' them to have taken up the case on spec, and to charge nothin' at all for costs, unless they got 'em out of Mr. Pickwick.'

At this very unexpected reply, the spectators tittered again, and Dodson and Fogg, turning very red, leant over to Sergeant Buzfuz, and in a hurried manner whispered something in his ear.

Before we part with our author, we must be permitted to notice a few faults which we deem important, and which, in discharge of that duty we owe the public, we could not in conscience wholly pass over. First, then, we observe some few instances of profanity which we could readily dispense with; and some jokes, incidents, and allusions, which could hardly be read by a modest woman without blushing. If our author should tell us that those who would exhibit *human nature as it is*, in all its various phases and aspects, must make the vulgar and the vicious act fully up to their character in every particular, we deny any such necessity; and, to prove it, would adduce even our author's own practice, who, we cheerfully admit, does not often offend in this way. If it were necessary, in exhibiting certain characters, to be profane as often as *they* would have been profane, and to record every licentious jest which *they* would have uttered, a book, written on such principles, would often be nothing but one tissue of blasphemies and impurities, and could not fail to disgust even the coarsest reader. It is obviously necessary to stop somewhere, and we cannot but think that the better way would be to exclude all such matter altogether. As to its being necessary, in order to give force and vividness to

character, we deny it. There will still be left quite a sufficient number of harmless peculiarities, both of manner and phraseology, to stamp it with individuality. In proof of this statement we would again refer to the author's own book. How free are his best, most humorous, and characteristic scenes from all such offensive matter! How little, in the estimation of any sound-minded man, would they gain, or rather how much would they lose, from a prodigal introduction of oaths and coarse jests! How little do those passages which we have cited suffer from the omission of the few expressions of this nature which we have thought it our duty to suppress.—If it should be urged still further, that such matter is introduced for the sake of *increasing* the effect, and giving a zest to more sober wit, we first deny that any end could sanction the use of such means; and secondly, observe, how very little such means really contribute to the proposed end! It will be found, by an inspection of the very best portions of the most witty writers, how very little they have stood in need of such questionable auxiliaries. Take, for example, the finest parts of the Sketch Book (and, when our author is in his best moods, he often very strongly reminds us of Geoffry Crayon), or the very best papers of Addison and Steele; they are for the most part entirely free from every thing that could call up a blush on the cheek of modesty, or offend the severest sense of propriety. The fact is, that profaneness and impropriety are often resorted to, not because those who resort to them are witty, but as a *substitute* for wit. They know there are many who can laugh at *such* things, upon whom the highest and most exquisite humour would be lost.

We have one more word to say, and then we have done with this unwelcome part of our critique. We observe, that in one or two places the author has undertaken the dangerous task of making sport of fanaticism and hypocrisy; we say dangerous, first because such matters are far too serious for sport, in the opinion of every right-judging man; and secondly because, in too many instances, readers who know little or nothing of what true religion means, are easily tempted to apply to every thing which bears its impress, the name of cant, hypocrisy, and fanaticism.

We are far from denying that there are in every religious communion instances of men who assume a religious character in order to gratify the worst passions, but we must exclaim against the injustice, (even if it were desirable to introduce such characters into a work of mere humour at all,) of introducing them as if they were *specimens of a class*, instead of being, as they are, the very rare exceptions in *any* religious community. The author may not, it is true, expressly say that such as they are, such are the religionists to whose party they belong, but there is nothing said

to the *contrary;* and the irreligious reader is left to draw the conclusion which his hatred of religion itself but too easily prompts him to draw. This was the course adopted by the infamous Foote, when he undertook to ridicule Whitfield and the Methodists in the 'Minor.' The Methodists have lived down the outrageous slanders with which they were then assailed, and the motives and feelings of their calumniators are but too well understood.

We must also put our author on his guard, lest, in his doubtless very virtuous zeal to expose hypocrisy and 'reverend vice,' he should unconsciously ridicule doctrines and expressions which do not originate with the extravagancies of enthusiasts, but are part and parcel of the sacred Scripture. Thus, for example, we find Mr. Samuel Weller, senior (whose theological knowledge certainly cannot be expected to be very profound), expressing his unbounded surprise at the phrase 'being born again,' as though it had been part of the cant of that fanaticism which he so cordially abhorred. And this leads us to remark that, even if fanaticism and hypocrisy might be made the subject of mere jest at all (which we deny), to do it well would require a far more accurate knowledge of the truths and doctrines of real religion, and the peculiarities of religious character, than we ordinarily find in writers of fiction. But, while we make these remarks, we are bound to say that the Pickwick Papers do not contain *much* of the offensive matter to which we now refer.

We have noticed a few minor literary faults, but we have neither space nor inclination to enlarge upon them. Some trifling inaccuracies would necessarily result from the mode of publication. We observe, also, some of the little tasteless artifices of the Cockney school here and there resorted to; such as the repetition of some trifling conceit, *ad nauseam;* or a frequent use of those hacknied, thread-bare and silly phrases, 'organs of vision,' for eyes; 'auricular organs,' for ears, &c., where plain simple language would be in far truer taste, and have a far greater effect.

Art. IV. 1. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Negro Apprenticeship. Ordered to be printed on the 13th Aug.*, 1836.

2. *Statements and Observations on the Working of the Laws for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies, and on the Present State of the Negro population.* 8vo., pp. 68. 1836.

3. *Anti-Slavery Reporter, No.* 113, July, 1836.

4. *Negro Apprenticeship in the Colonies.* A Review of the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons. London, 8vo. pp. 44. 837.

THE progress of the anti-slavery cause, in this country, constitutes one of the most instructive and animating chapters of modern history. It is replete with the lessons of wisdom, and holds out an encouraging example to the philanthropists of other times and nations. It shows the certainty of success in a righteous cause, and forms an earnest of the complete and joyful triumph which will ultimately crown every beneficent and virtuous enterprise. We scarcely know a less promising undertaking, than that on which the pioneers of the ant-islavery party entered. The public feeling, not only of Britain but of Europe, was against them, while the commerce and seamanship of our country, the influx of wealth, and the sacredness of property, were supposed to be jeoparded by their ill-judged and fanatical attempt. The Africans were given over, by the common consent of the civilized world, as a prey to the most abandoned of mankind. Their coast was invaded by the legalized plunderers of Europe, whose ferocity was envenomed and rendered still more hateful, by its low and sordid object. So perverted was the state of feeling, that the earlier movements of the Abolitionists utterly failed to command public sympathy. They were denounced from the press and in parliament; and as though this was not enough to damp their zeal, many of the Ministers of religion,—men who had pledged themselves to maintain the doctrines and to enforce the spirit of the gospel, denounced their object as visionary, and their measures as destructive of public confidence.

Granville Sharp, a name never to be mentioned without honour, was the first of our countrymen who stood boldly forward as the advocate of the Negro. His labours are recorded in the annals of enlightened philanthropy, and his triumph was shown, in the solemn decision of the highest legal authorities, that the slave became instantly free on treading the soil of Britain.

Mr. Clarkson next followed, to whom, under God, the abolition of the slave trade is mainly to be attributed. This distinguished philanthropist yet survives, to witness the closing triumphs of a cause which engaged his youthful energy, and we therefore abstain from saying all that is in our hearts. He has not received due

credit for the astonishing extent and variety of his labours in the good service. Other persons were more open to the observation of the public, but it was Mr. Clarkson who devoted himself, body, soul, and spirit, to the quickening of the torpid conscience of his countrymen. With the heroism and self-devotion of an apostle, he sacrificed his professional prospects, and going from house to house and from city to city, he pleaded the cause of Africa, and aroused the latent benevolence and virtue of the nation.

Of Mr. Wilberforce's career it is unnecessary to speak at large. During a twenty years' struggle, chequered by every alternation of hope and fear, of apparent success and of almost absolute despair, he continued the faithful, untiring, and eloquent leader of the philanthropic band. His integrity secured universal respect; while his persuasive and commanding oratory gained the nation's sympathy, and achieved the triumph of his cause. In 1807 the battle was won, and he rested from his labours.

It is not in human nature to comprehend at once all the bearings of an extended and complicated subject. We need not, therefore, be surprised, that the men of that day, in the exultation of their recent victory, failed to perceive that there were battles yet to be fought, and arduous duties to be performed, before they could claim a discharge from the sacred warfare. By dint of most prodigious efforts, the public mind had been aroused to a high degree of excitement, and had put forth an energy which entailed subsequent exhaustion. On the accomplishment of its immediate object, it instantly sunk into a state of lassitude and weariness. Years were permitted to roll away without witnessing any effort, on an enlarged scale, for the benefit of the Negro race in our western colonies. The *African Institution*, indeed, stood forth as a memorial of the yet living benevolence of the country; but its sphere of operation was contracted, and its resources were feeble. Then followed the *Anti-Slavery Society*, the constitution of which bespoke at once the benevolence and the imperfect views of its framers. It sought only the mitigation of slavery, and looked to its extinction as a distant and scarcely to be hoped for end. The men who founded this noble association, however, are not to be reproached with having fallen short of the truth. They went before the public mind; and aimed at more than it demanded. Their benevolence was spontaneous, and the rate of their progress was in exact conformity with the ordinary movements of the regenerators of mankind. They did not lag behind their contemporaries, but led them on to the victories which have since been won. Had they done nothing more than issue the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, they would have conferred an incalculable benefit on their country. The extensive and discriminating research which this publication evidences, its intimate acquaintance with the facts and documentary evidence pertaining to slavery, its indignant rebukes of op-

pression, and eloquent pleadings on behalf of the oppressed, its nervous style and high-toned morality, all conspire to render it one of the most interesting and valuable productions of the human intellect. But with all its excellencies, the *Reporter* was not adapted to make a deep impression on the popular mind. It was the text book of the statesman, the magazine from which the lecturer drew his most effective weapons. Those who were prepared to think and reason, who were desirous of gaining an accurate insight into the system which they denounced, who were competent to weigh evidence and to draw conclusions, were sure to find in the *Reporter* what they needed, and never closed its pages without having their abhorrence of the slave system deepened.

But the public mind, in the mean while, was untouched. It knew as little of the practice of slavery, as of the institutions of the interior of Africa; and its sympathies, consequently, were not aroused, nor did its benevolence embody itself in deeds of enlightened charity. The Anti-Slavery Society was generally regarded as a political organization, and its movements were deemed little more than an episode in the tactics of the Whigs. We are not saying that this impression was correct. We are satisfied, on the contrary, that it was mainly false, though founded on a partial basis of truth. But the unhappy consequence was, that the religious part of the community stood aloof from the struggle, and regarded with suspicion the pleadings of the anti-slavery leaders.

But at length the simple principle was elicited, which was destined to work out the redemption of the slave. That principle was the sinfulness of slavery, and it carried an appeal to every Christian's mind, which conscience enforced with irresistible power. Modern times have scarcely witnessed a parallel to the almost instantaneous and universal change which was effected. The moral energies, and religious principles of the nation, were instantly engaged on behalf of the oppressed. The churches of Britain began to plead the cause of insulted and dying humanity, and the ministers of the sanctuary, true to their holy vocation, came forth from their retirement, to aid the triumph of religion over one of the most fearful scourges which had ever desolated the habitation of man. Just at this period the Jamaica insurrection broke out, and its consequences were decisive. Had it occurred a few years earlier, it would have failed to command the sympathy of the public mind; but occurring as it did, it was regarded as the effort of despair to rescue from the grasp of oppression, those rights with which God had endowed every descendant of Adam. The scene which followed disgusted and shocked the religious people of this country, and rendered it impossible for any who prized the truths of Christianity, to remain neutral any longer. The negroes were flogged, and shot,

and hung, without remorse or pity; whilst a daring impiety assailed the houses where God was worshipped, and sought the blood of his most faithful and zealous servants. But there was a God who ruled in heaven, and who said to the rage of his enemies, 'Thus far shalt thou go, but no farther.' The missionaries Burchell and Knibb lived to tread the soil of their native land, and to tell, from one extremity of the empire to the other, the melancholy tale of negro wrongs. It was then that the people of England rose in their might, and demanded, in the name of humanity, and religion, liberty for the slave. The Government could not venture to resist the overwhelming appeal, and the Abolition Act of 1833 was the result.

It would have been well for the interests of humanity, if some other statesman, than the then Secretary for the Colonies, had presided over the fate of this measure. Lord Stanley appears to have been so formed by nature, as to have failed invariably in adapting his measures to their professed objects. With rare powers as a debater, he wants that steadiness of mind and reach of intellect, which can calculate the probabilities of a contingent case, and apply, with instinctive foresight to the future, the lessons to be derived from the past. In the discussions of a deliberative assembly, his Lordship is qualified to take a brilliant, if not a consistent and useful part; but he is utterly wanting in the higher qualities of a statesman. His position as a member of the *Reform Administration*, enabled him to carry the miserable and bungling piece of legislation which he had devised. He was forewarned from the first of its failure, but his overweening conceit led him to treat with contemptuous neglect the advice of others, and to exhibit in the great measure of abolition, as in his Irish administration, an entire ignorance of the people for whom he legislated, and of the principles which he boastingly avowed.

But enough of his lordship; let us pass on to the measure which he introduced, and carried through the lower house of parliament.

Upwards of two years have now elapsed since the Abolition Act came into operation: and we may consequently proceed, without charge of precipitancy, to inquire whether it has answered the expectations of its framers, by effecting those beneficent changes in the condition of the slave population, for which we were encouraged to look. The documents before us supply materials on which an accurate judgment may be formed; and we shall proceed to adduce, for the information of our readers, some of their multifarious contents. We are free to confess that our expectations on some points have been more than realized. The conduct of the Negro population, amidst the peculiarly irritating circumstances of their recent lot, has exceeded our most sanguine hopes. We always believed them to be members

of the same human family with ourselves; but we did not give them credit for the forbearance, self-command, and enlightened appreciation of their true interests, which they have displayed. The extracts from official dispatches, given in the *Reporter*, abundantly confirm this representation. We can make room but for two, which, however, will suffice for our purpose. Writing to the Earl of Aberdeen, under date of March 27, 1835, the Marquis of Sligo says,

'It is with considerable satisfaction that I am enabled to repeat to your lordship, the same favourable assurances, as to 'the general state of the island,' that it has hitherto been in my power to transmit to you. The apprentices, generally speaking, are working very industriously; in many cases, where they are paid by the quantity of sugar made. they are in the habit of keeping up the boiling-house work for the whole first five days of the week uninterruptedly, though their bargain with their masters may have been to work only for eighteen hours per day. On many estates they work by spells, not having been offered wages, as the proprietors say they cannot afford to pay any in some cases; and in others, because the whole crop will be easily taken off without taking more than the legal time: the last instances are, however, rare. There are some few estates, where they have refused to work at all for wages, but where they work very diligently during the legal hours.' p. 299.

Again, in a dispatch to Lord Glenelg, who had succeeded the Earl of Aberdeen at the Colonial Office, under date of June 21, 1835, the Marquis says,

'Many of the attorneys and managers have been so very loud in their assertions of the failure of the system, that they are now unwilling to admit the errors of their opinion. The first prophecy was blood and destruction on the 1st of August: in this they were wrong. The second, that this scene would take place at Christmas, as it had not taken place in August; in this they were wrong. The third, that the apprentices would not work for wages; in this they were wrong, as I know of no instance where the usual wages were offered and were refused. The fourth was, that this crop would not be taken off; in this they were wrong, as it has in many places been taken off much earlier than usual; and if protracted in others, it has been as much from the weather, and the refusal to give wages in many instances, as from any other cause affecting the success of the new system.'

His lordship in this dispatch gives at considerable length the result of his observation and inquiries, and then adds—

'When all these things are recollected, and it is seen that under all these disadvantages they have behaved so well, and shown such improvement, may it not naturally be inferred that they are in a state of progressive amendment? Thus much of the conduct of the apprentices. What now has been that of the whites? Of some of the managers I cannot speak too highly; but they have reaped the fruit of their wisdom in the remarkable success which has attended their

efforts. A reference to the Reports will show what success has attended the efforts of some, and how deplorable is the state of some of the properties under the management of others, though enjoying precisely similar advantages. On the whole,' remarks his excellency, 'I come to the conclusion, that the perfect success of the new system, during the continuance of the apprenticeship, depends entirely on the conduct of the white people, and that, if it fails, on them will rest the entire blame.'—pp. 302, 303.

We should be glad to adduce an extract, from the dispatch of Sir James Carmichael Smyth, the Governor of British Guiana, dated July 6, 1835, but our space compels us to pass on to other matters.

What we have quoted sufficiently proves the good order and industry of the negroes during several months immediately succeeding the era of their emancipation; and that their conduct has subsequently improved, is shown by the evidence of Sir George Grey and other witnesses before the Parliamentary Committee. We will now proceed to the Report of that Committee, and to the evidence on which it professes to be founded. Their inquiries were limited to the island of Jamaica, 'in which colony 'alone,' they tell us, 'they have obtained evidence sufficiently 'complete to be fit for them to submit to the House, or to justify 'them in expressing an opinion.' Of their *Report* it becomes us to speak with respect. What was the degree of unanimity with which it was adopted, we have not the means of knowing, nor is the fact of much importance to the country. It is of a negative character, and was obviously designed to stifle inquiry, and to prevent any alteration of the existing system. It displays much more solicitude to conciliate the planters, than to secure justice to the apprentices, and repeats what the experience of all past times shows to be utter folly—expressions of confidence in the integrity and wisdom of colonial legislatures. In some cases notorious defects of law are passed over in silence, whilst in others, practical evils of a serious character are left to be remedied by the precarious justice of the colonists.

'The perusal of the Report now before us,' says the author of the *Review* at the head of our article, 'has produced in our mind a feeling the reverse of satisfaction. One thing has struck us as not a little singular; it is this—that no member of the Anti-Slavery Society was called upon to produce the documentary evidence accumulated in their office in illustration of their case. If any difficulty existed to the insertion on the minutes of evidence of the private correspondence which they had received, none could possibly exist to the depositions which they possessed. Sir George Grey, we perceive, was permitted to quote largely the correspondence of Lord Sligo with the colonial office, but *that* we shall be told was official, and to put on record also two letters of the Rev. Mr. Trew, which were private and unofficial. This surely was a precedent which might have been followed in the other case. It

may now be a question, whether the documents referred to, should not be published by the Society.'—p. 13.

The *animus* of the *Report* is too obvious to be mistaken, and it remains to be seen whether its recommendations will be followed by the British Parliament. The influence of the government is evidently on its side; and will probably prevail. But the question must be re-opened in the present session, when additional evidence, gathered on the spot, will be submitted to the legislature and the nation. In the meantime, we shall only discharge our duty as journalists, by transferring to our pages a few extracts from the evidence furnished to the Committee. Our readers will thus be put into a position to judge of the merits of the case, and will be qualified to meet any crisis which may arrive.

The witnesses called by the Anti-Slavery party were of the most unexceptionable character. On the legal branch of the subject were John Jeremie, Esq., late of the Mauritius, and now second judge at Ceylon; Joseph Beldam, and Richard Matthews, Esqrs., Barristers; and on the practical, Dr. Madden, Captain Oldrey and Charles Brown, Esq., late Special Justices in Jamaica, and A. H. Beaumont, Esq., late member of the House of Assembly. It is not too much to say that the first three gentlemen gave their evidence, both oral and documentary, with distinguished ability, and are entitled to the grateful acknowledgment of the whole country, for their laborious and discriminating research into the legal enactments of the colonies. The latter four gentlemen spoke principally to the state of the apprenticed labourers, and revealed a scene of oppression and suffering which must cause every virtuous and impartial mind to loathe the existing system.

On the former point it will be sufficient to quote the summary given by Mr. Jeremie of his *most substantial objections* to the Jamaica Act.

'The apprentice in Jamaica,' says this gentleman, 'may be worked by day in the field, by night in the boiling house, for forty-five hours in succession, excepting the short time allowed by day for meals, when employed in the field; may be mulcted to the full amount of his time for the benefit of his employer, though no prejudice may have been suffered by the latter, and flogged on making a complaint. He can recover nothing from his employer, by any available remedy, nor has any protection against complaints, however frivolous. He has a day to himself, during which he may be imprisoned by an estate constable under the control of a manager. If wages are promised him for extra work, if task-work contracts are violated, he has no available remedy. He can be apprehended at pleasure by any man he meets, who is rewarded for doing so. His wife, his sister, his daughter, may be sent to the tread-mill at the discretion of a special magistrate, for any length of time and for any offence; and there they fall under the control of the colonial magistrate, who may order them all, men, women, and children, to be flogged at his discretion; for any breach

of the workhouse discipline. His provisions, food, clothing, he may be deprived of, and is without any remedy which is not illusory for an indemnification. He cannot proceed beyond the limits of the plantation, except in a few stipulated cases, without a pass from his employer, except under a liability to be arrested and taken before a magistrate. The pregnant wife, the nursing mother, are unprovided with even nominal additional protection. His children born free for the last eight years, with those born free the next four years, may be subjected to this treatment for twenty-one years. Supposing him to have committed no possible offence, to have laboured as industriously in his own time, with the view of improving his condition, as in his manager's in performance of his duty, still must he labour on throughout the period assigned, or purchase off the remaining term, at a price to be affixed by colonial magistrates. Subject principally to these liabilities, he is free.' Report 1121.

Such a representation of the *legal* condition of the apprentices, may well lead us to inquire, What has been gained by our twenty millions, and by all the efforts which preceded this absurd and extravagant grant? Was it for the creation of such a state as Mr. Jeremie describes, that the country was roused, and its virtue poured forth in strains of earnest and imploring supplication to Parliament. It would be an insult to the common sense and honesty of the people to entertain such a supposition. We were cheated with the promise of freedom, and in the exultation which it inspired, we remitted our vigilance and surrendered our strength.

But perhaps it will be urged that little practical inconvenience results from this defective state of the Jamaica law. Did we know nothing of human nature as it is brutalized by the exercise of absolute power, we might be of such an opinion. But the records of history are before us, and we dare not 'lay the flattering unction to our souls.' We know something of the administrators of West Indian laws. Their deeds are written in blood. They have converted a lovely and fruitful region into a charnel-house, whose memorials of death constitute their triumph and joy. We say, therefore, and say deliberately, that even were the laws as perfect as human wisdom could make them, such men would find opportunities of inflicting innumerable wrongs on a dependent peasantry. What then may not be expected, when the laws themselves encourage oppression, by securing, to a considerable extent, the impunity of crime.

But it may be alleged that the apprentices are effectually protected, and the defects of the laws pertaining to them remedied by the presence of a class of men specially engaged to watch over their interests, and to enforce the spirit of the Imperial Act. We wish we could rest in the validity of this suggestion, but we know too much, and the Report before us reveals too much of the character and proceedings of the Special Magistracy to permit us

to do so. Their position is unfriendly in the last degree to the faithful discharge of their duties. It is scarcely possible for human nature, in such circumstances as surround these functionaries, to answer the expectations of the British public, by securing impartial justice to the apprentices.

'I believe,' says Mr. Beaumont, 'that it is impossible for any man, however pure and virtuous he may be, leaving this country, to go to Jamaica, and perform the duties of special magistrates there for twelve months, without suffering one of two things, either becoming to all intents and purposes in his feelings a planter, or else quarrelling with the planters." Report 3997.

Some of the special magistrates have attempted to perform their duty with a moral heroism which does them infinite honour, but such men have been driven from their post by the clamour of the planters, or have been compelled to throw up their commission in disgust. Mr. Beaumont's testimony is deserving of serious attention, and is evidently based on a common-sense view of the case. Speaking of the apprenticeship, he says:

'Decidedly it has worked badly, very badly, because the special magistrates are entirely dependent upon the overseers or managers. Society and its relations in Jamaica are very differently constituted from what they are in this country. A special magistrate there is dependent upon the overseer in the vicinity of the property in which he resides for all the comforts, and, in many instances, for the absolute necessaries of life. If, for instance, a special magistrate is sent for to any estate, several miles from the town where the special magistrate resides, on his arrival at the estate where he is to adjudicate between the parties, manager and slave, he is indebted to the overseer, one of these parties, for the refreshment he receives, for there are very few inns in that part of the world; he is indebted to him for corn for his horse (for every man uses his own horse, there being no stage-coaches), and for every comfort he receives; and it is in the power of the overseer to make him excessively uncomfortable. But the fact is, that they do make the special magistrate very comfortable; and, to all intents and purposes, the special magistrate soon becomes in his feelings and opinions a planter. I have heard overseers say they like the new system well, because, under the old system, they had the responsibility of flogging; but that it is much better now, 'for, instead of a black driver,' as one of them said, 'we have got a white one, and he answers the purpose quite as well.' And I do not believe that the quantity of human suffering has decreased, and that I declare most solemnly, by the adoption of the apprenticeship.' Ibid. 3993.

The points to which the attention of the Committee was principally directed, and on which they report, are—1. 'The want of 'reciprocity in the amount and application of the penalties in-'flicted by the authority of the special magistrates, on managers, 'and on apprentices.' 2. 'The defective constitution of the tri-'bunal for the valuation of apprentices applying to purchase

'their freedom.' 3. 'The want of adequate protection to the 'special magistrates against vexatious prosecutions.' 4. The absence from the Jamaica law of any 'Enactment to regulate the 'distribution of the time which the apprentice is bound weekly 'to give to his employer.' 5. 'Alleged cases of corporal punish- 'ment inflicted on female apprentices.' 6. 'The present state of 'the law with regard to marriages.' 7. 'The present condition 'of that portion of the negro population which was under the 'age of six years on the 1st of August, 1834.'

For a full examination of these points, we must refer to the *Review of the Report*, which stands at the head of our article, and which is drawn up with considerable judgment, and displays an ample knowledge of the case. Our limits confine us to two or three points, in selecting which it will be our object to exhibit both the condition of the apprentices and the *animus* of the Committee whose Report is before us.

Respecting the first objection specified by the Committee, their *Report* admits 'that in theory at least' it is well founded; yet, with a singular disregard to the welfare of the apprentices, they add, 'No evidence has, however, been submitted to them of practical evil having arisen from this defect to warrant any further recommendation on this point.' While the authority of the master is enforced by all the hateful machinery of slavery, the negro may be deprived of his time, to the extent of 234 hours in the course of one year, without his oppressor being subjected to any other punishment than a penalty of 40*s.* currency, which, as if in mockery of his wrongs, is appropriated, not to the injured party, but to the colonial chest.

'Is it not a fact,' asks the Reviewer of the Report, 'that whilst the right of the planter to the full benefit of two-thirds of the negro's time is guarded by fines—stripes—imprisonments—penal gangs—tread-mills — and the whole apparatus of slavery;—the protection of the negro from injury and wrong—from oppression and cruelty—is discretionary with the special justice? Is it not a fact, that the negro can be deprived by his master of his extra time for twelve months, to the extent of 234 hours, on his paying a fine, upon conviction, of 40*s.* currency, which, when levied, goes not into the negro's pocket, but into the colonial chest? Is it not a fact, that the negro can be harassed, and injured, and cruelly treated; and that the oppressor is only subjected to a fine, upon conviction, the maximum amount of which is £5 currency, or £3 sterling, which is levyable at the *discretion* of the special justice, and which also goes into the colonial chest? It may be said, that the ordinary courts of law are open to the negro, but this is mere mockery; he has neither time nor money to prosecute an appeal in the ordinary courts. It is a fact, that negroes have frequently been cheated out of their wages; and although the special justices have power to adjudicate every case between master and apprentice, by the 49th clause of the Jamaica Act,

yet they have not the power to compel the master to pay the wages that may be due to an apprentice (see Capt. Oldrey's evidence, 3420). It does not appear that the witnesses before the committee were examined on the subject of reciprocity of punishment as to offences committed by planters, as well as those committed by apprentices. No direct question was put on the subject, so as to elicit information from the returned special magistrates, who were the most competent to give it. The fact, however, remains—there is this want of reciprocity. The punishment of the negro for offences is certain and severe, and the estate ordinarily gets the benefit of it in forfeitures of time. The planter has every inducement held out to him to prefer charges against his apprentice, and should such charges prove frivolous and vexatious, the planter suffers no punishment for bringing the same, and the negro gets no redress for the wrong attempted to be inflicted on him. Should the apprentice, however, fail to establish his charges against his master, he subjects himself to severe punishment, and, in the event of his proving it, whatever fine may be levied on the master is not given to him. In preferring a charge, therefore, he has every thing to fear, and in substantiating a case, even of gross oppression and cruelty, he has nothing to gain. Is this reasonable? Is it justice? In the one case a bonus is held out to the master to prefer complaints, in the other the apprentice is intimidated from preferring any complaint at all. We know that the negroes prefer suffering in silence the most serious grievances, rather than run the risk of having them adjudged frivolous and vexatious, and receiving additional punishment by order of the special justices, who, in too many instances, have imbibed the planters' spirit and become the planters' friends.' pp. 25, 26.*

These facts were before the committee on whose *Report* we are now commenting, yet though solemnly instituted to do justice to the apprenticed laborers, they are summarily dismissed without censure or recommendation. We need not pen the feelings which are uppermost in our hearts.

The next objection to the Jamaica laws adverted to by the committee respects "the constitution of the tribunal for the valuation of apprentices applying to purchase their freedom." It was evidently the design of the British parliament to secure to the negroes the power of purchasing their entire freedom, by paying a fair equivalent for the services to which their masters were

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* Captain Oldrey furnished the Committee with an apt illustration of the *tendency* of this state of things. Being asked by Mr. Buxton whether he knew 'of any law or regulation in Jamaica authorizing a special magistrate to adjudge an indemnification to the apprentice for any wrong or injury done to him,' he replied, 'Special magistrates can only fine to the amount of £5 (currency), and that goes to the island treasury, not to the apprentice; the law in that point is extremely defective. I will give a case: a certain planter in St. Elizabeth told his apprentices that he would knock their teeth down their throat, and they might spit them up again before Captain Oldrey, and he would pay his fine of £5; that was Mr. Mason: it came out in evidence in a complaint made to me.' Report 3219.

entitled by the imperial act. We say nothing at present of the gross iniquity of requiring men to purchase back that of which they had been wrongfully deprived, but are merely concerned to point out the mode in which the partial and timid justice of the supreme legislature has been defeated. By the Jamaica laws, the appraisement of the apprentices is referred to a court, the constitution of which insures the preponderance of colonial influence. This court consists of one special and of two local magistrates, and the consequence has been what every reasonable man must have expected. An exorbitant value has been put on the negroes applying to purchase their freedom; and many of them, from sheer inability to meet the inequitable award, yet remain in bondage:

'The returns furnished by the government, show* that 893 have purchased their freedom from the 1st of August 1834, to the 31st of March 1836, at a cost of £33,847 7*s.* 6*d.*, and that 479 more have been valued at the sum of £18,628 5*s.* 5½*d.* which they have either been unable, or have refused to pay. These returns, together with the evidence produced on the same subject, so thoroughly expose the iniquity of the system pursued in this respect, that the committee were constrained to admit the point proved. But what does the committee do? Does it recommend that the negro shall have a representative in this Court of Appraisement? No! But after stating that "Instructions have been at various times addressed to Lord Sligo, with a view to prevent the continuance of this evil,' they add 'Your committee cannot but express a confident hope that the legislature of Jamaica will give a prompt attention to this recommendation, which your committee conceive that they are bound by good faith, and every consideration of justice to carry into full effect.' The Jamaica legislature will never cure this evil. In cases of manumission, the planters will exact the last penny from their apprentices, and in reference to the apprenticeship, the last hour of their service. To show the immense price these valuers have set on the labour and skill of some of the apprentices, we give a few specimens. Non-Prædials, £105, £114, £125, £130, £132, £134, and £140! Prædials, £100, £102, £103, £105, £106, £110, £111, £112, £113, £116, £120, 124, £128, £130, £155, £182, £230, and in one instance, the enormous sum of £352!!' Review p. 26.

Another point taken up by the committee is the distribution of the time which the negro is required to give weekly to his master. This matter is but little understood, and we may therefore be permitted to occupy a few lines in its explanation. It materially affects the comfort of the laborer, and has produced a state of irritation and fretfulness which has engaged the attention of the governor, and been made the subject of an address to the custodes of the island. The time required from the apprentices is

* See Appendix to the Report, p. 166.

forty-five hours per week, which the 48th clause of the Abolition Act recognised as divided into five days of nine hours each. The *Act in Aid*, 5th clause, enacts "that field labour shall commence with sun-rise and terminate with sun-set, giving such cessation in the middle of the day, as, with the usual half hour allowed for breakfast, shall reduce the actual time of labor to nine hours in the day." The following proviso is added; 'provided always, that nothing herein contained shall prevent the 'employer and the labourers from making any other arrangements 'as to the hours of labor, which they may mutually agree upon.' The fair construction of this clause is, that any other than the nine hours system is illegal, unless the apprentices are consenting parties to its adoption.

In conformity with this view of the law, Lord Sligo published an address 'to the negro population' in which he says, 'You 'will only be required to work four days and a half in each 'week; (four hours and a half being deducted from their weekly 'service for the cultivation of their provision-grounds), the remaining day and a half in each week will be your own time, and 'you may employ it for your own benefit.' This address was published repeatedly in the island newspapers, was read from the pulpits and on the plantations, and was regarded by the negroes as the charter of their rights, the public and official declaration of the system by which their labour would be regulated. By leaving them the half of Friday it enabled them to repair on that day to their provision-grounds, which are frequently at the distance of three and sometimes of ten or more miles from their huts; and to prepare the produce to be conveyed to the Saturday market, often as far removed from their dwellings. Nothing can be more obvious than that any system which deprives them of the Friday afternoon must in a great number of cases prevent their repairing to the market on the following day to dispose of the provisions they had raised, and would thus inflict on them a serious and most irritating injury.

Such has been the result of the eight-hours system which has generally prevailed throughout the colony. This departure from the first views of Lord Sligo was induced by the opinion of the law officers, that it was optional with the planters to allot in any way they pleased the four hours and a half granted weekly to the apprentice for the cultivation of his provision grounds. The general practice, therefore, has been to require eight hours labour on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and eight and a half on Friday; so regardless of the interests and feelings of the Negroes are colonial legislators and planters.

It is difficult to ascertain the precise object of the planters in substituting the eight for the nine hours system. 'There never 'was,' says Lord Sligo, in a dispatch of the 13th. December, 1835,

'in my opinion, a more injurious plan than that adopted imme-
'diately after last crop terminated, namely, changing the hours
'of labour from the nine-hour to the eight-hour system. What
'may have been the motive for doing so it is hard to say; that it
'was not to get more labour from them I think may be inferred
'from the fact that during crop, when the greatest quantity of
'labour which can be procured is sought for, the nine-hour system
'was universal.' Report 5532.

In many cases the change originated in a fiendish disposition to annoy and irritate the apprentices. They were known to prefer the nine-hours' system, and this was sufficient to induce their petty tyrants to adopt the other. We suspect that the dispatches received at the Colonial office would, if fairly exhibited, reveal a scene of iniquity as disgusting as it is infamous. Sir George Grey, though evidently disinclined to make disclosures unfavourable to the 'West India interest,' was yet compelled by the questions put to him to throw some light on the misdeeds of Jamaica Managers. Being asked by Mr. Buxton whether Lord Sligo had stated that the eight-hours system was resorted to 'for the pur-
'pose of compelling the labour of Negroes beyond their extra
'hours?' he replied, 'I do not recollect that he does; he cer-
'tainly states that he conceived it was done in some cases to
'annoy the Negroes, and to interfere with the free exercise of their
'own time. . . . . I do not mean to say, that Lord Sligo implies
'that in all cases it was done for that object, but he thought it
'was so in some cases, as he could discover no other motive.'
Ibid. 5534, 5535.

Such is the spirit, and such are the objects of the men whose misdeeds are so charitably passed over in the Report of the Commons' Committee. But we have not yet concluded the melancholy tale of Negro wrongs.

It must not be supposed that the eight-hours system is strictly adhered to. The Negro has no one to watch over his interests, and is consequently defrauded to a considerable extent of the time which all acknowledge to be his own. 'I have never seen a
'clock,' says Dr. Maddon, 'on the works of an estate; and where
'there are sun-dials the Negroes, I apprehend, would not know
'how to consult them; therefore it is likely they may be wronged
'as to the time; that depends on the driver.'* 492. The same witness, on being asked, 'Is the time in going and returning from

* Mr. Beaumont's testimony confirms our suspicions on this point. Being asked whether the Negroes informed him 'that they had not so much time at their own disposal?' He replied, 'They stated that the time was kept surreptitiously, that the clocks were made to answer the purposes of the planters, and when they were supposed to be working eight hours, they were sometimes working twelve.' Report 4043.

'labour included in either case in [the working hours?' replied, 'No:' the Negro is subject to a great deal of wrong and injury 'from that; he is expected to give either eight or nine hours a 'day of labour, and that labour commences from the moment he 'has the hoe in hand until he is called off; but he may be at a 'considerable distance from the estate. I have known a case 'where the grounds of the Negro were ten or twelve miles from 'the estate, and there might be cases where the distance is a mile 'from his house to his provision grounds.' Report 492, 493.

The departure from the nine-hours' system led to general dissatisfaction amongst the Negroes, and threatened the most serious consequences to the colony. The Governor accordingly addressed a circular to the Custodes, August 25, 1835, in which he says, 'The general dissatisfaction which has appeared wherever the 'eight-hour system has been proposed, induces his Excellency to 'urge proprietors to pause before they demand, what certainly 'they have a right to do, but by the enforcement of which not only 'is insubordination to be expected (and which has recently mani-'fested itself in this neighbourhood), but sullenness, dissatisfaction, 'and consequently, a less proportion of work from those who, if 'allowed to continue upon the nine-hours system, would, most 'probably, cheerfully and profitably contribute their labour.' Report App. No. 21.

The result would seem to be, that on some of the larger estates the wishes of the Negroes have been regarded, while on many others the system is persisted in, which sacrifices the future interests of the colony to the hope of present gain, or to the gratification of a reckless and unprincipled tyranny.

The next point adverted to by the *Report*, is the corporal punishment inflicted on female apprentices. We need not advert to the strong feeling of indignation and shame, which the detail of barbarities practised on female slaves, diffused amongst the people of this country during the agitation of the slave question. It was one of the most effective topics to which the anti-slavery advocate appealed. Many hearts which were impervious to other weapons, yielded to this, and lent an important though tardy aid to the general cause. The helplessness and modesty, the meekness and timidity, the tender frame and the piercing cry, of the suffering female, did more to subdue the hard-heartedness, and to engage the sympathy, of some stubborn minds, than all other arguments which were adduced. An appeal was made to whatever was generous and manly, which the unprincipled and callous only could resist. The man who had stood up and attempted the defence of female flogging, would have been hissed out of society as a brute. It was, therefore, with no ordinary feelings of delight, that the people of this country learnt that this brutalizing practice was to cease—absolutely and for ever to cease—from the first of

August, 1834. Scarcely a husband looked upon his wife, on the morning of that day, or a father on the child from whose loveliness and filial piety he hoped to gather his comfort and joy in advanced life, without feeling his own domestic happiness to be enhanced, and the charities of his heart gratified. There was a thrill of joy pervading the social community of our land; and the more thoughtful men amongst us, felt relieved from an odium which had mantled their cheek with a blush.

But what has been the course of things? Let our readers judge for themselves, from the evidence we shall adduce; and if, after an examination of it, they retain a particle of confidence in the beneficence or integrity of colonial legislation, we abandon all hope of carrying conviction to their minds. The provision both of the Imperial and of the Jamaica Act, is so explicit, that it was thought impossible even for colonial ingenuity to evade it. But the administrators, or rather the violators of the law, have evaded it; and, as yet, though the matter has been brought before the House of Assembly, by Lord Sligo, no steps have been taken to prevent the recurrence of the foul misdeed. In his message to the House, on the 17th November 1835, after adverting in terms of strong censure to the power possessed by the supervisors of workhouses, of inflicting corporal punishment on the apprentices generally, the governor remarks,

'A much more serious breach, not only of the spirit, but even of the letter of the law, has been committed under the supposed authority of the act in question. His Excellency alludes to the rule, permitting the use of the whip upon women, by the superintendents of tread-mills. This is a direct infringement on the twenty-first section of the Abolition Act, which expressly forbids the whipping of the women under any circumstances.' Report, p. 3268.

To this message the House returned no answer, and the evil continued unredressed. Individual magistrates, alive to their duty, and honestly concerned to carry out the provisions of the Imperial Act, interposed in particular cases, but the House of Assembly refused to adopt any measure to rectify the general system. So notorious was their disinclination, that the Governor, in proroguing the Assembly on the 2nd of February 1836, addressed to them the following strong and condemnatory language.

'The whipping of females, you were informed by me officially, was in practice; and I called upon you to make enactments to put an end to conduct so repugnant to humanity, so contrary to law. So far from passing an act to prevent the recurrence of such cruelty, you have in no way expressed your disapprobation of it; you have not even denied the truth of my assertion, and therefore must have credited it, notwithstanding you have taken no steps to put an end to the practice.' Ibid. 351.

After such disclosures as were made to the Committee, it might have been expected that some decided measure would have been

recommended to the British parliament, for the enforcement of its own benevolent intentions. But nothing of this kind is to be found in the *Report* before us. On the contrary, the Committee are satisfied in this, as in other cases, with referring the matter to the Jamaica Assembly; entertaining, as they express it, 'the fullest confidence that they (the House of Assembly) will not fail 'to take such measures as will prevent the possibility of the con- 'tinuance of a practice at once contrary to law, and abhorrent to 'the best feelings of our nature.' How such confidence could have been expressed, in the face of the facts before the Committee, it is difficult to say. But we leave the justification of the *Report* to the parties by whom it was prepared.

There are several topics incidentally noticed in the *Report*, on which we should be glad to say a few words; but our brief space must confine us to the judgment passed by the committee, on the satisfactory working of the apprenticeship system. 'Upon a general 'review of the evidence which they have received,' says their report, 'they conceive that they are warranted in expressing a be- 'lief, that the system of apprenticeship in Jamaica is working in 'a manner not unfavourable to the momentous change from sla- 'very to freedom which is now going on there.' 'This,' as the reviewer of the *Report* remarks, 'is but negative praise.' But even this recommendation, guarded as it is, is wholly undeserved. The system which is in operation, effectually separates the interest of the master from that of the apprentice, and keeps up a state of irritation inimical to the welfare of both. It is a system of coercion, retaining many of the worst features of slavery, and admitting as little of the spirit of true freedom as is compatible with the sinister designs of the colonists. The whip is in daily and hourly use, and all the bad passions which tyranny engenders are fearfully rife. Let the following evidence, furnished in the appendix (No. 12) to the evidence printed by the Commons, be fairly considered, and but one conclusion respecting the apprenticeship can be formed.

TABLE, No. I.

Returns of Punishments inflicted by order of the Special Justices, from August 1, 1834, to August 1, 1835:—

Number punished	Nature of punishment.		Nature of offence.	
Males 16,221	Flogging . . .	7,125	Theft . . .	2,837
Females 9,174	Imprisonment . .	1,249	Running away	1,805
	Treadmill . . .	1,176	Neglect of duty	11,855
	Penal Gang . . .	2,941	Disobedience .	6,024
	Repayment of Time	9,433	Cutting, &c. Cattle	322
	Solitary Confinement	2,886	Insolence . .	2,552
	Switching . . .	585		
25,395		25,395		25,395

TABLE, No. II.

Return of Punishments, from August 1, 1835, to March 31, 1836:—

Number punished		Nature of punishment.		Average number of stripes.
Males	15,996	By whipping . .	3,218	22½ each punishment.
Females	10,998	Otherwise . .	23,776	
	26,994		26,994	

The Reviewer of the *Report*, in commenting on these tables, remarks:

'The maximum number of stripes inflicted in cases of punishment by *whipping*, was 50.

'The maximum of severity in any one case of punishment by *confinement*, was in August, 1835, 84 days; in September, six weeks; in October, 28 days; in November, five months; in December, three months; in January, 1836, 112 days; in February, 56 days; and in March, 84 days!

'The maximum of severity in any other mode of punishment is difficult to decide, varying as they do from each other, viz. treadmill, penal gang, switching, repayment of time, &c., and cannot therefore be specified.

'It is to be observed that, although the number of corporal punishments has decreased during these eight months, as compared with the preceding twelve months, the *actual number* of punishments of all kinds has vastly increased, viz. the total number of punishments from August 1, 1834, to August 1, 1835 (twelve months), is 25,395: the total number of punishments from August 1, 1835, to March 31, 1836, (eight months) is 26,994! showing an increase of punishments on the male apprentices, of about 48 per cent. per annum, and on the female apprentices of nearly 70 per cent. per annum! The total amount of lashes inflicted on the negroes during the first twenty months of the apprenticeship, appears to have been 232,704!! The slave population in Jamaica, in 1832, was 302,666. The decrease in the amount of *corporal* punishment, which has since taken place, is to be attributed to the circular of Lord Sligo to the special justices, requesting them to substitute other punishments in its stead.

'We were in some measure prepared for this statement, but we confess that we never expected that the system, bad as we believed it to be, was supported by such atrocious means. We read, indeed, such passages as these in the dispatches of Lord Sligo to the colonial office:—'It became necessary to punish a vast number of the negroes, as well by flogging as by confinement in the workhouse;'—'I have the more to lament, that so much severity should have been so uselessly adopted.' The special justices, also, in their letters to Lord Sligo, use the following language:—'I never think it necessary to give more than twenty-five lashes, with a proper lecture;'—another, 'I consider unflinching

and continued discipline as necessary;' a third, 'Obliged to punish with some severity;' others, 'The negroes require on all occasions to be coerced;' 'I consider twenty or twenty-five lashes quite sufficient.' Others state, that the system is kept up by 'Fear of punishment,'—'Exercise of coercion,'—'Dread of coercion,' &c. What we feared, we now know to be the case: the apprenticeship system has been kept up by a system of punishments dreadfully severe. Substitute wages for the whip, and you will have a willing and industrious peasantry. The testimony of all the witnesses proves this, and the Report itself admits it. What say the Committee: 'In the evidence which they have received, they find abundant proof of the general good conduct of the apprentices, and of their willingness to work for wages whenever they are fairly and considerately treated by their employers. It is indeed, fully proved, that the labour thus voluntarily performed by the negro, is more effective, than that which was obtained from him while in a state of slavery, or which is now given to his employer during the period for which he is compelled to work as an apprentice.' Nothing can be more true than this statement: but what does it prove? Why, that a system of kindness and moderate wages, draws out the physical energies of the negro, whilst a system of chains, whips, and tread-mills, is attended with precisely the reverse effect. pp. 36—38.

On a review of the whole case, our original conviction of the impolicy and injustice of the Apprenticeship System is greatly strengthened. It was the proposition of a short-sighted statesman, and displays an utter ignorance of the elements of West India society. The scheme was based on the fallacious hope of conciliating the planters, and of thus making them indirectly the agents of benefiting the Negroes. It has now been tried, and the result has been a failure. It has been weighed in the balance, and has been found wanting. It has been subjected to experiment,—the most decisive of all tests,—and the result has been far otherwise than its advocates anticipated. It must consequently go down to posterity as an abortive attempt on the part of temporizing politicians to evade the difficulties of a question which ought to have been fairly and promptly met. So far as the apprenticeship scheme perpetuates the spirit of the old system, it has been cheerfully adopted by the colonists; but all its liberal tendencies have been checked, and its glorious termination has been endangered by their virulent and persevering opposition.

What may be the result it is not in human foresight to predict. There is but little ground to hope that the public attention will be so far drawn towards it as to force on the British parliament the adoption of measures which may materially change its character. It will probably prolong its existence to the last hour that the Abolition Act permits, and will continue to inflict, as it has hitherto done, innumerable wrongs on our colonial peasantry. In the meantime a solemn responsibility lies on the people of this

country. It depends, under God, on them, and on them alone, whether the Apprenticeship System shall be succeeded in 1840 by a state of freedom, or give place to another scheme equally remote from what justice and true policy demand. Efforts will be made to perpetuate apprenticeship under another name, and the influence of a numerous, combined, opulent, and unscrupulous party will aid their success. The very irritation which the present system engenders will be appealed to as conclusive evidence of the danger which must attend the full manumission of the slave. Every thing, therefore, depends on the vigilance and activity which our Anti-Slavery societies shall evince. Let them be faithful to their high vocation—and we are assured they will be so—and the result is certain. The enemies of human freedom may combine, but an enlightened public will be prepared to detect their machinations, and to visit with a merited rebuke the insulting proposition they may make. Even now, the national mind, exhausted as it has been by its recent struggle, would throw off its torpor and display its former power, if the fate of the Negro race was supposed to be doubtful. Its fiat has gone forth, and no power on earth or in hell, no change in the administration of the country, no revolution of domestic or foreign policy shall avail to recall it. The British public may be misled, and against this, therefore, our Anti-Slavery societies must provide; but they cannot prove unfaithful or treacherous to the cause which they nurtured in its infancy, and on which they still gaze with an eye of deep and thrilling interest.

Art. V. 1. *The Law, Practice, and Principles of Church Rates, (including Dr. Lushington's Opinion); being a Report of the Proceedings of a numerous Vestry Meeting in Louth, Oct.* 2, 1834, *when a Church Rate was refused.*

2. *A Letter to Lord John Russell, M. P., on the Abolition of Church Rates, the Cost of Parliamentary Bishops, and the Appropriation of Cathedral and Episcopal Property.* By Richard Moorsom, Esq.

3. *Church Rate Persecutions; A Letter to the Rev R. Cobb, Sub-Curate of Bungay, St. Mary, &c.* By a Nonconformist.

THIS question of Church Rates is likely to prove a very searching one to the Episcopal Establishment; and we think the moment is arrived when the Church of England may not only save herself with honour, but secure a moral influence in the hearts of the people, which will place her above the power of her enemies, and render her a lasting blessing to the nation. But,

from the spirit of her dignitaries, as displayed not only in the agitation of this question, but of another among themselves, we mean that between the commission bishops and the deans and chapters, we confess we see nothing before her but humiliation and disgrace. It is evident that her prelates love darkness rather than light. We leave our readers to draw the inference, or assign the reason. The 'utensil,' the innocent, unsuspecting Home Secretary allowed his holy coadjutors in the Ecclesiastical Commission to impose upon his simplicity; and he tells us that he really believed the revenues and property of the church amounted to no more than these gentlemen found themselves compelled to disclose to him. We counsel Lord John Russell to take a lesson from the Black Knight, in Ivanhoe, when next he has to deal with the Rt. Rev. Tucks of this generation. Let him search well and press hard, and he may take our word for it he will find something far more savoury and exhilirating than horse-beans and water from the spring. We are glad to learn that his lordship has an able guide. Under the direction of the honourable member for Middlesex, he will soon be enlightened; and the nation will, no doubt, learn from him a few secrets worth knowing on the subject of the immense wealth of this poor man's church; wealth most shamefully concealed, scandalously appropriated, and the source of more jobbing chicanery, and we could use harsher terms, than have at any time disgraced even the Stock Exchange. What do our readers think of an average £300,000 yearly paid for the renewal of leases and the rental of property which really belongs to the church, but which goes into the pockets of individuals having legally a life interest only in what they thus alienate from funds which, being public, ought to be held in trust by the State, for the promotion of public objects? But more of this anon.

Our intended exposure of the gross misstatements and fallacious arguments of those who affect to regard church rates as the very bulwark of the establishment, and as based on the principles of law and justice, is rendered unnecessary by the recent discussions in the Commons house of Parliament. Never were men more signally discomfited than the opponents of the liberal measure, introduced and nobly supported by his Majesty's government. The right honourable baronet, the member for Tamworth, played his disingenuous part, and with his usual tact and dexterity. We wonder, however, that he could venture upon assertions in the absence of all evidence to support them, and some of them directly opposed to fact; and that he should affect so much esteem for the Dissenters, whom he would still place under the ban of civil degradation. Either he misquoted from this journal, or what he read has been misreported. We told the country, and we tell Sir Robert Peel, that the Dissenters will never be satisfied while any individual has to complain that he sustains the slightest in-

jury in person, character, or property, on the pretext of his being a schismatic, a heretic, or a dissenter; and we will likewise add, that compulsory laws, forcing men to pay for the support of a church to which they do not belong, are equally a violation of the great principles of civil and religious liberty, unworthy of a free country, and which a Reformed Parliament must, sooner or later, repeal. We think, too, the Dissenters have reason to complain of Sir Robert Peel's most disingenuous treatment of them on the subject of tithes. Does he know an instance in which Dissenters have confounded tithes with church rates, or in which they have attempted to seize as their own the property of another? Over tithes, individually, they have no control; with regard to church rates the case is altogether different.

As the clerical contenders for church rates, and their lay coadjutors in Parliament, lay so much stress upon the antiquity of their origin, that 'they have existed from time immemorial, and 'that the law, from time immemorial, has been that parishes should 'maintain their respective churches,' we are glad to hear Mr. Benett broadly state, that 'church-rates, from the time that Henry the 'Eighth took possession of the property of the church, had always 'been a voluntary contribution, the statute which was passed on 'the subject, having only for its object to enforce the payment 'after the contribution had been granted by the parishioners.' This fixes the period of their semi-legal commencement. Mr. Duncombe traces them no higher. Down to the Reformation they had no distinct separate existence. The churches were built and repaired out of the same funds which provided for the poor. Compulsion, the force of law, even in raising these funds, was not required. 'In many places,' speaking of the erection of churches as distinct from those under the immediate care of the bishops, Mr. Duncombe says, 'the patrons endowed the churches, 'but built not the edifice, leaving that to be done by the priest, '*out of the oblations and contributions* of the Christians of the vi-'cinage; which was easily effected in those times, when devotion 'and piety were very great in all orders of men.' This refers to about the year 800. All was then voluntary. Church property was not spent upon individual clergymen, nor squandered by their relatives. The bishops and their clergy were supported in their cathedral churches; and when the wants of the fraternity were supplied, the surplus was devoted to the poor and to the edifices. We cannot condense the information we think it expedient to put into the possession of our readers into a smaller compass than the following extract from Mr. Paddison's elaborate speech, reported in the pamphlet entitled 'The Law, Practice, and Principles of Church Rates,' delivered by him at a vestry meeting at Louth, in October, 1834:

'Now, just let me ask of you to cast back your eyes over this little

history of Tithes, and to contrast their title with that of Church-rates; and, what is the result? Tithes have common law in their favour—they have statute law in their favour; and, accordingly, they can be sued for in a court of common law—they can be sued for in a court of equity—they can be sued for, to a certain amount, before even a justice of the peace; and thus they enjoy the very best title known to the laws of this land, and such as nothing but the supreme law itself can alter. But how is it with church-rates? They have no common law on their side—they have no statute law on their side; and, accordingly, as I have shown you, the Court of King's Bench has invariably disclaimed* any jurisdiction over them—as to a court of equity, no one ever dreamt of its possessing such jurisdiction—and we all know that a justice of the peace cannot deal with a church-rate, until it has been once laid; and, if you refuse to lay one, the very worst that you can receive (notwithstanding all their solemn threats of "serious consequences") is a severe scolding from the Ecclesiastical Court for your contumacious refusal. And yet a church-rate has been talked of as one of the rights of the church, and has been said by some to rest upon as good a ground as the title to tithes themselves! And now, let me ask, what becomes of the argument drawn from the supposed existence of an analogy, or resemblance between the relation in which you stand to the law of tithes and that in which you stand to the law of church-rates?

Now, pray, attend! It is an undeniable historic and legal truth that the church by law established, if she have any title at all to her property in tithes (a title which I do not deny), *holds the whole of it subject to an express, a paramount, an unrevoked, trust and condition that she herself shall repair her own fabrics, and provide for her own ordinances, out of that very fund!* Yes! it is a fact that, both during the time when tithes were arbitrarily granted, as I have already shown you they were, previously to the year twelve hundred, they were invariably subjected to a four-fold trust or division, namely, one for the repair of the fabric of the church and providing for its divine ordinances; the second, for the poor; the third, for the bishop; and the fourth and last only, for the priest; and, in the year twelve hundred, when general parish tithes were, as I have already shown you, first established by the common law of the land, they were uniformly subjected to a three-fold trust or division, (the bishop being then otherwise provided for), namely one for the repair of the fabric of the church and providing for its divine ordinances; the second for the poor; and the third and last again, for the priest. So that, in Catholic times, you perceive—in those unjustly-abused Catholic times there were neither church-rates nor even poor-rates in existence, and to all

* Of course, the Speaker alluded to general church-rates required for general canonical purposes. An exception exists in favour of rates authorized by special clauses in local Acts of Parliament, and in the Exchequer Loan Acts. Under the last-mentioned Acts the court of King's Bench will compel Churchwardens by mandamus to lay a rate, where the parish refuses to do so, in order to discharge interest and instalments due on money borrowed; the Court properly treating such a case as one of debt.—(See 3 B. and Adolph. 651.)

these salutary trusts the whole of this property in tithes remained subject down to the time of the Reformation; and, with regard to the present question, namely, the trust for the repair and providing for the divine ordinances of the church, this property still remains subject to that particular trust, at least; for, there has never been passed any law which could have the effect, either directly or indirectly, of abrogating that trust, from the time of the Reformation down to the present day; and (that I may quote the words of a very high authority on this subject) 'no adverse possession can be alleged by the parties who have been in the receipt and enjoyment of the tithes, for the possession of a rector or vicar is merely the possession of a trustee; and, therefore, it is quite certain that, in respect of time, no interruption or discontinuance, in point of fact for any length of time, can extinguish the trust, which still subsists in contemplation of law, as fully and amply as if it had never fallen into disuse.'

'And now, let me ask you, need you any longer wonder that the Court of King's Bench has invariably refused to lend a helping hand to the church by law established, whenever *that grand violator of trusts* has ventured to approach that tribunal and ask it for a rate? need you any longer wonder that she has never dared even to show her face in a court of equity for a similar purpose? need you any longer wonder that there is no court in the kingdom, except an ecclesiastical court, which would deign to listen to such a claim—a claim which cannot be made at all, without imposing on those who make it the necessity of confessing, at the very time, with the most shameless effrontery, that they have violated a trust and therefore—THEREFORE, forsooth! demand a church-rate as a substitute for the money which they have so wrongfully wrested from its legitimate destination? And now may I not repeat my former expression that this is an act of monstrous—aye, of most monstrous injustice? And may I not say of the right which is talked of, that it is tantamount to a claim of an established right to continue to inflict an established wrong upon the people? And may I not further add that it would better—aye, infinitely better—become the ministers of the church by law established if, instead of fulminating their furious denunciations against the doctrines of the Catholics, they would be humbly content to follow their practice and imitate their example in those parts of their church government which are recommended by scripture, by law, by equity, by common sense, by common honesty, and by the claims of humanity itself! Talk of the church being in danger, indeed! I confidently predict that she will incur far more danger from her headstrong perseverance in this monstrously unjust demand of a church-rate, than she can ever incur from voluntarily abandoning it, at once, and frankly confessing her error! Talk of the denial of a church-rate, being a violation of law! why, the very demand of one by the church implies the most barefaced violation of law committed by herself, of which any Corporation, whether ecclesiastical or civil (and she is nothing but an ecclesiastical Corporation*) was ever guilty.'

* 'All archbishops, bishops, deans, prebendaries, parsons, and vicars, are bodies politic; and they are so called because they are created by the policy of man.' *Eagle.*

Whatever becomes of the ministerial measure, church rates are at an end. There must be a new provision, a fair and equitable adjustment depending on no contingency, and exasperating no party. Sir Robert Peel's lament is somewhat amusing—his tears excite our smiles. He will never recover the shock, should the churches be repaired out of the funds of the hierarchy; it will inflict so heavy an injustice upon the laity—it will dry up all their generous sympathies, and take from them their only effective inducement to contribute in support of the religion of their fathers. But is not that a strange kind of generosity, and are not those odd sympathies, and is not that a zeal totally incomprehensible, which an act of Parliament only can stimulate, which must be altogether inoperative unless legally coerced? But, as Sir Robert and his brother Tories, with the bishops, *liberal* and illiberal, express such earnest solicitude for the spiritual instruction of the poor, and for which, at the eleventh hour, they would willingly apply the newly-discovered treasures of the church, would it not be well for them to allow the requisite portion to be devoted to the cause of justice to the Dissenters, and tax themselves with the sum, which they have hitherto paid in the form of church rates, for the advancement of this truly laudable and indispensable object?

For ourselves, we hail the plan pursued by the Government for settling this agitating question as perfectly just in principle, compromising no existing interests, but rendering available, and, to the most important purposes, an enormous mass of wealth that has hitherto been productive of scarcely any thing but evil. But this wealth, we are told, must not be disturbed; it is property, inalienable property, to which the clergy have as much right as a nobleman to his estate, or the heir to his patrimony. Mr. Paddison's statement has shown how the church became possessed of its tithes, and the lands by which its dignitaries are enriched are held by the same tenure. It is now a doctrine pretty generally established that the state has a right to deal with both. But the greatest horror has been recently feigned, lest the bishops should be rendered stipendiary, and be despoiled of what is described as their inheritance, without which they can have little pretension to their seats as temporal barons in the House of Lords. But Lord John Russell has so far met the question of fact as to show that the law of last year has altogether changed the tenure of church property as held by the bishops. And we imagine that the state must still further interfere with the manifold abuses which this vicious notion has engendered, to the infinite injury of the church itself, and of the clergy that minister at its altars.

Before we come to the particular consideration of the proposal of his Majesty's government, we would meet the more general question, 'Are the lands occupied by the church the *property* of its members?' This question was, several years before the first French

revolution, calmly argued and answered by Turgot, in pure and harmless speculation, in the article *Fondation* of the *Encyclopedie.* Burke raved on the subject. Sir James Mackintosh endeavoured to moderate his 'fine frenzy,' and his exposition of the views of the illustrious philosopher we should be glad to transcribe, if our limits permitted.

Precedents are not wanting in our own times to prove that a church constituted by Act of Parliament, is under the supreme control of the legislature; that, being the creature of the state, the state has an undoubted right to mould it according to its own will. In several recent instances it has thus interfered: who then will question its authority now that it is about to adopt measures to secure the stability of the church, by placing it on an independent foundation of its own, by compelling it to employ its hitherto misappropriated estates for its own benefit and the spiritual improvement of the people, without impeding the voluntary churches in their labours in the same cause of Christian philanthropy, or draining from their scanty resources money to which it can have no righteous claim, and to demand which is unjust to Dissenters and ignominious to its own character.

Thanks to the rapacity of the bishops, and the retaliating wrath of the deans and chapters, public attention has been drawn to the subject of Ecclesiastical Property. And the facts so studiously kept out of the view of every commission of inquiry, and the concealment of which reduced the nominal amount to a mere fraction of what it is actually proved to be, are becoming apparent —and a great moral lesson will soon be taught to the people, if they are not slow to learn. After reading only the statements which we are prepared to lay before them, respecting those sources of ecclesiastical wealth from which the ministers propose to supply the deficiency that will be occasioned by the abolition of Church-rates—with what indignation and disgust will they remember the hypocritical appeals at various times made to them, to relieve a mendicant clergy, and to build and repair churches—when, in addition to their enormous regular incomes, the dignified clergy pocket annually at the rate of £300,000 for the renewal of the leases of church-lands, which on this account are most injuriously underlet, and scandalously alienated from the only purpose which their annexation to the church was designed to answer.

Mr. Moorsom's letter to Lord John Russell, which is confined to one district in the diocese, and under the pastoral care of his Grace the Archbishop of York, contains the following statements:—

'Ever since the 36th Henry VIII., the tithes of the parish of Whitby have been annexed to the See of York; their present annual value is £2,324. 14s. 3d., and they are held by a layman, under a lease

from the archbishop. By the census of 1831, the population of the parish of Whitby, including 864 seamen, occasionally absent, was 12,589 souls; of whom 11,610 were, and are, entirely under the spiritual charge of the officiating curate; who, in return for his useful labours was, until 1818, complimented with the magnificent stipend of £50 a year; which was then increased to £80, and which, by drawing on Queen Anne's Bounty, has recently been raised to £160—exclusive of fees, which, as it appears from the Report of the Church Commissioners, swell it up to £206 per annum. Again, in Lyth, the parish adjacent to Whitby, which is very extensive, and contains a population of 3,181 souls, the case is pretty much the same; the tithes being annexed to the See of York, and held under lease by a layman. I am not able to speak with the same particularity of Lyth as I have done of Whitby; but, judging from the extent of the parish, and the quality of the land, the tithes of Lyth must be at least equal in value to those of Whitby. The minister of Lyth, who has the spiritual charge of 2,110 souls, is happy in the yearly remuneration of £123.

'Out of £4,468, the united value of the tithes of Whitby and Lyth, now applied to the maintenance of episcopal grandeur, those meritorious men, the officiating ministers, might receive a stipend adequate to their severe and valuable labours—out of £4,468 a year, what schools might be endowed—out of £4,468 a year, how easily might the repairs of ecclesiastical buildings be provided for, and Church Rates, that fruitful cause of divisions, be rendered unnecessary! But all these are nothing—a single bishop 'outweighs them all.'

'I make this statement with no invidious feeling towards the Church of England, of which I am a member; nor with the slightest desire to impute any blame to the present Venerable Archbishop of York, who can in no way be held responsible for the faults of the system under which, by law, he is compelled to act: faults of which, there is no doubt, his Grace is fully sensible, and of which, not only as a Commissioner of Church Reform, but also from a general wish to promote the efficiency of the Establishment, he must eagerly desire to ensure the removal.'—pp. 4—6.

'At the last renewal of the lease of the tithes of the parish of Whitby, which took place in 1835, and which was for seven years, the Archbishop of York received as a fine from his lessee the sum of £2,600, equal to about £371. 8s. a year. In order then to give the Archbishop of York £371. 8s. a year, the parishioners of Whitby are called upon to raise £2,324. 14s. 3d. a year—for such is the sum they pay annually to the Archbishop's lessee. The tax, therefore, takes *six* or *seven* times more out of the pockets of the payers than it puts into the pockets of him, for whose benefit the tax is imposed. Can any thing, my Lord, offend more outrageously against Adam Smith's cardinal rule? Can, I would ask, a more wasteful, or a more improvident manner of providing for a public functionary, possibly be desired?

	£.	s.	d.
In seven years, the church receives .	2,600	0	0
In seven years, the people pay . .	16,272	19	9
	13,672	19	9

Collection of £16,272. 19s. 9d., at 6 per cent.	976	6	7
Net receipt, in seven years . .	£12,696	13	2

From which the lessee replaces his capital, and derives his profit on the transaction. Now, my lord, might not this large public sum of £12,696. 13s. 2d. be applied to public purposes, instead of finding its way into the pockets of an individual? After guaranteeing to the church the sum of £2,700, which she actually receives, what a fund would remain for the spiritual and ecclesiastical expenses of the parish of Whitby—the acting minister might receive a salary somewhat equal to his services—the Church-rates might be defrayed, and the moral and intellectual improvement of the parishioners cared for by the establishment of schools. What objection can there be to such a change? Whom would it injure? The bishop would receive the same amount—the people would pay no more; but they would enjoy the satisfaction of seeing what they did pay, applied to matters in which they had a vital concern.'—pp. 7, 8.

'To give the Archbishop of Canterbury £15,000 a year, we may possibly be called upon to pay £90,000 a year. It ought always to be borne in mind, it ought to be engraven in our thoughts, that the burden of a bishop is not to be estimated by the fines he receives, but by the *gross* sum his lessees compel us to pay. The companions of Sinbad the sailor, might give a loose approximate guess at the weight of the Old Man of the Sea, but it was Sinbad *himself*, from the pressure his shoulder sustained, who alone could compute the burden with proper accuracy.'—p. 10.

We trust Lord John Russell will give this masterly pamphlet the attention which it deserves, and we entreat him seriously to weigh the following, with which Mr. Moorsom concludes.

'My Lord, in the regulation, or in the re-distribution of church property, there is an open door before you; even should you wish to go further, and appropriate it differently, you enjoy perfect freedom of action. It was given to the church, exclaims the Member for East Cumberland. True, it was so. But what is the church? Surely not the clergy alone, but the clergy and people together. It was given, then, to the nation, and to the nation we must make it useful, having reference to the changes and circumstances brought on by the lapse of time. The law of England abhors perpetuities: even as regards private property, the right of posthumous direction is restrained within very narrow limits. Twenty-one years after every life in being is as far as it can go. Shall we, then, allow a man, or a body of men, who lived a thousand years ago, who could not by possibility guess at what were to be the wants of our days, to tie up a great portion of our soil, or determine the distribution of its fruits for ever? Could there be a greater absurdity, or a practice more pregnant with mischief to the best interests of society?

'But, my Lord, you are tied hand and foot by your present church commission. Why should you submit to be bound by your opponents

to a lifeless carcase? Get a commission of your own; and, hark in your ear,—let it contain as few priests as possible; or, if they must have a finger in the pie, with every bishop let a parochial minister be coupled. You have no idea what a different Report you would get. I would warrant it to begin at the right end;

Pulveris exigui jactu,

it would suppress the dispute which rages between holy canons, and still holier bishops, by at once removing the cause. It would say,

Tenez voilà, Messieurs, à chacun un ecaille.
Adieu-Vivez en paix.

'My Lord, it has been shown, that, in one single parish, that of Whitby, the tithes of which are spiritually impropriated, we pay *six* or *seven* times more to the Archbishop of York's lessee, than is paid by that lessee to the Archbishop himself. Were we permitted to pay our tithes to commissioners, there would arise from them, in the seven years following 1835, a net surplus of £12,696. 13s. 2d., available to public purposes, and without injury to any one. From every inquiry I have been able to make, there is abundant reason to conclude, that, from 1525 parishes, the whole number throughout the kingdom, of which the tithes are spiritually impropriated, a surplus, on an average, of from £500 to £600 a year each, might be derived.

1525 × 600 = £965,000

Here, my Lord, without any impeachment to the other revenues of the church, is a fund of nearly AN ANNUAL MILLION, out of which the CHURCH-RATES might be provided for, SMALL LIVINGS augmented, and different measures promoted for the PUBLIC GOOD.

'Why should the inhabitants of the parish of Whitby pay in tithes £2,324. 14s. 3d. a year, for nothing at all? Why should 12,589 Englishmen be called upon to part with so large a portion of the fruits of their industry, without receiving any compensatory service in return? Whatever may be the opinion of others, rest assured, my Lord, WE think, that, in this particular at least, the constitution of the church requires very great alteration—some GREAT REFORM. But still more—why should the same vicious system be suffered to prevail in FIFTEEN HUNDRED and TWENTY-FIVE PARISHES, the tithes of which are confiscated, to form a revenue for the bishops? Why support the church in a way so admirably adapted to effect her ruin?

'My Lord, on the one hand you have twenty-six bishops, and the other dignitaries of the church; on the other, the inhabitants of 1525 parishes with their various interests, religious, moral, educational. Can you doubt which scale ought to preponderate? But your Lordship, with advantage to the church, might take a still wider range. If you could bring yourself to see the folly of continuing the existence of PARLIAMENTARY BISHOPS, you would immediately find that much less magnificent revenues would suffice than those you have assigned to them—your *minimum* allowance of £4,500, might then be an ample *maximum*. Paley says, 'a religious establishment is only the means

of inculcating Christianity.' Let me ask your Lordship seriously to consider whether that inculcation will be better effected by giving enormous revenues to twenty-six bishops and other dignitaries, or by restoring to 1525 parishes those rights of which they have so long been iniquitously deprived.'—pp. 15—17.

In concluding, for the present, our remarks on a question now so painfully agitated, and to the final settlement of which, we confess, we look forward with deep anxiety, we would take leave just to glance at what we consider to be the duty of the Dissenters during its progress. Their civil duty is unquestionably to support the government; and, till the victory is gained, to contend for this as the paramount object to which all others must yield. In the event of a dissolution of Parliament, let every Dissenter be at his post, and, *except in cases where Tory collision would endanger the cause of general liberty*, support no candidate who will not pledge himself to give his vote and interest for the total abolition of church-rates. For the present, let their petitions pour into both houses of Parliament. Let there be another flood, like that in the case of Lord Sidmouth's bill, which shall deluge the House of Lords, and scare the prelates, not from 'their propriety,' for that some of them, influenced less by fear than anger, have already abandoned, but shall compel them to acquiesce for once in a measure which is neither unjust nor intolerant. Thus shall we be twice blest—we shall obtain our own emancipation, and confer a great moral benefit on our persecutors and slanderers.

On the supposition that this iniquitous impost will be continued, and that it will be exacted with greater rigour than ever, what will become the duty of *conscientious* Dissenters; we say *conscientious*, for we affect not to reason with those who resolve the whole question into one of mere expediency; or who entertain such extravagant notions on the divine obligation of obeying the civil magistrate, that they are ready to surrender to him the allegiance they owe to Christ. We have met with a few such casuists. Dissenters who would not hesitate to pay a tax for supporting the false prophet in a Turkish mosque, or who would not withhold their contributions, when legally demanded, for the temple of Juggernaut. But there are thousands of Dissenters who regard the very principle of a state church as infringing on the authority of Christ, who have serious and conscientious objections to the whole government and discipline of the Episcopal Church as by law established. Now in what light must they regard any voluntary and active support given to such an institution? Surely as a violation of conscience, as a dereliction of principle. Those who comply with injustice adopt it. Those who do not publicly resist what they deem to be impiety, render it their silent homage. Will any conscientious Dissenter, we may ask, allow himself to be a *particeps criminis* in any act that would impugn

the authority of the Divine Legislator. Here, then, is the point to be determined: will the payment of church rates involve this consequence?

If, as Christians, we were living under a despotic heathen government with its state church, and laws were enforced compelling us to support that church and its idolatrous priesthood, and the collectors of its rates and dues were periodically to call upon us for this very thing, what would be our answer? Should we voluntarily admit their demands, and by our own deliberate act pay the impost? Should we not passively suffer ourselves to be distrained, and peaceably endure the spoliation of our property, rather than accord our personal sanction to an institution equally abhorrent to our feelings and our principles? But by many we are aware this will be regarded as an extreme, and by no means a parallel case: yet it is not so preposterous and *outrè* as at first sight it may appear. It is true that, by the compulsory exactions of the established churches of the realm, Dissenters are required to contribute to the support of Christianity; but are they not also required to support something else which is not Christianity, and which they believe to be not only foreign to its nature, but directly opposed to its genius and spirit? Nay, as deteriorating to its character, and as subversive of its influence, as any form of paganism under the sun? Whether in this belief their views are in accordance with the New Testament, or whether the members of secular and worldly establishments have, in this respect, the advantage of them, is not the question. The question really is, whether in this belief they are so borne out by their convictions of duty, as that they cannot do otherwise than sustain it. The political alliance of the church with the state, which makes them both and equally part and parcel of the law of the land, having the same origin, and maintained on the same principles, is, in the estimation of Dissenters, so great a change and perversion of Christianity, that it differs very little in its essential features from the great apostacy predicted by its Divine Founder and his apostles, and which they denounced as Antichrist. The Dissenters do not deny that, in a church thus constituted, the doctrines of the Gospel may be embodied in symbols and formularies, and that multitudes may exist within its pale that are sincere Christians, and members of the universal church; but they cannot regard it as an institution having entirely or chiefly in view the advancement of pure and spiritual religion. On the contrary, they are persuaded that, while its creeds and articles offer no security against the most pernicious errors and heresies, its subordination to the state, and connexion with its machinery, impress upon its laity and clergy a political and worldly character, as unlike Christianity as the papistry of Rome or the heathenism of Pekin. In the opinion of Dissenters, all established churches,

whether Pagan, Mahometan, or Christian, are based on the same principles. They are all and equally the creatures of the state, and in their view therefore the Christian religion is not established, because a secular institution baptized with the Christian name is denominated a church. When the civil magistrate undertakes to govern such an institution by the laws of Christ, but enforces them by sanctions of his own, he changes their character, they cease to be the laws of Christ; they are placed on another foundation, and are obeyed under the influence of motives which set at nought his authority—motives derived wholly from this world. Christians, governed by such motives, are not so much Christians as they are servants of the state; and civil rulers, when they presume to supply sanctions to any form and profession of Christianity, appropriate thunder which they are not empowered to wield. They sit like God in the temple of God; and the priests that wait upon them, and pay them duteous homage, are little better than idolaters. For our part, were the state to pass compulsory laws to maintain every sentiment which we hold to be Christian and binding upon us by the laws of the New Testament, for the sake of the latter we should feel it incumbent upon us to protest against the former. If these be the views of Dissenters generally (and we believe them to be entertained by very many of all denominations), must not dissent in their estimation be something immensely superior to expediency? Is it not an affair of conscience? and, if conscience makes them Dissenters, ought it not to ensure their consistency, and keep them so?

Art. VI. 1. *The Time to Speak; or, What the People do say, Prior to the Session of* 1837. London: Saunders and Otley, 1837.

2. *The Conservative Peers and the Reformed Ministry.* London: Ridgway.

3. *What next? or the Peers and the Third Time of Asking!* Fourth Edition. London: Ridgway.

TO stand by as idle spectators of the great interests of the nation, would betray a guilty negligence on our parts at any time, but especially at the present season. If men are ever justified in turning aside from more plodding pursuits to read the page of events, and to contemplate the broad face of empire, they are especially called to do so at those critical periods when the mists are withdrawing and its features are assuming a natural shape. The history of nations has too seldom presented attractions to wise and patriotic minds, but has almost invariably fed the spirit of melancholy and disgust. Instead of concentrating scattered excellencies, and so offering stupendous specimens of human greatness, it has too frequently exhibited the vices of

men in fearful bulk, and has told a mournful story of the little, selfish, and degraded character of our nature. The legislature of a country, like the head of the body, should form the seat of its intelligence—the countenance through which the soul of the nation should be seen: but if we wanted proof that the principles of good government have been misunderstood, or if understood, that they have been misapplied, we might seek it in the partial degree in which the controlling power has represented the fairer and nobler characteristics of men. How seldom have the sobriety, the wisdom, and integrity, the liberality, the goodness, and the moral sense, which have resided with a people, been embodied in their rulers! Instead of these finer qualities, all the baser elements have instinctively ascended, so that in too many instances were we to reason from governors to their subjects, we should be compelled to look on States as vast temples of vacuity, or as spacious dens of corruption. In most instances, however, the heart has been sounder than the head, and thousands have mourned over evils which they have been unable to remove.

That the terrible mischiefs which have been generated by systems of political rule, have resulted from their narrow policy, is apparent from the current history of Great Britain. So long as the demon of aristocratic exclusiveness held its usurped possession, little progress could be made; but no sooner did the popular will begin to exert its legitimate influence than a spirit of improvement went abroad, showing that the people, however trifled with and despised, were in advance of their haughty rulers, and that they retained a quiet power, which, when constitutionally exercised, would renovate the decayed fabric of the state. As the spirit of beauty and of health in nature does not usually make its home in mansions and in palaces, but resorts to shady glens, and trips along the mountain side, so the soul of liberty, retiring from the glare of courts, delights in the serener haunts of men, and takes the hearts of guileless citizens as its appropriate abode. Extend their range, and they carry the treasure with them, rebuking faction and encouraging freedom wherever they go.

During the long reign of Tory misrule, the great actors in the political drama were ignorant of what was passing in the popular mind. They little thought of the impression ever deepening and extending, that their profligate and tyrannic conduct was making on the nation. Thousands of enlightened men, in active and commercial life, looked on with wonder and dismay, foreseeing the precipice towards which infatuated rulers were hurrying them; and the advocates of justice, and the friends of true religion stood aghast at the enormities which were practised in the Christian name. Though these sentiments could scarcely be heard in the senate of the land, they were spreading themselves by a sure, but gradual influence, throughout our towns and cities, and

occasionally gave unequivocal symptoms of their power; while education was preparing the way for their universal dissemination. As years steadily revolved, these views and feelings, which were destined to re-model the empire, no longer confining themselves to the middle section of society, began silently to sink into the popular mind, and like showers from heaven, to go down and nourish the very roots of freedom. But in the height of their pride, and in the glory of their career, the enemies of the commonwealth were blind to this mighty mental process.

As knowledge diffused itself, and the means of information increased, the great body of the people became more and more alive to their wrongs, while the errors of their rulers stood out in all their magnitude before them. Shut out by a meddling oligarchy from their proper place in the nation, they stood helpless, but not idle spectators of the misdeeds of their oppressors. In their vast solitude they were gathering strength, before which the enemies of their liberties were destined to bow. Nothing was wanting but a change in the frame-work of government—an adjustment of the machinery of the state—to give effect to the slumbering power. Correct thoughts, ardent sentiments, and strong resolves, had taken possession of the commonwealth of mind, and they only waited the voices which should bid them awake. Crude notions, and brute passions, such as Toryism had been wont to engender, and to employ in the field of blood, if turned towards the correction of domestic abuses, would have burst forth with desolating fury and convulsive throes; but the element which rested like leaven in the heart of the nation, and which was making its way through all ranks of society, was quiet and serene; it was the very genius of power, which was destined to create rather than destroy.

This innate might had occasional opportunities of unveiling itself, but to no practical result, till the success of the reviving measure of Parliamentary Reform, which was the first great step towards calling out, and constitutionally directing, the public mind. The date of this bill is the date of England's glory. Her boasted line of monarchs, with her splendid retinue of peers; her wide and pervading conquests, with her list of applauded heroes; her bold and towering altitude, amidst attendant and crouching nations, were all eclipsed in the beautiful light of this delayed measure. The greatness of our country up to this hour had been comparatively gross and barbaric; but she now cast off her ruder and more showy attire, and began to gather about her the chaste and flowing robes, which become a great and virtuous empire. By this event the tyrants of Great Britain were overthrown—were cast out like usurping demons, from the House of Commons—irresponsible power was shook to its foundation, the rights of the people were nobly recognised, and the reign of righteousness commenced.

Lord Grey and his colleagues, however, were not prepared for the fruit of their own doings. They were achieving a mightier work than they designed—putting in motion a power whose resources they could not fathom. Their names, and especially that of the illustrious premier, will go down to posterity with honour. They will stand, in the eye of our children, in the van of the army, which, mustering in the revered name of justice, went out in its might against oppression; but they will fall under the charge of prematurely retiring from their honourable post, of conducting the troops to the field amidst the sound of trumpets, and then leaving them to contend with the foe. But perhaps Lord Grey did enough; he accomplished, aided by the people, a more stupendous work than any statesman of ancient or of modern times.

Whatever were the opinions of the senators who so ably constructed, and triumphantly carried Reform, it was obvious to all reflecting minds, that the Bill they secured was eminently prospective, and contained the germ of vegetative changes, which no chilling blasts could wither. It no sooner became law than the spirit of Reform, which resided among the people, began to embody itself, and to pass into the senate house of the land, where it took its place amidst the most virulent opposition, and whence neither talent nor impudence, nor bribery, can eject it. Already an entirely new face has been put upon political affairs, and the deepest principles of government are quietly changing. The origin, appropriate sphere, and ends of civil authority, are better understood. The philosophy of empire is unfolding itself, and becoming apparent to ordinary minds. The intricacy and evasion, the pomp and false glare which designing men had wrought in with the texture, and spread over the face of senatorial pursuits, are giving way. The mystic veil is in the act of withdrawing, and public questions are taking, for the first time, the stamp of common sense. Definiteness of purpose, and honesty of intention, are assuming their place among statesmen, while integrity and devotedness to sound principles, are required by those who appoint them. As the fruits of Reform are reaped, the passion for it increases. It creates its own strength, and like a stately tree, protects the root which nourishes it by its verdant and widespreading branches. The effects which have followed from it, rich as they may be, are trifling compared with those it is adapted to secure. If no violation be offered to its great principle the nation has nothing to fear, for every useless incumbrance will be removed by its vigorous and quickening hand. Corruption will retire as it advances, and health and beauty will spring up in its place. The profligacy of courts, and the despotism of thrones, will be rebuked. Haughty and interested barons, with truckling and time-serving ministers, will be conducted to a hopeless grave. War, with its hideous train of ghastly evils, will be hushed to

rest, and ecclesiastical tyranny will be trampled in the dust. The designs of political existence will be realized, and its limits defined; and the inhabitants of this great country, put into the enjoyment of the blessings of freedom, will be left to the cultivation of still dearer and higher pursuits.

It is refreshing occasionally to catch a glimpse of the height to which Great Britain, under such an agency, may be conducted. If, while crushed beneath the weight of Tory misrule, and thwarted in all her purposes and plans, she not only survived, but gathered energy and spread forth her arms, what may be expected when the burdens of her task-masters shall be removed, and she begins to enjoy the full and benign effect of a reforming policy! With her exhaustless mines and fertile soil, with her untiring industry and ever-growing skill, with her unprecedented wealth, and all-pervading commerce, she must be great; but when we add to these her instructed population, her sober and substantial yeomanry, with her wise and liberal counsellors, we recognize the bones and sinews of gigantic empire, and believe it to be impossible to assign limits to her glory. She is, unscathed by Toryism, destined to put on a brightness, in the full blaze of which, the most splendid nations of past ages will be eclipsed; and to compass a date, compared with which, the longest and most stable commonwealths have lived but a day. It seems to us that the genius of Reform has stamped immortality on our country's brow.

The importance of the progress of Reform in Great Britain, does not terminate at home; since nations, like individuals, do not "live to themselves." The struggle which has been going on, and is still to be continued, in this country, is one of principle—one therefore, in which the interests of the world are involved. Despots have been looking on with despondency, and the friends of liberty in every clime have turned towards us with hope. Schemes of tyranny have been crushed in embryo, and the outbreakings of the great enemies of freedom have been prevented. Light has gone forth from our land, which has disturbed the darkness of thrones, and cheered the solitude of dungeons. The political heavens, beneath which the nations dwell, have been illumined, throughout their vast extent, by our beams. But should England retrograde, or even stagger in her course, the general cause of freedom must receive a wound: an effective blow struck at liberty by Toryism here, would vibrate through the globe. On the other hand, a serene progress, on the part of England, in the path of reformation, will draw nations in her train, and secure to the whole community of man directer or remoter blessings. It is difficult to overrate this aspect of our domestic affairs: viewed in its light, every measure of our legislature assumes a magnitude that oppresses the mind, while the station of the senator himself involves a responsibility at which all but the frivolous must trem-

ble. The House of Commons has the balances of justice in its hand, and on the use it makes of them, the fate of a civilized world depends. Principalities and potentates wait on their bidding, and must yield to their plastic touch, while the repose of millions hangs upon their will. At their command, Peace, the hand-maid of liberty, will retain her throne; or War, the guardian-angel of the Tories, will ascend his barbaric car. If they falter in their march, universal liberty will weep at their feet; but if they go forward, intolerance will stretch its dark wings, and fly with sullen helplessness before them. Would that such reflections might come with mighty power on the minds of British senators; that sympathies, commensurate with the rights of men, and comprehensive as the great interests they represent, may spring up within them. That their imaginations may assist their conscience, and their conscience prompt their minds, so that from them may go forth laws, which all nations must obey, and that by them an example may be set, which contemporaries cannot despise, and which posterity must admire.

But the cause of true freedom does not stand alone, it is in beautiful harmony with collateral good, and modestly ministers to the higher interests of men. When the principles of probity and justice are recognized in the management of states, they become contagious, and are insensibly mixed up with their details. The conduct of political leaders gives a complexion to their followers. Intrigue and contortions, at the head of administration, will occasion deformity throughout the body, and spread its hateful kind with fearful fecundity over the land. Toryism in church and state has been a dreadful pestilence on the earth, and has occasioned a degradation, both of intellect and of morals, from which mankind is but slowly recovering. Under its reign the vices and the virtues change places, the very foundations of sound morality are sapped, and men are taught to creep and to fawn, instead of to stand upright, and to think.

We hail with emotions of delight the advocacy of free institutions and of equal rights, not merely for their own sakes, but inasmuch as we believe these doctrines to be based on the correcter models of thought, to be the buddings of great immutable principles, which have their roots in the constitution of things, and to be indicative of the only becoming and noble sentiments towards our common nature. We hold that liberty builds her throne on justice, and holds in her right hand the olive-branch of peace. That wherever her doctrines are received, and her spirit indulged by the rulers of the earth, they are prompted to act honourably towards men, while popular gratitude and confidence repay their toil. Mutual confidence takes the place of mistrust, and public fidelity and attachment become the bulwarks of the throne. Crime diminishes, and industry plies her fingers, an im-

proved tone is given to the public morals, and individual delinquents can find no shelter beneath the wing of venal authorities; the pulse of empire becomes steady and strong, while liberty rebukes the depravity which she has no power to suppress. The dignity of human nature, throughout the world, is therefore identified with the progress of the principles of Reform.

Nor is it only that popular intelligence and public morality are fostered by the hand of freedom, but it is subservient both in its own nature and in the arrangements of an all-wise Providence, to the interests of the church of God. Men, we are quite aware, may be ardently attached to liberty, and yet have no sympathy with true religion; but their love of freedom is not incompatible with their pursuit of evangelical piety, which cannot be predicated of the love of oppression. The spirit of intolerance and of exclusiveness feeds the pride, and nourishes the selfishness of men; it adapts them to become petty tyrants, or forms them to be the dupes of superstition. It impairs the sensibilities, and withers the affections, and places its possessor at a more than usual distance from the kingdom of God. The spirit of liberty, on the contrary, when it enters the mind, casts out vulgar prejudices, and approves of discussion and research—it discountenances ignorance, and lays the mind open to conviction—it recognises the right of private judgment, and disposes those who entertain it, to treat the opinions of others with respect. In proportion as it diffuses itself, it melts the chains of society, and gives to it a free and independent air, breaks up its monastic cells, and drives superstition from its haunts; it induces the habit of discrimination, and compels the enemies of revelation to look for arguments instead of accusations, or to substitute silence for banter. It has a tendency to strip society of its disguise, and to place it in the light of day; to bring the advocates and opponents of the Word of God into bold collision, and to render the line of demarcation, between the church and the world, both definite and broad.

But these social affinities between civil freedom and revealed religion, are but the faint shadows of that bolder connexion, which it has pleased God, in the government of the world, should subsist between them. If the testimony of history were equivocal on this point, and the evidence drawn from observation were inconclusive, a little vigorous thinking might decide it. A fountain of instruction, purporting to take its rise in heaven, which should leave unrepaired in its flow the wreck and ruin of oppression, would want the evidence of reason on its side; while monitions, claiming to be supernatural, striking in with the previous impressions of the judgment on all ordinary interests, and especially with regard to the common rights of man, may be said to bring their testimonials with them. Christianity, though independent of all else, cannot be antagonistic to it, but must be in

beautiful harmony with universal truth. Its principles emanate from that infinite mind from which all primary and immutable laws, whether they be physical, intellectual, or moral proceed. It occupies the supreme position in human interests, and in the divine designs; but like its Author, though incomparably exalted, communes with objects below it, and disdains association with nothing that wears the impress of nature and of truth. It recognises the family of man as one vast fraternity, endowed with common faculties, and tending onward to a common destination. Before its glorious light artificial distinctions die away, and the inequalities in society are shown to be rather incidental than real. It offers its favours without caprice, and utters its denunciations without dread. It seeks to bless all people, and waits admission to all climes, proclaiming as it advances, "Peace on earth, good will towards men." Of such a system, surely freedom, not tyranny, is the appropriate harbinger. The huge forms of intolerance which have darkened the very heavens, have stood in formidable array in the path of the Son of God; the kingdom he came to found has been fearfully obstructed by them, and its living fruits have been withheld from the generations of men. As these bow themselves before the majestic presence of advancing freedom, the field of enterprise will widen, and that kingdom which cometh not with observation, will imperceptibly spring up. As the world emerges from civil thraldom, and discovers the mischiefs of ecclesiastical domination, it will pass into a condition in which Christianity will delight to meet it, and amidst which, as appears to us, from the testimony of Scripture, Jehovah designs to bless it. Christian minds are therefore deeply interested, and should be conscientiously engaged in aiding the triumphs of unsophisticated freedom.

On the Dissenters of Great Britain an awful responsibility has fallen, and one which perhaps hitherto they have not sufficiently felt. Blest in the lapse of time with vast numerical strength, and the repositories, with few exceptions, of those opinions and sensibilities, amidst which, liberty is apt to flourish, they are invested with great power for evil or for good. The hand of Providence has led them to a position, whence they are first to observe and then to do, and on their behaviour the progress of the great interests of society very materially depends. The doctrine of the incompatibility of Christianity with civil freedom, it is presumed, would scarcely find an advocate among them, while the nature of the intimacy between them is more and more clearly perceived. A supreme concern to diffuse the one, is blending itself in their history, with settled resolves to facilitate the other. The evils which require to be removed, and the means by which their suppression is to be effected, are obtruding themselves distinctly upon them, so that a timid and time-serving policy would ill become

them. Neither courtesy on the one hand, nor pusillanimity on the other, should divert them from the advocacy of the principles they profess—principles which are at once their ornament and their strength; and which, if concealed, might as well be abandoned. The earnestness of their attachment to the great moral rules on which they stand, should be commensurate with their intrinsic worth and their social utility, and their zeal in carrying them out should be inspired by the recollection that they are identical with the well-being of a world. The childish alarm attempted by their enemies, and sometimes encouraged by their friends, that they are coupling themselves with infidels in their exertions for the general good, should rather encourage than dishearten them. The Evangelical Dissenters of Great Britain hold no compromise advances with infidelity; but if those who unhappily neglect the higher interests of religion, choose to be their co-workers in the attainment of inferior and subservient designs, why should they recoil; they might as well object to breathe the common air or to adopt the vernacular tongue, because infidels will do so, as to refuse to be engaged in promoting a common good. Surely it were as well, and incomparably better, to be blended with unbelievers in promoting liberty, than associated with the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries in forging the chains of oppression. There is an essential effeminacy in the mind which can be arrested in its career by such hollow pretences as these. Roused to a sense of their duty, the great body of Dissenters will, we doubt not, move onward in steady and united phalanx; and combining an uncompromising adherence to the interests of liberty, with a respectful, but not obsequious demeanour, towards all who differ from them, will secure the smile of conscience and the approbation of God.

In this determination it will be at once our honour and our aim to assist them. Our space forbids us to analyse the pamphlets whose titles appear at the head of this article. We can only say, that the first, "The Time to Speak," &c., appears to us to be absolutely worthless. The second, "The Conservative Peers," &c., to evince considerable ability; and the third, "What next!" &c., to deserve the highest commendation.

No. I.

Art. VII. *Menzel on German Literature. Die deutsche Literatur. Von Wolfgang Menzel.* 1836. *Stuttgart.*

IN the following series of articles, we propose to give a more copious and connected view of German literature than any which, so far as we are aware, has yet been laid before the English reader. In accomplishing this object we propose, simply, to give an extensive analysis (accompanied with very copious citations*) of the work of an eminent German writer. This, we apprehend, will be far better than indulging in any lucubrations of our own; since the views of a native must necessarily be far more accurate and profound than those of a foreigner. It is true, indeed, that a writer is apt to form an exaggerated estimate of the merits of his own national literature; still his errors are not so serious, or so difficult of correction, as those of one to whom that literature is foreign. In the one case, we have only prejudice to contend against; in the other, we have prejudice and ignorance too; not to mention those early associations and habits of mind which render it absolutely impossible to do full justice to modes of thought and forms of literature to which we are unaccustomed. Witness the recent work of Chateaubriand on English Literature, in which, by the bye, the author candidly admits the truth of what we have just said. An English writer of any thing like the same talents could by no possibility have fallen into such errors, or delivered such absurd judgments as those which disfigure this work.

Happily the subject of German literature has been treated by Wolfgang Menzel in a manner which leaves little to be desired. The work cannot fail to be more acceptable to the English public, when we state that its author is almost entirely exempt from the prevailing faults of many celebrated writers of his nation. With the best and highest qualities of the German mind, he possesses none of its defects. First, he is entirely free from diffuseness and prolixity; his work is of moderate compass, compressing into two volumes about as much as many German writers would have got into fifty. Secondly, he is no mystic; whatever he says is intelligible; and even where you dissent from his opinions, you cannot at least pretend that you do not understand him. Thirdly, he is by no means given to useless and transcendental speculations; on the contrary, he is thoroughly practical. He has seen much of life, and has turned his knowledge to account. Indeed one great object of his

* These citations we are enabled to give from a MS. translation of the whole work, which is now in course of preparation for the press, and will appear after the completion of this series of articles.—Editor.

work is to recal the Germans from the exclusive study of *books*, to a healthful contemplation of nature, and to infuse into their literature more of the spirit of real life.—So much do these qualities distinguish him from the generality of his contemporaries, that they say of him (whether in the way of praise or censure we cannot pretend to say), "er schreibt wie ein Britte," "he writes like an Englishman."

While characterised throughout by a spirit of most extensive research, the work is any thing but a mass of undigested compilation, or a tissue of petty details. Menzel is no mere collector of materials; his materials have evidently been subjected to the examination of a mind of great compass and power; the whole work, indeed, is imbued with a philosophical spirit which renders the driest details interesting, and enables the author to gather up the multifarious parts of his most extensive and otherwise intractable subject under a few well-arranged and thoroughly digested heads. To the above excellent qualities we must add a very active and beautiful imagination, great wit and powers of sarcasm, and a style in which all these splendid endowments of intellect need not be ashamed to embody their conceptions. In the singular conjunction Menzel's mind exhibits, of many of the highest qualities of the philosophical and poetic genius;—in the power of seizing the principal points of a subject; of engrafting profound and original reflections on apparently unimportant facts, and of animating the dullest and most uninteresting details with beautiful illustrations, our author often strongly reminds us of our own BURKE. And what higher praise could we bestow upon him?

Before proceeding to give any further account of his work on "German Literature," we shall extract some few particulars of his history from the short account given of him in the supplement to the Conversation's Lexicon.*

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* By the way, nothing can better exemplify the literary activity of the German people, and the spirit of boundless and insatiable research which animates them, than the supplement to this work. It contains an account of living authors, not only of Germany, but of all other nations; nay, lives of all living men, who have in any way rendered themselves notorious. Thus in the number from which we extract this brief account of Menzel, we have biographical articles on the following, some of whom have died since this part was published (1830); on M'Adam, of "road-making" celebrity; M'Culloch, Mackenzie (Sir Alexander, and Sir George), Sir John Malcolm, Malthus, Lord Melbourne (then Home Secretary), Lord Melville, James Montgomery, Robert Montgomery, Lord Mulgrave, Sir George Murray, Murray the bookseller, and Henry Neele. There is also a long article on Missions, in which Mr. Ellis, his labours and his writings, receive frequent and honorable mention.

Considering the difficulties under which this portion of the 'Conversation's Lexicon' must have been conducted, especially of obtaining authentic information, it might naturally be expected that some ludicrous errors would here and there present themselves. And such we accordingly find. Thus

"Wolfgang Menzel was born at Waldenburgh, in Silesia, June 21st, 1798. He lost his father (who was a surgeon) when very young; lived with his mother upon a country estate; was sent in 1814, to Elizabeth School, Breslau, where he devoted himself zealously to the studies of the Gymnasium. From 1818, to 1820, he studied philosophy at Jena and Boun. In 1820, he went to Switzerland, and became first master in the public school at Aarau. His first production was his "Streckverse,"* which contained many original views of life and art, and was full of poetry and good sense. This work excited general attention, and acquired for Menzel the warm friendship (amongst others) of Jean Paul. In the following year he published his "Europaischen Blatter,"† in which he commenced his relentless war of extermination upon the vain fashion which prevailed in our poetry, as well as upon the much-lauded *nullities* in our literature generally; at the same time, however, by his attack upon Göthe, and especially upon the *School* of Göthe, he placed himself in direct hostility, not merely with the thorough-going, but even with the more moderate admirers of that poet. Under his banner were gathered the exclusive admirers of Schiller; hitherto scattered. At all times superior in South Germany in point of numbers, but hitherto repressed by the Schlegel School, they had been for the most part silent; they now hailed with joy this unexpected reaction in their favour. About the same time appeared at Zurich, the first volume of Menzel's history of the Germans. It was completed in 1827, in three volumes, and on its completion, Menzel went to Heidelburg . . . . . On occasion of the controversies between Voss and Creuzer, he wrote a little piece, entitled "Voss und die Symbolik,"‡ by which he drew down upon himself the deadly hatred of that scholar and his partizans, without having committed himself to the opposite party. In 1825, Menzel removed to Stuttgart, where he soon after settled as a citizen; connected himself with Cotta, and married a lady of Wurtemburg, of the family of the celebrated philosopher, George Bernhard Bilfinger. He now undertook the "Litteraturblatt," from the superintendence of which Muller had retired; at first, however, not under his own name, in order that he might make himself thoroughly acquainted with so difficult a business. His work on German literature, first published in two volumes at Stuttgart, in 1828, affords a

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for example, Mr. *Robert* Montgomery (of whom by the way we are told, what we certainly never knew before, that he is in genius at least akin to Mr. James Montgomery, "ein geistesverwandter von James Montgomery,") is represented as the editor of Tyerman and Bennett's Missionary Travels!

* Heidellburg, 1823.

† Zurich.

‡ Stuttgart, 1825.

brilliant demonstration of the original and universal spirit of the author. . . . The book was received by the German public with the greatest attention, and laid the foundation of Menzel's celebrity in foreign countries, especially in France. The polemical part of it, in which he further developed the views to which he had already given utterance, called forth vehement attacks from many quarters. Meanwhile Menzel perseveringly pursued his course, and by a systematic re-construction of the 'Litteraturblatt' (of which, from January 1829, he became the avowed editor) obtained a position from which he could disseminate his views, and began regularly to take the field as A LITERARY POWER. Conflict is his element, and he prosecutes it without respect to the fame or number of his adversaries, or of endlessly multiplying hostilities; and of this mortal enemy of the whole literary aristocracy, might be said what Livy says of the champion of the political democracy of Rome, the elder Cato,—'Simultates nimio plures et exercuerunt eum, et ipse exercuit eas. Nec facile dixeris, utrum magis presserit eum nobilitas, an ille agitaverit nobilitatem.' At the same time, he has also acquired many and warm friends; and with Tieck especially,—to whose great poetic fame in all its compass, he has done ample honor—he has formed a near and most cordial intimacy." The account then proceeds to mention two or three other publications of which Menzel is the author. Speaking of his 'Travels in Austria,' the writer declares that it is admitted by Austrians themselves to furnish the truest and most striking account of their national character and literature.

The whole work is divided into four parts; the first treats of the Mass of Literature, German Nationality, the Influence of School Learning, the Influence of Foreign Literature, the Trade of Literature; Religion and Philosophy. Some of these topics will require but scanty notice. The introductory chapter, however, entitled the Mass of Literature, is so important as giving a general view of the whole subject, that we shall devote the present article entirely to it.

The following is the introduction. It is a most vivid and impressive account of the literary activity of the Germans—the only species of activity, according to Menzel, which they possess.

"The Germans do little; but they write so much the more. When a citizen of some future age looks back upon the present epoch of German history, he will meet with more books than men. He may travel on through successive years as through so many repositories. He will say, we have slept, and our dreams were books. We have become a nation of writers, and for the double eagle in our armorial bearings might substitute a goose. With us the quill is both governor and servant, workman and paymaster, fighter and feeder, blessing and curse. We leave their sky to the Italians, their saints to the Spaniards, their ex-

ploits to the French, their money-bags to the English, and sit ourselves down to our books. Our meditative Germans love to cogitate and muse; and for writing, can always find time. They invented the art of printing: and they now work at the great machine without ceasing. The learning of the schools, the hankering after everything foreign, the power of fashion, and finally, the profits of the book-trade, have done all the rest: and thus is reared that immeasurable pile of books which is still increasing every day, until we stand astonished at this portentous phenomenon,—this new wonder of the world,—the Cyclopean walls whose builder is the mind.

"On a moderate computation there are ten millions of volumes published every year in Germany.* As each half-yearly catalogue of Leipzig fair enumerates upwards of a thousand German authors, we may assume that there are living in Germany at this present moment about fifty thousand men who have written one book or more. Should their numbers increase according to the present ratio of progression, a catalogue of all the ancient and modern authors of Germany might one day be prepared, outnumbering in names a catalogue of all the readers then alive.

"The effects of this literary activity perpetually obtrude themselves, as it were, upon us. Wherever we turn we catch a glimpse of books and readers. The smallest town has its reading-room; the poorest honoratior his little library. Whatever we may hold in one hand, a book is always sure to be in the other. From the government of a country down to the rocking of a cradle, everything has become a science, and must be studied. Literature is the universal dispensary for the nation; and though the whole empire is continually growing worse the more physic it takes, yet the physic, instead of diminishing, on that very account only increases. Books are the universal remedy. Whatever one is at a loss for, it is supplied in a book. The physician copies his prescription, the judge his sentence, the clergyman his sermon, the teacher (like the learner) his lesson, out of books. Our dear young folks, especially, would be quite ruined without books. A child and a book are things which always appear to us together.

"The *cacoethés scribendi* is the universal distemper of the Germans, which extends its sway even beyond the bounds of literature, and in the business of public offices chains down a considerable part of the population to the writing-desk. Writers, wherever one looks! and yet these writers merely contribute by what they cost the public, to impoverish the land,—that the paper-mills may suffer no deficiency in the article of rags. But let us consider the sedentary mode of life, to which so many thousands

* Counting, of course, all the volumes of every impression.—Translator.

are sacrificed. Had it not become a subject of public observation long before Tissot* dedicated to it his humane compassion and medical counsel. Does not the noble Gellert, (destroyed by his pen,) offer us, upon the horse which Frederic in irony allotted him, an imperishable image of those poor galley-slaves, chained down to the desk?—an image which in truth is much less agreeable than that of a Greek philosopher, who, under the shade of palms and laurels, was more occupied in thinking and speaking, than in writing.

"There is nothing of any sort of interest which is not made in Germany the subject of a book. Whatever happens, the most important consequence of it is that some one writes about it; nay, many things seem to happen for the sole purpose of being written about. For the most part, however, things in Germany are *written*, and not *acted*. Our activity is indeed, *par excellence*, to write. This is no infelicity, where the sage in writing a volume effects as much and often more than the general who wins a victory. But when ten thousand blockheads choose also to write books, that is just as bad as if every common soldier chose to be a general.

"We imbibe all our early education for the sole purpose of instantly re-consigning it to paper. We pay for the books which we read by those which we write. There are hundreds of thousands who learn only for the sake of teaching again; whose whole existence is modelled upon one or two books; who pass from the scholar's form to the professor's chair without one glance upon the green earth around them. With that by which they have themselves been tortured they torture others in their turn: priests of corruption in the midst of dried-up mummies, they transmit the old poison as the vestals did the sacred fire.

"Every young genius seems to have been born only to betake himself forthwith to paper. We have hardly more country people than writers. The path of fame, which has in Germany become somewhat tedious to warriors and statesmen, and to the artist is entirely beset with thorns, stands alluringly open only to the author. In Germany your man of talent becomes an author as commonly as in England and France he becomes a statesman. If he be unfit for business, at least he can write. . . . ."

This is a subject to which Menzel often returns; and the reason is obvious. As was stated in the introduction to this article, it is one of our author's main objects to recall his countrymen from the exclusive study of books, and to imbue literature with more of the spirit of real life.—Here follow some admirable

* See his "Avis aux Gens des Lettres et aux Personnes sedentaires sur leur Santé."—(Translator.)

observations on the extent to which the practical and the contemplative, the literary and the active life have been pursued to the exclusion of each other.

"From the remotest times, two different ages have alternated with one another. Either the arts and sciences have suffered under the oppression of barbarism, or public life has languished amidst the soft delights of the Muses. The heroic age and the literary stand in opposite relations to one another. When the great storms of the Reformation had passed away, we exchanged the sword for the pen, and, during a long interval of peace, devoted ourselves to the arts of peace. But this from the first was a peace of enervation; and those arts served, in their measure, only to increase this enervation. A happy equipoise between the practical and the speculative energy was so far from being maintained, that on the contrary, metaphysical subtlety, *book-dreamery*, self-indulged phantasy, and unsubstantial idealism were as exclusively predominant, as, under the external barbarism of former times, they had been disproportionately depressed. If at any time an idea from the field of theological, political, or moral speculation, wandered into the region of practical life, it was speedily driven back with spear and stave, into the *dream-world* of the author; and our external as well as our internal politics took care that we should continue dreamers. We had always our "Circenses,"* if not always "panem;" and perhaps *reality* would have made a stronger impression upon us, but that we should have been obliged to wake up from our world of books; for the prison which we had painted so beautifully for ourselves—we loved.

"Whether it be that some malignant power keeps guard upon our eyelids, and chains us down in iron slumbers, like Prometheus, to punish us for having fashioned men, and that prophetic dreamings are (like his) our last repose from activity, of which not even that power can rob us;—or whether we ourselves, from native inclination, from an impulse such as that which nature has implanted in the chrysalis, weave around us the dim covering where in the mysterious darkness of creation, the beautiful Psyche-wings of the soul are to be unfolded;—whether we are compelled, for want of realities, to console ourselves with dreams, or whether an indwelling Spirit hurries us beyond the bounds of the most beautiful realities into the higher regions of imagination; we must ever attribute to this luxuriance of literature, this paper-world of enterprise, a most important influence upon the character of the nation and the age."

Our author then proceeds, in a strain of uncommon eloquence, to point out the evils which must flow from the exclusive study

* Juvenal, Sat. x., v. 18.

of books; the true value of literature; its relation to real life; and the spirit in which it should be cultivated. This leads him to give a distinct exposition of the *point of view* from which he designs to contemplate the whole subject.

"Where national fame is that of *books* alone to the exclusion of *deeds*, where faith is sophisticated, the will unstrung, all energy relaxed, inaction palliated, and the age oppressed to death through "making many books;" where the great reminiscences and aspirations of mankind, instead of living hearts find only lifeless paper, there are we compelled to recognize the dark side of literature. Where literature checks the fresh energies of life, and forcibly contracts itself within its own domain, it becomes only negative and pernicious.

"Yet are there *words* which of themselves are *deeds*. The various recollections and imaginings of actual life connect themselves with that second world of knowledge and contemplation which becomes purer and brighter in proportion as action is generated from the mind. And in this world the Germans are especially at home. Nature has given us a preponderating profundity of thought, a ruling inclination to descend into the depths of our own bosoms, and unlock the boundless treasures they contain. So long as we resign ourselves to this national propensity, we exhibit the true greatness of our idiosyncrasy, and fulfil the law of our nature, the destiny to which we are called above every other people. Literature, however, which is the express image of this intellectual life, will on that very account, here show its bright side in all its lustre. Here its operation is positive, creative, and fraught with blessings. The light of the ideas which have gone forth from Germany will illuminate the world.

"At the same time we must guard against the error of esteeming the outward shape which the mind puts on in order to manifest itself, the words which are the receptacle of mind (but also the sepulchre of its imprisonment) more highly than the perennial, salient fountain of the mind itself. Words, lifeless and unvarying in their nature, are merely the outward tegument of the mind, thrown off upon a sunny day; as it were, the many-coloured skin which the world, aged, yet ever renewing its youth, leaves behind it, like the snake, at each successive metamorphosis. Yet men but too frequently prefer dead words to the quickening spirit. Nothing is more common than the error of valuing words (especially printed words) more highly than independent thought, and books more highly than men. In such a case the living spring is choked by the very mass of waters rolled back upon it. The mind is enervated amidst the books which owe their very being to its power alone. Men learn their words by rote, and feel themselves excused from the trouble of thinking. Nothing is so injurious to the spirit of independent exertion as the facility of living on the gains of an-

other; and nothing gives so much support to the indolence and conceit of men as books. But in forfeiting its strength the mind forfeits its freedom also. There is no readier way of turning freemen into sheep than by teaching them merely to read.

"With reason have practical men been incapable of tolerating books, when they seduce the mind away from the fresh activities of life to an unessential world of phantoms. But really thinking men who know the heart, have always on deeper grounds distinguished between book-learning and the vital power of thought and feeling; and have placed mere literature, the world of words, not only beneath the world of action, but also beneath the still and inner world of the soul.

"When once they have been separated from it, words stand opposed to life in ten thousand ways. They are life in its torpor; they are its corpse, its shadow. Words are unvarying and inflexible. 'Not one iota,' says the poet, 'can be taken from a word; it is fixed among the everlasting stars,' and the mind from which it was produced has no further portion in it. Words are durable, life ever changing; words are ready made to our hands; life moulds itself.

"Hence a life dedicated to books has always in it something dead; something which reminds you of mummies or Troglodytes. Woe to the mind which sells itself for a book, and swears by words; the very spring of life in it is dried up. But in this "death-in-life" there lies hidden a demoniac power: it is the very head of Medusa, and turns every thing to stone. Its effects are unmeasured throughout the history of the world. A word has often petrified centuries into marble; and it has been late before the new Prometheus came, and reanimated the torpid generation with his living fire.

"In life, however, when it apprehends itself, there lies a spell too mighty for mere words. If it do not guard itself, it falls under the dominion of words. But when it relies upon itself, it has gained the talisman with which it overpowers the demoniac spirit of words. And this, which will avail every man whenever he takes *one* book in his hand, shall avail for us, while we contemplate our modern literature in its widest compass. We will go forth from real life so as continually to fall back upon it; and with this Ariadne's clue we trust to thread our way through the labyrinth of literature. While we journey with all the fresh feeling of life, through the dead region of literature, all mystery will unfold itself before us, instead of lulling us into an enchanted slumber. None but the living can like Dante travel through the world of shadows. We shall find many a German professor there, who, in sad-coloured cloak, with neck turned round, looks back upon the "sunny greenery" of life, yet never extricates himself from dark-hued theories; we shall see Sisyphus rolling the philo-

sopher's stone up the hill, and Tantalus hungering for the apples of the tree of knowledge; we shall encounter all who seek from words what life only can supply.

"From this unobstructed point of view we shall first contemplate literature in its reciprocal relations with active life, and then as a work of art. It is one of the productions of life, and it re-acts on its original. It is a mirror which reflects the image of its Maker. Whether medicine or poison, it is derived from real life, which life it either heals or destroys. . . . .

"Certainly literature images the form of life, not only more comprehensively, but more clearly than perhaps any other instrument of thought; since no other medium of representation equals the compass and the depth of language. Yet language has its limits, while life alone has none. No book as yet has fathomed the immeasurable depths of life. They are only individual chords which vibrate within you, when you read a book; the infinite harmonies which slumber within you. as within living things, no book has ever fully comprehended. Then never hope to find in any music-book the key to all the tones of life; do not so much immure yourself within the school-room; rather, willingly and often suffer the Æolian harp within you to vibrate freely and naturally, softly or wildly, to the fresh airs of life.

"Let literature ever be only one of the resources of life, never the object to which life itself shall be sacrificed. Undoubtedly it is a noble thing to image and fashion our present life upon the recollection of the past; to act through words upon the present age, and to leave to futurity a memorial of our life, if it merit a memorial; yet let no man give up his mind a prisoner to books.

"Our ancestors were as yet unacquainted with the immense importance of literature; too deeply devoted to the enjoyment or the action of the moment, they rather lost themselves in the realities of the world than busied themselves about its image. The present age has well nigh gone into the opposite extreme: and men steal away from outward objects to transport themselves into a new-found world, and stun themselves with the wonders which their own curiosity has collected around them. The men of those days had more of life; the men of these know more *about* life. Literature has attracted an interest and extended an efficacy which was unknown to former ages. The invention of printing has given it a substantial basis, from which it has been able to extend its operations widely. It has since become one of the powers of Europe, and at times has served, at times commanded all. It has gained possession of the mind through the ministry of words, it has governed life through the form of life; yet at the same time it has proved an obsequious instrument in each successive struggle of the times. In its golden book has every man entered his suffrage. It has been a shield of rectitude

and virtue, a temple of wisdom, a paradise of innocence, the lover's cup of bliss, the poet's ascent to heaven; but it has also been a cruel weapon of party-strife, a plaything of levity, a provocative to luxury, a couch for indolence, an incentive to babbling, a fashion for inanity, and an article of merchandise; and it has served as a handmaid to all the interests of the age, the great and the small, the pernicious and the useful, the noble and the vulgar."

Our author then proceeds to give a summary view of the present state of German literature in its several departments. 'Vielschreiberei,' however, is the bane of every one of them. He says,

"It is one of the greatest evils of our literature *that parties are so little concentrated.* While in Paris or London some ten distinguished authors struggle for the attainment of a determinate object by mutual agreement and by a skilful distribution of matter; in Germany the same thing would be attempted by some hundred authors, of proportionably less talent and without any agreement at all; without even taking any notice of one another. While in Paris or London, it is very easy to overlook the field of battle; in Germany it is almost impossible. A thousand theological publications appear annually. Who can read them all? Their very authors cannot tell all their opponents or fellow-combatants. They fight, in a manner, in the dark. The poor country parson has before him a dozen books and some half-dozen of college manuscripts, and thus he writes a new book; without at all troubling himself whether fifty of his fellow-students may not be at the same time writing just such another miserable book. On the occasion of the cholera there appeared in Germany several hundred publications, of which very few indicated lofty or comprehensive views on the part of the author. Again; since the last political movement, a prodigious number of works have been written on 'Constitution,' and 'Administration,' of which the greater part have related only to local circumstances and transient interests; to survey them for the purpose of extracting from them beneficial *general* results, is in the highest degree difficult. The Germans have begun to attain sound notions in all branches of politics; but the *sum* of our political knowledge is as it were scattered about in the smallest kinds of coin; we cannot melt it down into one great mass. Even the Belles Lettres form no exception to these observations; since even the most zealous reader of romance will never have done with that which each book-fair offers him for a fresh perusal.

"The passion for scribbling has in Germany become such a mania, that just in proportion as a new book finds it difficult to make its way through the prodigious mass of those which are already in existence, are our good people determined to see *every*

book in print, even the most insignificant. Hence in our day the literature of *scraps and sweepings;* the collections of letters and occasional pieces of every man who is but remotely known to fame. Scarce was a polite note or washing-bill of the happy Matthison suffered to remain unprinted; of Jean Paul, we know to what date he preserved his first worked *braces;* of Voss, what he spent at each inn on his little excursions; of Schiller, in what equipage he drove with Göthe; and with such matter as this many hundred biographies and volumes of letters of this kind are crammed. And it is Protestants and Rationalists who are most zealous for this modern *relique-worship;* men who despise a far nobler form of the same superstition in the Catholics.

"I have often been solicited by learned Frenchmen to give them a sort of clue into the labyrinth of German literature. I represent to myself the Brahmin, who was recently in England, entering the immeasurable world of German books, and asking me, 'Is there not some *book of books* in which one may find all this knowledge comprised in a nutshell?' 'No,' I must reply; 'since the beasts lived together in the ark of Noah, they have multiplied so countlessly that now the Linnæuses, the Buffons, the Blumenbachs, the Cuviers find it no longer an easy task to discover amongst these individuals only the *species.*" . . . . .

Of the present state of political literature, he says,

"Our political literature has improved; yet even were it admitted that all that is written on politics throughout Germany contained wisdom, we should still have to complain that we have not ears enough for such a many-tongued wisdom. . . . . .

"It has often been lamented that the German troubles himself so little about state affairs; but when he beholds before him a capacious table full of newspapers, and four long walls full of books, all which he must read for the mere purpose of setting himself right in the first instance,—surely one cannot blame him for thinking this extremely irksome."

Of the multitudinous works lately put forth on the subject of *education* in Germany, he speaks thus:

"The zeal which men have recently directed to the improvement of education, is certainly very desirable; but I would fain know the pedagogue who had read everything which has already been written on this point in Germany, and which is still being written, to the amount of some hundreds of new volumes yearly. Where is the new teacher who, instead of reading the old books, would not much rather write a new one? It has almost become a custom that each teacher should start a new method, or at least write a new manual for his immediate sphere of action. Hence the frightful number of 'manuals,' of which we can no longer take a survey, and from which we can in no way make a selection. . . . Then we have got a literature for children, which

does not come much behind the literature for the adult. My son might have a library of 15,000 works which have been written and printed in Germany for those who are under sixteen years of age! Now, good father, sit you down, read over these fifteen thousand works, and then choose for your son the best of them!"

Poetry and polite literature it appears are in the same predicament. "Since 1814," says he, "there have been fabricated not less than from five to six thousand new romances. Even if they were all good, they would still be too many, since one could not read them all; if they are bad, they should not have been written at all. They are really for the most part *bad;* perhaps there is not one hundred of them which a reasonable man can lay down without being ashamed of the people which produces such romances. There will then still remain more than five thousand romances, which, within so short a time, have not only dissipated a vast capital, both of money and time on the part of authors, publishers, printers, and readers, but which have been essentially injurious to the nation in their influence; an influence which, when not demoralizing, has still been enervating. . . . .

"He who can exult in such a literature must be mad; for in truth none but a madman would collect a library, the books of which for the most part contain nothing behind the title; or which are crammed with chips and cobwebs. A reasonable man does not estimate the spirit of a nation principally by its books, nor even the worth of its books by their number. Instead of pluming ourselves upon our riches, we should only be meditating the means of compressing into a narrow compass the results of our *book-knowledge*, that we may still retain at least some portion of it. Without this process, we shall still, for a long time to come, see empty blockheads rambling about in the very midst of our book-crowded Germany.

"It is the last few years which form the most difficult portion of our survey; not merely because they have produced a far greater number of books than any former period, but also because these works, pressing so closely upon one another, cannot be registered with equal rapidity in the literary *guides*. A comparison of the catalogues of Leipsic fair, since the Restoration, gives the following results. In the year 1816, there appeared in the German trade for the first time, above three thousand books. In the year 1822, for the first time, above four thousand. In the year 1827, for the first time, above five thousand. In 1832, for the first time, above six thousand. Thus the number has increased every five years above a thousand. Since the peace of 1814 to the close of the year 1835 there have been printed in Germany not far short of one hundred thousand works!"

This chapter closes with an account of the various authors in

Germany, who had already attempted the history of literature, whether as a whole or in some particular department; with a further exposition of the principles on which he designs to conduct his work.

Art. VIII. *Three Lectures on the Polity and History of the Hebrews, from the Exode to the Advent of the Messiah. Including a Brief Notice of the Jewish Sects.* By JOHN HOPPUS, M.A. London: 12mo. 1837.

THESE lectures were delivered to the members of the Sunday-school Union Library and Reading Room, in Paternoster-row, London, and are now printed at their request. We are glad to find that an Institution has been formed so eminently adapted to aid the Sunday-school teachers of the metropolis in their "work and labour of love." The library already contains about 800 volumes: and numerous magazines and reviews, together with the leading newspapers, are taken in for the benefit of the members. Lectures are delivered monthly, on subjects connected with religious literature, or with the practical details of Sunday School engagements. The present volume is admirably adapted to subserve the interests of the class for whose benefit it has been prepared. It displays extensive reading, a sound judgment, and an enlightened acquaintance with the character and bearings of the Mosaic economy. We heartily recommend it to all our young friends, whether engaged in the instruction of others, or concerned only for the extension and improvement of their own Scriptural knowledge.

Art. IX. *Dr. Adam Clarke's Works, Vol. IX. The Manners of the Ancient Israelites.* By CLAUDE FLEURY. London: Tegg. 1837.

THE Abbé Fleury's work is an excellent introduction to the reading of the Old Testament, and may very advantageously be placed in the hands of young persons. Dr. Clarke has made some valuable additions to it, and the present reprint of his edition is the most portable and attractive one we have seen.

Art. X. *The Christian Student's Biblical Guide;* comprising an Analytical Arrangement of the principal Texts of the Sacred Volume, under the different relations of Attributes, Doctrines, Duties, Precepts, Promises, and Prophecies. Edited from the MSS of the late JOHN GREEN, Minister of the Gospel. By CHARLES CHURCHILL. London: Hamilton. 1836. 12mo. pp. 567.

THE habit of contemplating the inspired statements in small detached fragments, is one of the most serious obstacles to the spread of correct and comprehensive views of divine truth. Separated from its connexion, a sentence is not merely deprived of that

light which the context might impart; in many cases it seems to mean what in its natural position it would be seen at once it could never be intended to teach. There are mistaken notions, which owe their currency to this mode of considering scripture; and we are apprehensive, that works of the same general character as that which now lies before us, however innocent their aspect, and however pious their compilers, have done much to cherish the evil. In this volume, portions of scripture, consisting mostly of one sometimes of two or three verses, are ranged under about a hundred different heads. We are told in the introduction, that the writer engaged in the undertaking 'with a primary view to his 'own mental improvement,' and we doubt not that he found the occupation both pleasant and salutary. But his was an exercise very different from that of his readers. He saw the texts in their connexion, and arranged them according to his view of their bearings; but others see them in his book detached from their connexion, and receive them as pertaining to the topic to which they are already assigned. Cautiously used, by a judicious person, the work may be useful, in suggesting occasionally a proof or an illustration which would not otherwise have occurred to his recollection; but if it be used, as we fear such works generally are, so as to supersede personal search and investigation, it will not augment substantial religious knowledge.

Art. XI. *The Lives and Exploits of Banditti and Robbers, in all Parts of the World.* By C. Mac Farlane, Esq. London: Tegg. 1837.

THIS volume constitutes the sixty-second of the *Family Library*, and is entitled, by the interesting character of its contents, to rival the popularity of any of its predecessors. Truth, said Lord Byron, is stranger than fiction; and if any confirmation of the remark were needed, it would be abundantly supplied by the strange blending of opposite qualities which is exhibited, and the daring enterprizes, and the almost miraculous escapes which are detailed in Mr. Mac Farlane's volume.

Art. XII. *The Christian Legacy, Peace in Life, Death, and Eternity: Fifteen Discourses.* By the Rev. James Hough, A.M., Minister of Ham, Surrey. London: Seeley & Burnside. 1836. 12mo. pp. 278.

A Series of Evangelical Sermons on the Peace bequeathed by the Redeemer to his disciples. The volume is described by its author as an Easter Offering, presented to his hearers as an acknowledgment of their kindness towards him. It is worthy of their acceptance, and well adapted to cement the mutual attachment to which it owes its birth.

Art. XIII. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

"The Response of the Church to the Promise of the Second Coming of the Lord." A Discourse delivered on the occasion of the lamented death of the late Mr. Heudebourck, of Taunton, on Lord's Day, Feb. 5, 1837, by George Payne, LL.D., Exeter. To which is appended a Short Memoir of the Deceased, by a Member of the Family.

In the Press, "Things hoped for." The doctrine of the Second Advent, as embodied in the Standards of the Church of England. By Viscount Mandeville, M.P.

A Narrative of the Voyages and Engagements of the Rev. J. Williams, during a period of nearly eighteen years, in the various Islands of the Pacific Ocean.

"The Poetical Works of Robert Southey, Esq. Poet Laureate." The first complete and genuine edition, revised and amended, with many additional pieces never before collected, or now first published. In 10 monthly volumes, with frontispiece and vignette titles.

A third and concluding volume of Sharon Turner's "Sacred History of the World."

A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament. By E. Robinson, D.D. late Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary, Andover, North America. Edited, with careful revision, corrections, occasional additions, and a Preface, By the Rev. S. T. Bloomfield, D.D. F.S.A.

A "History of English Literature," critical, philosophical, and bibliographical. By J. D'Israeli, Esq. 8vo.

"The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon." By T. H. Lister, Esq. author of "Granby," &c. 3 vols. 8vo. With Portrait.

"Early Recollections, chiefly relating to the late S. T. Coleridge, during his long residence in Bristol." By Joseph Cottle, Esq.

Preparing for publication, "Memoirs of Samuel Taylor Coleridge." By James Gillman, Esq.

The First Publication of the "Central Society of Education," consisting of Papers by the following gentlemen:—Thomas Wyse, Esq. M.P.; C. Baker, Esq.; B. Hawes, jun. Esq. M.P.; A. De Morgan, Esq.; A. Allen, Esq.; W. Wittich, Esq.; G. R. Porter, Esq.; B. F. Duppa, Esq.; together with the Statistical Enquiries of the Society. 1 vol. 12mo. (*To appear in April.*)

Translation from the German, in the Press. "The Historical Antiquities of the Greeks," considered with reference to their Political Institutions, translated from the German of W. Wachsmuth, Professor of History in the University of Leipzig, by Edmund Woolrich, Esq. ——"The History of Ancient Philosophy," by Dr. Heinrich Ritter, Professor in the University of Berlin.——K. O. Muller's "Manual of the Archæology of Art."——Aug. Matthiæ's "Manual of the History of Greek and Roman Literature."——"The History of Carthage," by Dr. Wilh. Bœtticher, with a Map.——"History of Roman Literature," by Dr. Joh. Ch. Felix Bæhr, Professor at Heidelberg.——A new edition of Herren's "African Nations," with additions, corrections, and

an Index.——Herren's "Essay on the Crusades."——Muller's "Phisiology of Man." Translated from the German by W. Baly, M.D., Graduate of the University of Berlin. 8vo.

"Visit to the Great Oasis;" with an account, ancient and modern, of the Oasis of Amun, and the other Oases of the Libyan Desert now under the dominion of the Pasha of Egypt. With a map and twenty plates. By G. A. Hoskins, Esq. author of "Travels in Ethiopia."

"Conversations in Mineralogy." A new edition, with additions and corrections, and plates by Mr. and Miss Lowry. 2 vols. 12mo.

"Fauna Boreali Americana," Vol. IV. and last, containing the "Insects." By the Rev. W. Kirby, F.R.S. &c. author of "The Introduction to Entomology."

"The Young Scholar's Latin-English Dictionary;" being an abridgment of the Complete Latin-English Dictionary. By the Rev. J. E. Riddle, M.A., of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford.

"The New Botanist's Guide." Vol. II. Comprehending Scotland and adjacent Isles. With a copious Supplement to England and Wales. By Hewett C. Watson.

A new edition, being the third, of Niebuhr's "History of Rome." vol. 1. Translated by Messrs. Hare and Thirlwall.

"Elements of Trigonometry." By Augustus de Morgan, Professor of Mathematics in University College, London. Royal 12mo.

"Greek Testament," from the text of Griesbach; with the various readings of Mill and others, marginal references, and chronological arrangements. 1 small vol. foolscap 8vo.

A volume of Sermons from MSS. of the late Rev. S. Summers, of Bristol.

Art. XIV. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

EDUCATION.

Lectures on Popular Education. By George Coombe. 12mo.

A Philosophical and Practical View of the Social Bearings and Importance of Education. By J. Antrobus.

Education Reform; or the Necessity of a National System of Education. By Thomas Wyse, M.P. 8vo.

HISTORICAL.

The Life of Henry VIII., Founded on Authentic and Original Documents, including an Historical View of his Reign, with Biographical Sketches of Wolsey, More, Erasmus, &c. &c. By Patrick Fraser Tytler, Esq.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Voluntary and Compulsory Systems Compared. Reprinted from the Eclectic Review for March, 1837.

Britannia; or the Moral Claims of Seamen Stated and Expressed. By John Harris.

A Scriptural Inquiry into the Nature and Import of the Image and Likeness of God in Man. By E. W. Grinfield. 8vo.

An Essay, Concerning the Nature of Man. By John Dayman. 8vo.

The Philosophy of Living. By Herbert Mayo, F.R.S., Senior Surgeon of the Middlesex Hospital, &c. &c. Post 8vo.

The West Indies; the Natural and Physical History of the Windward and Leeward Colonies; with some Account of the Moral, Social, and Political Condition of their Inhabitants, immediately before and after the Abolition of Negro Slavery. By Sir Andrew Halliday, K. H., M. D., F.R.S.E., &c., Deputy Inspector General of Army Hospitals. Post 8vo., with Maps.

Questions on the Gospel of St. Luke, with the Lectures, as delivered in the Parish Church of St. George, Bloomsbury, by the Rev. Thomas Vowler Short, B.D., Rector. Foolscap 8vo.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR MAY, 1837.

Art. I. *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands; with Remarks upon the Natural History of the Islands; Origin, Languages, Traditions, and Usages of the Islanders.* By JOHN WILLIAMS, of the London Missionary Society. 8vo. London: Snow. 1837.

IF we exclude the equivocal extension of the pale of nominal Christendom by the Romish Missionaries, during nearly fifteen sad centuries, Christianity has been, as John Howe expresses it, 'at an amazing stand—having got no ground upon the 'whole, but rather lost much. Is this,' he exclaims, 'the reli-'gion which so early, by its own native light and power, con-'quered so many nations, and which we expect to be the religion 'of the world? Who that understands this, would not, with 'deepest concern and anxiety of spirit, inquire into the cause?'* The cause, it might then have been replied, was obviously the relapse of the church itself into idolatrous corruptions, and its subsequent captivity; to which the history of the sin and punishment of the ancient Jewish church presents so striking an analogy. The spread of Mohammedism, which displaced nothing better than itself, and the vast and horrid growth of paganism beyond its limits, admit of explanation without any impeachment of the native energy of Divine Truth, or of the fidelity of Him who has promised that, against his church, the powers of darkness shall not prevail. Christianity had ceased to be Christian, before it lost to Mohammedism the ground it had gained from paganism. The sword of the Spirit never crossed the sword of the Arabian

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* Works, vol. iv. p. 89.

conqueror. The Bible has never yet been fairly brought into collision with the Koran. Nor have the heathen kingdoms, till within a few years, been brought into contact with the visible kingdom of Christ. Under such circumstances, there is nothing to justify despondency in the awful survey of that vast proportion of the population of the globe upon which the light of Christianity has not yet arisen, and which may be justly described in apostolic language, as "lying in the wicked one." Those who profess the Christian faith may have laid themselves open too justly to the taunts of the infidel, and Protestants more especially to the boastful challenge of the Papists; but no failure can hitherto be charged upon the religion which is destined to be the religion of the world, and which stakes its Divine truth upon its character of universality.

Yet, strange to say, the Christian, the Reformed Christian church had seemingly ceased to look for any extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, or to make any serious effort of an aggressive kind upon the kingdom of darkness. A period almost as long as the interval between the national restoration of Israel, after the captivity, and the advent of "the Desire of all nations," has intervened between the Reformation which burst the bands of popery, and the remarkable era in which we live. We lay no stress upon the historical analogy or parallelism. We have no theory to build upon it. But it seems as if it had pleased the Great Head of the Church to allow this long and shameful period to elapse, since the emancipation of the church from papal thraldom, in order to show the futility of all secular schemes for upholding and promoting his cause, and that political Protestantism might discover its spiritual impotency. It has had its trial; and *Mene, Mene*, is written upon its walls. We do not forget that, in the seventeenth century, the Dutch made some efforts to establish the reformed faith in Ceylon and their other possessions in the Indian Seas. But the reprehensible means they employed, and the nominal submission to Christianity with which they contented themselves in their heathen converts, lead us to view their proceedings as a reproach upon Protestantism, rather than as an honourable evidence of enlightened zeal. Yet, alas, we must own the conduct of the Dutch to have been worthy of a Christian nation, compared with the atheistic policy of the British Government in our Eastern possessions. The Danes have the honour of founding the first Protestant mission in India; and 50,000 converts have formed the seal of the labours of Ziegenbalg, Schwartz, and their brethren in the missions on the Coromandel coast. The Moravians (or United Brethren) bear the palm, however, in their exertions for the conversion of the heathen. They have been characterized as a Missionary church almost from the foundation of their Society. 'When they sent

'forth their first Missionaries, the congregation consisted of only 'about 600 persons, many of whom were poor despised exiles; 'yet, this inconsiderable company made such noble and extensive exertions for the conversion of the heathen, as reflect, not 'only the highest honour on themselves, but indelible disgrace 'on all the rest of the Christian world. In the short period of 'eight or nine years, they sent Missionaries to Greenland, to 'St. Thomas, to St. Croix, to Surinam, to Berbice, and the Indians of North America, to the negroes of South Carolina, to 'Lapland, to Tartary, to Guinea, to the Cape of Good Hope, 'and to the island of Ceylon.' *

The history of the Greenland mission is fraught with extraordinary interest; and the self-denying and heroic zeal of the brethren have extorted admiration even from those who are apt to regard Missionary operations in general as having their origin in fanaticism. Like the earlier labours of Eliot among the Indians of Massachusetts, and those of Sergeant and Brainerd among the same race, these missions of the United Brethren, and those in the Danish settlements, excited little attention, and still less of emulation, in the Protestant world at large. Even by those who regarded them with the liveliest interest, they were viewed as enterprises of Christian philanthropy, and as generous attempts to extend the blessings of redemption to the outcasts of the human race, rather than as proceedings adapted to advance the eventual triumph of the kingdom of Christ. Their result has proved, indeed, that no portions of the human family are too degraded in the intellectual scale, or too debased in their moral condition, to be capable of participation in the regenerating and transforming influences of the Gospel. Viewed in this light, the moral experiment, made under such various circumstances, is triumphantly complete. The Polar savage, the wild Indian, the Hottentot, the negro slave, have all been brought under the more than humanizing power of divine truth; and the moral change they have exhibited, has perplexed the philosophers of this world, who, unable to deny the effect, have still been sceptical as to the true cause. 'We do not doubt the events at 'Otaheite,' is the remark of a learned foreign Naturalist, '*but we* '*cannot conceive of them.*' So, with regard to the success of Missionary operations in other quarters, unable to conceive of the efficacy of the Gospel upon the unfurnished and untaught minds of the heathen, men of this world have endeavoured to resolve the result into the process of civilization; and the Moravians have even been held up as an example to other Missionaries, on the supposition, contrary to the fact, that they have

* Brown's Hist. of the Propagation of Christianity, vol. i. p. 272.

begun their attempts among the heathen with the work of civilizing them. The history of the Greenland mission more especially refutes this notion and the fallacious reasonings founded upon it. 'Never,' remarks Dr. Chalmers, 'was human nature 'subjected to experiment under circumstances more favourable. 'Never did it come in a more simple and elementary state under 'the treatment of a foreign application. There was no disturb-'ing cause to affect the result of this interesting trial; no bias 'of education to embarrass our conclusions; no mixture of any 'previous ingredient to warp and darken the phenomena, or to 'throw a disguise over that clear and decisive principle which 'was on the eve of emerging from them. *The rationalizing 'process of the divine was first put into operation, and it failed.* 'The Greenlanders refused to move a single step, and with as 'great obstinacy as the world of matter refuses to conform 'her processes to the fanciful theories of men. The brethren, 'disheartened at the result of an operation so fatiguing and so 'fruitless, resolved to vary the experiment; and, throwing 'aside all their preparatory instructions, they brought the word 'of the testimony directly to bear upon them. The effect was 'instantaneous. God, who knoweth what is in man, knoweth 'also the kind of application that should be made to man. He 'glorified the word of his grace, and gave it efficacy. That 'word which He himself commanded to be preached to all 'nations—to the barbarians as well as to the Greeks—is surely 'the mighty instrument for pulling down the strongholds; and 'the Moravians have found it so. The Greenland experiment 'has furnished them with a principle which they carry along with 'them in all their enterprises. It has seldom failed them in any 'quarter of the globe; and they can now appeal to thousands 'and thousands of their converts, as so many distinct testimonies 'to the efficacy of the Bible.'*

Satisfactory and instructive, however, as the experiment, repeated under such various circumstances, and upon such different moral materials, has been to the Christian believer, scarcely an approximation might seem to be made to a solution of the awful problem, by what means the conversion of the world is to be accomplished. That the word of God is the only adequate instrument of spiritual conquest, all believers will readily admit; and the conversion of a Hindoo or a Chinese, a Brahmin or a Mussulman, cannot be considered as a work of greater difficulty, than that of a North American Indian, a Greenlander, or a Hottentot. "With men it is impossible, but not with God,"

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* Eclectic Review, Second Series, Vol. iii. p. 7, Article, "Journal of a Voyage from Okkak.

applies as much to the one case as to the other. This is true, at least, limiting our view to the individual. But, when we extend our contemplation to the immense masses of the heathen population among whom idolatry has entrenched itself, as in an impregnable fortress, in the civil and sacred institutions, the literature, the national usages and traditional superstitions, we must admit it to be a very different thing, to regenerate by Christian teaching, a barbarous horde, or a simple, inoffensive race like those who shiver within the frozen circle, and to effect the overthrow of ancient superstitions, still retaining their hold upon the minds of millions, and upheld by a crafty priesthood. Yet it was against principalities and powers, and spiritual wickednesses of this description, that the first propagators of the Christian faith had to combat; and it was in spite of not less formidable obstacles that its primitive triumphs were achieved. The gods of India are not mightier than were those of Rome and Egypt. And if Christianity is to become as universal in its extent as in its character and its claims—and to doubt this is to impeach its Divine authority—events must be preparing, very different, at least in point of magnitude, from any which the church has witnessed since the first conquests of Christianity were arrested by intestine schisms and incipient apostacy.

But the Christian world has become infidel in its expectations; and even while wakening in some degree to a recognition of its duty, as regards the heathen, is ready to despair of the predicted and certain issue, the subjugation of all nations to the obedience of faith. And because what has been effected by the labours of the noble little army of Missionaries, during the last hundred years, appears to have advanced in so trifling and almost imperceptible a degree the glorious consummation, many pious persons have been tempted to imagine that an instrumentality, very different from that by which Christianity was at first propagated and established, is to be called into operation in order to its final triumph;—that some miraculous interposition, some new dispensation of Divine judgment, is to come in aid of the power of the Gospel and "the foolishness of preaching" in the latter day. We must regard this notion as one that is nearly allied to a pernicious fanaticism. It has a tendency to paralyse all exertions, and to mislead the views and expectations of the church. "In these, *the last days*, God has spoken to us by his Son, whom he has made heir of all things."

Still, the inquiry returns upon us, How comes it to pass that, hitherto, Christianity has seemed to be, in reference both to Mohammedism and to paganism, (and we might add, to popery also,) almost at a stand? Little or no impression appears to have been made upon the visible kingdom of Satan: idolatry still maintains its ground, and numbers among its votaries much more

than half the population of the globe. We think that to this inquiry an answer might be given, which should go a great way toward a satisfactory explanation, by adducing, on the one hand, signs of a mighty revolution already begun, and moral effects more than proportioned to the limited operations of Christian zeal, and by pointing out, on the other hand, existing impediments and hinderances to the progress of Christianity among the heathen, quite distinct from those which their condition in itself presents. But we waive this inquiry for the present; our immediate object being to bring before our readers the leading facts connected with the establishment of Christianity in the Polynesian islands, on the ruins of a fondly cherished idolatry—the most wonderful revolution in modern times—as a specimen of the rapidity, the suddenness with which similar conversions may possibly take place upon a far grander scale; and as an event sufficient to justify the reasonableness of the most sanguine expectations as to the speedy downfal of every kindred abomination before the spreading light and power of the Gospel.

It may be regarded as not a little singular, that the founders of the London Missionary Society, who appear to have formed an enlarged view of the immense sphere of Christian enterprise, so as to feel it 'difficult to decide at what part to begin,' should have fixed upon the South Sea Islands as presenting 'the fewest difficulties and the fairest prospects of success.' But those islands were at the time, through the florid descriptions given of them by different navigators, invested with a romantic interest.

'The wonderful accounts published respecting these newly-discovered regions,' says Mr. Williams, 'very naturally excited unprecedented and almost universal interest. The climate was represented as most salubrious; the cold of winter was never known, and the heat of a tropical country was alleviated by breezes from the ocean. The scenery of the islands was represented as most enchanting; their productions most wonderful; and the manners and customs of the inhabitants as altogether novel and peculiar. The universal interest excited by these representations is, therefore, not a matter of wonder. The mind of the late excellent Countess of Huntingdon was deeply affected by the account of the inhabitants of these interesting islands, and she was anxiously desirous that the gospel, with all its attendant blessings, might be conveyed to them. I believe her dying charge to her beloved chaplain, Dr. Haweis, was, never to lose sight of this object.'—p. 5.

To the influence of Dr. Haweis, the resolution of the Directors to commence their Missionary efforts in this distant region, is to be attributed; and much reason as there is to rejoice in the result, we cannot regard the decision as originally dictated by sound judgment. Mr. Williams very candidly says:—

'Notwithstanding all that has been effected in the Tahitian and

Society islands, in transforming their barbarous, indolent, and idolatrous inhabitants into a comparatively civilized, industrious, and Christian people, I never considered this groupe alone as worthy the lives and labours of the number of Missionaries who have been employed there. It is only by viewing the Tahitian Mission as a fountain from whence the streams of salvation are to flow to the numerous islands and clusters scattered over that extensive ocean, that we can perceive it to be worthy of the importance that has been attached to it, or of the labour and expense which the London Missionary Society has bestowed upon it. To this Mission, however, considered in its relation to other islands, too much importance cannot be attached; for, in addition to the numerous islands now professedly Christian, there are, within a comparatively small distance, many large and extensive groupes of which little is known. Among these are the Fiji, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Solomon's Archipelago, New Britain, New Ireland, and, above all, the immense island of New Guinea. This island is said to be about 1,200 miles in length, and, in some parts, about 300 in breath. It is reported to be a most beautiful island, rich in all the productions of a tropical climate, inhabited by several millions of immortal beings, suffering all the terrific miseries of a barbarous state, and dying without a knowledge of God or the gospel of his Son. The Fiji is an extensive groupe, said to comprise from 100 to 200 islands, which vary in size from five to 500 miles in circumference; all teeming with inhabitants in the most degraded and wretched state of barbarism.'—pp. 6, 7.

The islands and clusters to which the gospel has already been conveyed from the Tahitian and Society Islands, the original seat of the Mission, are, south of the line, the Austral Islands, 400 miles south of Tahiti; the Paumotu, the Gambier, and the Marquesas Islands, to the eastward; the Hervey Islands, Navigators', and Friendly Islands, to the westward; and, north of the line, the Sandwich Islands, 3,000 miles north of Tahiti, containing a population of 150,000 souls. The total population of the various groupes, Mr. Williams estimates at little short of 300,000 souls, the greater part of whom have abandoned idolatry, with all its barbarous practices, its horrid rites, and superstitious customs. The immediate scene of the Author's missionary labours, or what may be termed his head-quarters, was the island of Raiatea, the largest and most central of the Society Islands. He joined the Mission in 1817,* two years after the abolition of idolatry in Tahiti. As, however, such ample information has been communicated to the public respecting the Tahitian and Society Islands,

* Mr. Williams is now in England, pleading the cause of the Polynesian Mission; as is also his venerable colleague, the Rev. Mr. Nott, one of the first Missionaries who went out in the Duff, and whose object in visiting this country, after an absence of nearly forty years, is to superintend the printing of the Tahitian version of the Scriptures.

(especially in Mr. Ellis's Polynesian Researches,) Mr. Williams confines his descriptive remarks and narrative chiefly to two groupes, which are entirely new fields of Missionary labour; the Hervey Islands and the Navigators' Islands. The present volume, it will therefore be seen, comprises much that is novel. Indeed, of the large island of Rarotonga, the most important of the Hervey groupe, the Author claims to be the discoverer. This groupe, situated between 500 and 600 miles west of Tahiti, is composed of seven islands; viz., Hervey's Island, so named by Captain Cook, in honour of Captain Hervey, then one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and afterwards Earl of Bristol; Mauke; Mitiaro; Atiu; Mangaia; Rarotonga; and Aitutaki. Four of these, viz., Hervey's Island, Atiu, Mangaia, and Aitutaki, were discovered by Captain Cook; but very little was known of them before they were visited by Mr. Williams and his colleague, Mr. Bourne, in 1823. At that time, the population of Hervey's Island had been reduced, by frequent and exterminating wars, to about sixty persons.

'Some six or seven years after this,' says Mr. Williams, 'I visited the same island again, and found that this miserable remnant of the former population, had fought so frequently and so desperately, that the only survivors were five men, three women, and a few children. And at that period, there was a contention among them as to which should be king!'—p. 17.

The population of Mauke, formerly considerable, had been reduced, in 1823, by an invasion from a neighbouring island, followed by a dreadful massacre, to about 300. This island, as well as Mitiaro, is small and low, and might easily have escaped the notice of the great navigator. But Rarotonga is of a different class. Mr. Williams thus speaks of it:

'This splendid island escaped the untiring researches of Captain Cook, and was discovered by myself in 1823. It is a mass of mountains, which are high, and present a remarkably romantic appearance. It is situated in lat. 21° 20′ S., lon. 160° W. It has several good boat harbours, is about 30 miles in circumference, and is surrounded by a reef. The population is about 6000 or 7000.'—p. 18.

The population of the whole groupe amounts to about 15,000 persons. Some very interesting suggestions are offered with respect to the formation of these groupes; some of which are evidently volcanic;* others appear to have been thrown up by

* In Hawaii, of the Sandwich Islands,—in Toofua and Proby, of the Friendly Isles,—and in Tanna, of the New Hebrides, volcanoes are still in active operation. Raiatea, the largest of the Society Islands, is also of the volcanic class.

some powerful expansive force, without eruption; while a third class are low islands of coral formation. In Atiu and Mauke are extensive caverns, having a stratum of *crystallized coral*, fifteen feet in thickness. In one of these exquisitely beautiful caverns, Mr. Williams walked for about two hours, without finding any termination to its windings. This circumstance, together with the entire absence of scoria, lava, and other volcanic phenomena, warrants his conclusion, that they have been elevated 'by the 'upheaving power of an earthquake, or the volcanic intrusion of 'matter somewhere under their base,' without being the actual production of volcanic agency. In Mangaia, where there is also a small quantity of fine-grained basalt, there is a subterraneous communication with the sea, extending more than a mile inland.* At Raiatea, there is a similar communication with the ocean. With regard to the low coral islands, Mr. Williams combats the theory of their recent and rapid formation; and gives his decided opinion, justified by very extensive observations, that the rapidity of coral growth has been most egregiously overrated and overstated. The traditions of the natives, extending thirty generations back, make no mention of new islands; although 'every 'island which has subsequently been discovered, within 2000 'miles, is named' in them. That the substance of the coral is composed either of the *exuviæ* of the marine insect, or of a secretion from it, or of the decomposed remains of the numerous zoophytes, Mr. Williams shows to be not merely improbable, but incredible; and he supposes them to be 'merely the wonderful 'architects which nature employs to mould and fashion this ma-'terial.'

'While I believe in the agency of insects in the formation of the branching, the brain, and other corals, and also in that of roundish masses of various size, which, when broken, have much the appearance of coarse lump sugar, and may be the work of the saxigenous polypes, yet, for two or three apparently conclusive reasons, I think the rock of which the reefs and islands are composed, is not the production of insects. The first of these relates to the height of these masses. Lyell states that the class of polypes, to which this work is assigned, cannot live in water of great depth, and quoting Mr. Stuchbury and other scientific authorities, suggests that twenty-five or thirty feet is the lowest point at which they can work. If this be correct, how can we account for the solid rock eighty feet above the surface of the water, of which Henderson's Island, visited by Captain Beechy, is composed; for the rocks of Rurutu, 150 feet; and for those of Mangaia, 300 feet in height? none of which present appearances to

* In Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands, there is an account of a remarkable cavern in the Isle of Toofua, the entrance to which is a fathom under the sea at low water.

warrant the supposition that they have been elevated by a succession of efforts. * The inference to be drawn from this is, that the insects do exist in greater depths than are now assigned to them, or that these solid masses are not the effect of their labour; the one or the other must be the case. To the latter opinion I entirely yield.

'Another reason equally conclusive is, that while the madrepore, the brain, and every other species of coral, are full of little cells, the reefs and islands appear to be solid masses of compact *crystal* limestone, in which nothing like a cell can be detected, but which, on the contrary, present a fine stratified appearance. Lyell intimates, 'that this continuous mass of stone is composed of shells, broken off, prickles of the echini, fragments of coral, united by calcareous sand, produced by the pulverization of shells,' &c. Now this kind of marine rubble, I think, is invariably in strata from three to nine inches in thickness; and the solid masses composing the islands and reefs, to which I have alluded, are pure and unmixed. A third objection I have to allowing the reefs and islands to be the work of insects, is the amazing length of time, as I have already shown, that would be required to produce them. May not these structures have been produced by the chemical precipitation of the minute calcareous particles of which I have spoken? or may not the late experiments at the Philosophical Institution at Bristol throw some light upon this subject? There, Mr. Cross, by passing electric fluid through water, detached the calcareous and silicious particles, and produced stones of various kinds. Now, in tropical climates, lightning is very frequent and vivid, and perhaps may exert an influence which has not hitherto been assigned to it; but more especially, electric fluid may be engendered, to a considerable extent, by the sub-marine and other volcanoes which abound in the South Seas, and produce an effect adequate to the formation of these wonderful and invaluable structures. †

'After all, however, that I have seen, and thought, and read upon the subject, my impression is, that the islands remain much in the same state as when the deluge left them; and that every subsequent alteration has been partial in its character, and exceedingly limited in its extent.'—pp. 34—36.

These very intelligent and judicious observations will show the author to be a person of no ordinary acuteness and sagacity; and this is amply evinced, although the narrative is entirely free from any ambitious display, by his conduct under circumstances of no ordinary delicacy and difficulty. We shall not attempt any abstract of the narrative, as we feel assured that the volume will

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* 'See Captain Beechy's Account of Henderson's Island.'

† 'In my late visit to Bristol, I found that Mr. Cross produced his crystals, not by violent shocks of electricity, but by a small constant stream of electric fluid; which appears to be the manner in which it would be emitted in submarine volcanoes, and may account for the circumstance of the coral reefs and islands being formed on their summits.'

soon be in the hands of all our readers. It abounds with incidents of the most varied and affecting interest, and brings before us the *working* of the Mission, and the life of the Missionary, more distinctly and graphically than any work which we recollect to have seen. All that we propose is, to select a few illustrations of the most striking features of the moral revolution which has taken place among these islanders.

The circumstances under which the Gospel was first introduced, by means of *native* teachers, into Rurutu, one of the islands of the Austral groupe, have been detailed in the Journal of the Deputation, edited by Mr. Montgomery, and will be in the recollection of many of our readers.* It appears to have been the remarkable success which had attended the introduction of the Gospel into that island, that led to the determination to send forth two native Missionaries from Raiatea to the island of Aitutaki, at which Mr. Williams proposed to touch in his way to New South Wales, in 1821, for the recovery of his health. They were accordingly left there to commence operations; and in April, 1822, gratifying letters were received from them, stating the dangers to which they had been exposed, and the partial success that had attended their efforts, together with the important information, that at Aitutaki were several natives from an adjacent island, called Rarotonga, who had embraced the gospel, and were anxious to return to their own island with teachers. Upon receiving this intelligence, it was determined that Mr. Williams, who had in the meantime returned to Raiatea, and his brother-labourer, Mr. Bourn, should proceed to Aitutaki, with six native Missionaries, and thence endeavour to discover Rarotonga, and to introduce the gospel into every island of the Hervey groupe. After about five days' pleasant sail, they reached the former island, where, it must be recollected, no European teacher had previously set his foot, and the inhabitants of which were, when the native teachers first landed, not only idolaters, but cannibals. We must give Mr. Williams's description of the scene which awaited his arrival.

'A number of canoes crowded around us, filled with men, every one of whom was anxious to get on board our ship. We had, however, determined not to allow any canoes alongside, until we had seen either the chief or one of the teachers; for, had the natives been hostile, they could easily have captured our small vessel. We received a grateful salutation from every canoe that approached us. Some of the natives cried out, 'Good is the word of God: it is now well with Aitutaki! The good word has taken root at Aitutaki!' Finding, however, that we did not repose entire confidence in their assertions, some held up their hats, others their spelling-books, to convince us of the truth of

* Eclectic Review, Third Series, Vol. VI., pp. 195—198.

what they stated. As we approached the settlement, we beheld, from the vessel, a flag-staff, with a white flag flying, which satisfied us that the teachers were alive. At length the chief's canoe came alongside, when we learned from Tebati, one of the first who embraced the Gospel, that the maraes were burned; that the idols which had escaped the general conflagration were in the possession of the teachers; that the profession of Christianity was general, so much so, that not a single idolater remained; and that a large chapel was erected, nearly 200 feet in length, plastered, and awaiting my arrival to open it. This news was as delightful as it was unexpected. When the teachers came on board, they not only confirmed all that had been told us, but added, that the Sabbath was regarded as a sacred day, no work of any kind being done; that all the people, men, women, and children, attended Divine service; and that family prayer was very general throughout the island. Joy beamed in every countenance, and gratitude glowed in every heart, at hearing this good news. We hastened to the shore to be eye-witnesses of what had been effected. The natives crowded around the boat, and having to drag it a considerable distance, they amused and delighted us; for, instead of the unsightly gesticulations and lascivious songs with which I was greeted on my first visit, some were now spelling long words, and others were repeating portions of the catechism, or a prayer; another asking a blessing on his food; and others singing a verse of a hymn; indeed, every one appeared anxious to show what progress he had made in the new religion.

'Shortly after landing, we convened a meeting of the chiefs and people, at which we expressed our joy at hearing and seeing that they had demolished their maraes, embraced the Gospel of Christ, and erected so fine and large a house for the worship of the one living and true God.' pp. 58, 59.

The Aitutakians endeavoured to dissuade the Missionaries from going to Rarotonga, assuring them that the people of that island were very ferocious and treacherous. They resolved, however, to proceed. For several days they traversed the ocean in search of this island without success; and at length steered for Mangaia, where a first attempt, made by the native teachers, to introduce Christian instruction, proved unsuccessful. The heroic courage and self-devotion of Papeiha on this and other occasions, cannot fail to excite the warmest admiration. They next steered for Atiu, whither, three months before, two native teachers had been sent.

'We found them,' says Mr. Williams, 'in a most pitiable condition, having been stripped by the natives of every article of property, suffering exceedingly from hunger, and much disheartened by their want of success. We had not been long near the island, when we perceived a large double canoe approaching us, in the centre of which, on an elevated stage, was seated the principal chief. His person was tall and slender, and his aspect commanding. He was clothed in a white

shirt, having a piece of Indian print girt round his loins; his long and beautiful black hair hung gracefully over his shoulders, or waived in the passing breeze, as, with the motion of his body, he kept time to the rowers. We gave him a hearty welcome on board. Our friend from Aitutaki was so full of zeal for the conversion of his brother chieftain, that, as soon as he reached the deck, he led him away from us, and commenced his work by informing him that the maraes of Aitutaki were demolished, the great idols burnt, and the smaller ones were on board the ship, to be conveyed to Raiatea, the island from which the teachers came who had instructed him. To this he added, that a large white house, made of 'toka tuniu,' burnt or roasted stone, had been erected, and dedicated to the worship of Jehovah, who was the only true God. 'All our offerings to our false gods,' continued this now Christian chief, his countenance gleaming with animation as he spoke, 'cannot procure us pardon; but God has given his Son Jesus Christ to die for us, and through Him mercy is bestowed. I am come,' said he, 'to advise you to receive the good word. Our gods were one formerly; mine are now all abandoned, many of them destroyed; let us both worship one God again, but let it be the true God.' In confirmation of his statements, he led the astonished chieftain into the hold of the vessel, and exhibited to his view their once dreaded, and, as they imagined, powerful gods, which were there lying in degradation. By some circumstance, which I do not now recollect, this chief was induced to remain on board during the night, and the following day being Sabbath, he attended worship. In the course of my address I read and commented upon what is said by David and Isaiah in reference to idols. The mind of Roma-tane was powerfully impressed by these vivid representations of the folly of idolatry, especially by the words, 'with part thereof he roasteth roast, and is satisfied; and the residue thereof he maketh a god, and worshippeth it, and prayeth unto it, and saith, Deliver me, for thou art my God.' Nothing could be better calculated to make an impression on the mind of an intelligent South Sea islander, than these inimitable verses of inspired truth; indeed, the effect is likely to be far greater than that produced on the mind of an English reader. The natives have two words not very much unlike, but expressive of opposite ideas—*moa* and *noa*, the *moa* meaning sacred, and *noa* the very reverse of sacred. All that pertains to the gods is the superlative of *moa;* and all that pertains to food and the cooking of food, the superlative of *noa.* The idea now, for the first time, darted with irresistible force into the mind of Roma-tane; and he perceived at once the excessive folly of making a god and cooking food from one and the same tree, thus uniting two opposite extremes, the *moa* and the *noa.* The astonished chief appeared for some time lost in wonder. At length he retired, and spent the whole of the night in conversation with the teachers and chiefs from Aitutaki about the wonderful truths he had heard; frequently rising up, and stamping with astonishment that he should have been deluded so long, and expressing his determination never again to worship his idol gods. 'Eyes, it is true,' said he, 'they have; but wood cannot see; ears they have, but wood cannot hear.'

'Very early the following day, the teachers came to us with this pleasing intelligence; and in a subsequent conversation with the chief, he expressed to us his full determination to demolish his maraes, to burn his idols, and to commence immediately erecting a house for the worship of Jehovah.' pp. 83—86.

Roma-tane consented to accompany the Missionaries to the two adjacent islands, Mitiaro and Mauke.

'On our arrival at Mitiaro, the king sent for the resident chief of the island, to whom he stated that the object of his visit was to exhort him and the people to burn the maraes, abandon the worship of their gods, and place themselves under the instruction of a teacher whom we were about to leave with them, and who would teach them the word and worship of the true God, Jehovah. He wished, moreover, that the house they were erecting for himself should be converted into a house of prayer, under the direction of the teacher. The people listened with astonishment, and inquired if the gods would not all be enraged, and strangle them. 'No,' replied the king, 'it is out of the power of the wood that we have adorned and called a god, to kill us.' 'But,' said one, 'must we burn Taria-nui?' or Great Ears.* 'Yes,' replied the king, 'commit him and all the evil spirits to the flames.' He then requested them to behave with kindness to Taua, the teacher, and give attention to his instructions. They asked the king if he would not come to the celebration of the great festival which he had ordered them to prepare. He replied that he should come, but that it would be on a different business. 'I shall come,' said the chief, 'to behold your steadfastness in this good work, and your kindness to the teacher you have received.' pp. 86, 87.

At Mauke, the advice of this intelligent chief was received with equal astonishment, and with the same deference; and the natives consented to place themselves under the instruction of the teachers; a striking fulfilment, our Author remarks, of the words of the Psalmist: 'As soon as they hear me, they shall obey me: the strangers shall submit themselves unto me.' For the very first vessel which ever visited these islands, carried to them the glad tidings of salvation. The next vessel which visited Mauke, was his Majesty's superb frigate, the Blonde, commanded by Lord Byron; and, in the published Narrative of that voyage, an account is given of the hospitable reception which, to their utter astonishment, they met with from the now Christian inhabitants of this newly-discovered island. At Atiu, the work of conversion was equally rapid; and Messrs. Tyerman and Bennet, the next visiters to that island, found that the whole population had renounced their idols, and had built a large chapel. At Rarotonga, where a similar revolution was found to have taken

* The name of the god of which the king himself was the priest.

place, the people had been in some measure prepared for the reception of Divine truth by the following circumstances:

'A heathen woman had, by some means or other, been conveyed from the island of Tahiti to Rarotonga, and on her arrival she informed the Rarotongans of all the wonders she had seen; stating that they were not the only people in the world; that there were others entirely white, whom they called Cookees; that Captain Cook had been to her island, and that, subsequently to his visit, the servants of Jehovah and Jesus Christ, the white man's God, had come, and were still residing there; that at her island they had ceased to use stone axes for hewing their trees, for those servants of Jehovah, and others, had brought sharp things, which they called *opahi*, with which they could cut them down with the greatest facility; that they had also ceased to use human bones as tools for making canoes and building houses, for the same people had brought them sharp hard things, with which they could effect their work with far greater ease; that their children did not now cry and scream while they had their hair cut, as they formerly did, when it was performed with sharks' teeth, for the Cookees had brought them bright things, which were so sharp that the operation afforded pleasure rather than pain; and that they had no need now to go down to the water to look at themselves, because these wonderful people had brought them small shining things, which they could carry about with them, and in which they could see themselves as plainly as they could see each other. These, with a variety of other 'mea tu ke,' or very strange things, which this heathen female told the astonished inhabitants of this secluded garden of the ocean, excited so much interest, that the king, Makea, called one of his children '*Tehovah*' (Jehovah), and another Jesus Christ. An uncle of the king, who we hope is at this time a truly good man, erected an altar to Jehovah and Jesus Christ, and to it persons afflicted with all manner of diseases were brought to be healed; and so great was the reputation which this marae obtained, that the power of Jehovah and Jesus Christ became great in the estimation of the people.' pp. 105, 106.

The Missionaries were indebted to Roma-tane for the directions by which they at length reached this island. They succeeded in opening an amicable negociation with one of the chiefs; but would have been obliged to abandon it as a field of labour, owing to the licentious behaviour of the natives, had not the intrepid Papeiha again offered to hazard his life in the enterprise; and he remained there, with the little company of converted Rarotongans who had returned on the same visit from Aitutaki. When Mr. Bourn visited the Hervey groupe not long after, the progress which had been made there excited his astonishment. 'Much has been said in Europe,' he writes, 'concerning the success of the gospel in Tahiti and the Society Islands, but it is not 'to be compared with its progress in Rarotonga.'

'In Tahiti, European Missionaries laboured for fifteen long years before the least fruit appeared. But, two years ago, Rarotonga was

hardly known to exist, was not marked in any of the charts, and we spent much time in traversing the ocean in search of it. Two years ago, the Rarotongans did not know that there was such good news as the gospel. And now I scruple not to say, that their attention to the means of grace, their regard to family and private prayer, equals whatever has been witnessed at Tahiti and the neighbouring islands. And when we look at the means, it becomes more astonishing. Two native teachers, not particularly distinguished among their own countrymen for intelligence, have been the instruments of effecting this wonderful change, and that before a single (European) Missionary had set his foot upon the island.' pp. 111, 112.

The details of this extraordinary revolution, as subsequently related by Papeiha, are given by Mr. Williams in his twelfth chapter, and they will form one of the most precious records in the annals of the Christian church. We must resist the temptation to extract any part of it; but the Author's concluding remarks are too important to be withheld from our readers.

'Here I would notice an assertion of Professor Lee, who ascribes the progress of Christianity in the South Sea Islands to the aid it derived from the civil power. Now this statement is not founded in truth. Having witnessed the introduction of Christianity into a greater number of islands than any other Missionary, I can safely affirm, that in no single instance has the civil power been employed in its propagation. It is true, that the *moral* influence of the chiefs has, in many instances, been most beneficially exerted in behalf of Christianity; but never, to my knowledge, have they employed coercion, to induce their subjects to embrace it. And I feel satisfied, that in few cases has the beautiful prediction been more strikingly accomplished, "And kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers." Had the Missionaries desired the exercise of that power, the chiefs were not in a condition to gratify them; for they had to defend themselves against the fury of a large portion of their own subjects, by whom they were so fiercely attacked. I am, moreover, happy in being able to contradict the assertion of Dr. Lee; because, were it true, it would have detracted from the honour of Christ, by the interposition of whose providence the great work has been effected: "His own arm hath gotten him the victory." Further, it would have derogated from the honour of Christianity, which has triumphed, not by human authority, but by its own moral power—by the light which it spread abroad, and by the benevolent spirit it disseminated; for "kindness is the key to the human heart," whether it be that of savage or civilized man; and when, instead of being barbarously murdered, they were treated with kindness, the multitude immediately embraced the truth, for they naturally attributed this mighty transformation in their formerly sanguinary chieftains to the benign influence of the Gospel upon their minds.'—pp. 190, 191.

Mr. Williams himself visited Rarotonga in 1827; Papeiha and

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* 'See Prof. Lee's Second Letter, &c., p. 57.'

† 'See Ellis's Polynesian Researches, vol. i. p. 259.'

his colleague having expressed an earnest wish that he would come and spend a few months with them, as the work was 'so 'heavy that they could not carry it.' He was detained there a twelvemonth, during which he had to discharge the very different occupations and functions of a religious instructor, a linguist and translator, a carpenter and shipwright, a ropemaker and tobacco-planter, a jurist and lawgiver. Hitherto, the Rarotongans had made but little progress in learning to read, notwithstanding the unremitting endeavours of the native teachers; owing, as it afterwards appeared, to their instructing them in the Tahitian dialect, which differs from that of the Hervey groupe. Mr. Williams and his colleague determined, therefore, on preparing some books in their own dialect; and no sooner were these put into their hands, than their progress became as rapid as it had been slow before. 'I may add,' says our Author, 'that I think it a circum-'stance of rare occurrence, that a religious impression is produced 'upon the minds of a people, except by addressing them in their 'mother tongue.' His labours as a legislator consisted in drawing up, at the request of the chief, a simple code of laws, which were formally adopted in a general convention; and his remarks upon the subject evince the sound discretion which governed his conduct.

'Some, perhaps, may object, that the above are points with which a Missionary ought not to meddle. I cannot here enter into a lengthened discussion as to the extent to which the Missionary may wisely interfere with the civil institutions of the people; but shall only observe, that it would be criminal were he, while seeking to elevate the moral character of a community, and to promote among it the habits and usages of civilized life, to withhold any advice or assistance which might advance these designs. It has been shown, that their civil and judicial polity, and all their ancient usages, were interwoven with their superstitions; and that all these partook of the sanguinary character of the system in which they were embodied, and by which they were sanctioned: thus maintaining a perpetual warfare with the well-being of the community. The Missionary goes among them, and, by the blessing of God upon his labours, they are delivered from the dominion of the idolatrous system which had governed them for ages, and in its stead embrace Christianity. Subsequently they become acquainted with new principles; are taught to read the portions of the word of God which are translated and put into their hands; and soon perceive that their ancient usages are incompatible with Christian precepts, and that such a superstructure cannot stand on a Christian foundation. To whom, then, can they apply for advice in this dilemma, but to the persons from whom their knowledge has been derived? and what less can the Missionary do, than give it freely and fully? I would not, however, be supposed to advocate the assumption of political authority by the Missionary, but, on the contrary, that he should interfere as little as possible; and, whether it be in civil, legal, or

political affairs, that he should do so solely by his advice and influence. There are circumstances, however, especially in newly-formed Missions, where he must step out of his ordinary course, and appear more prominent than he would wish; for, frequently, a word from the Missionary, rightly-timed, will do more towards settling a dispute, healing a breach, burying an animosity, or carrying a useful plan into execution, than a whole year's cavilling of the natives themselves would have effected. And here, in answer to the charge that the Missionaries in the South Seas have assumed even regal authority, I may observe, that no Missionary in the Pacific ever possessed any such authority; that his influence is entirely of a moral character; and I may add, that there are no instances on record where men have used their influence less for their own aggrandizement, or more for the welfare of the people.'—pp. 139, 140

Our readers must admire the versatile industry which could turn from such high vocations to the mechanical labour of constructing a smith's bellows on the principle of a pump, preparatory to setting about building a vessel, which Mr. Williams succeeded in completing and rigging out, without either saw, adze, iron nails, oakum, or other cordage than he manufactured himself from the bark of the hibiscus. The whole was ready for launching in fifteen weeks. The vessel was about sixty feet in length, and eighteen in breadth, and received the appropriate name of 'The Messenger of Peace.' Thinking it prudent to make trial of the vessel, before undertaking the voyage to Tahiti, Mr. Williams set sail for Aitutaki; but he had not proceeded six miles from the shore, when, in shifting the sails, the natives, not observing the directions given to them, let go the foresail, and, as the wind was very strong, it broke the foremast. They were obliged, therefore, to put back, and reached the harbour in safety. Having got a new mast, and repaired the damages, in a few days they sailed again; they reached Aitutaki, and, after remaining there about ten days, returned to Rarotonga with a singular, but acceptable cargo of pigs, cocoa-nuts, and cats. The arrival of Mr. Buzacott, appointed to occupy this station, enabled our Author to strengthen his vessel with iron, of which his intended successor brought a valuable supply; and at length, accompanied by the king of this interesting island, Mr. Williams sailed for Tahiti, distant about eight hundred miles. They performed the voyage in safety, with a fair, but light wind; and not a little wonder was excited by the appearance of 'a strange sail' in the harbour. 'Some took us,' says Mr. Williams, 'for South American patriots; others for pirates; and others could not tell what to make of us.' Their friends on shore, and the officers of the vessels lying there, hastened on board to see the prodigy, and expressed not a little astonishment at every part of the ship. In a few days, the 'Messenger of Peace' sailed for Raiatea, where our

Author arrived, April 26, 1828, after an absence of exactly twelve months.

The first voyage which the 'Messenger of Peace' undertook, subsequently to being thoroughly fitted out, was to convey Messrs. Pritchard and Simpson to the Marquesas. After this, Mr. Platt, another missionary, sailed in her to visit the Hervey islands. In May 1830, Mr. Williams again sailed for those islands, on his way to a far more distant scene of enterprise, having long contemplated a voyage to the Navigators' Islands. In order to gain as much information as possible respecting the inhabitants of that groupe, he proceeded, after visiting all the stations in the Hervey Islands, to Tongataboo, where he received a cordial welcome from the Wesleyan Missionaries stationed in that island. It is deserving of notice, that the way for *their* labours also had been prepared by *native* missionaries connected with the London Missionary Society.

Mr. Williams had not been many days at Tonga, when a man presented himself, who stated that he was a chief of the Navigators' Islands, and, after an absence of eleven years, was anxiously desirous to return thither; offering to employ his utmost influence with the chiefs of those islands, to induce them to receive the teachers. His name was Fauea, and he proved an invaluable acquisition. Nothing could be more unlooked for than this circumstance, nothing more favourable to the enterprise contemplated by the Missionaries; and it is impossible not to be struck with the Providential ordination which thus prepared the way, and provided the instrumentality requisite for success. The moment at which they reached the Navigators' Islands was signally critical. Fauea had, in the course of the voyage, expressed considerable anxiety and misgivings, on account of the probable opposition of a terrific personage named Tamafainga, in whom dwelt 'the spirit of the gods.'

'As soon, however, as we neared the shore, a number of natives came off to us in their canoes, of whom Fauea asked a variety of questions, to all of which he received satisfactory answers. At length, with a tremulous voice, as if afraid to hear the reply, he said, 'And where is *Tamafainga?*' 'Oh!' shouted the people, with evident delight. 'He is dead, he is dead! He was killed only about ten or twelve days ago!' Frantic with joy at this unexpected intelligence, Fauea leaped about the vessel, and ran towards me, shouting, '*Ua mate le Devolo, ua mate le Devolo;*' 'The devil is dead, the devil is dead! our work is done: the devil is dead!!' Astonished at this singular exclamation, I inquired what he meant? when he replied, 'The obstacle we dreaded is removed: Tamafainga is dead; they have killed him: the people now will all receive the lotu.' On hearing this we could not be otherwise than deeply affected with the seasonable interposition of a gracious Providence; and we were encouraged to hope that the time to favour the people, yea, the set time, was

come. And here appears to me the most remarkable feature in this providence. Had this individual been put to death a month or two prior to our arrival, time would have been afforded for the chiefs of the various districts and islands to have met, and nominated a successor, who, from the nature of his office, would of necessity have opposed our designs; but as he had been killed only a few days, the time had not been sufficient to convene a meeting, and consequently there was no person in possession of that important office.'—pp. 325, 326.

The flames of a devastating war, kindled by the partizans of Tamafainga to avenge his death, were literally blazing in the very island on which, in August 1830, the messengers of the gospel of peace disembarked to commence their mission under circumstances of the most auspicious character. An immense crowd had assembled to witness the landing of the first Englishmen who had set foot upon their shores; and the whole scene must have been interesting and impressive in the highest degree. Our limits will not permit us to extract any of the details; but the result we shall give in Mr. Williams's own words.

'We scarcely expected to secure any more than a safe and peaceable settlement for our teachers; and even that had not been obtained on the first visit at any other islands where Missionaries had been previously established. In some places, indeed, the teachers landed at the peril of their lives; and in almost all the Hervey Islands, they were plundered and ill used; while here, they were welcomed with open arms, both by chiefs and people, who vied with each other in expressions of kindness and delight! Instead of losing their property, four excellent dwellings were given to them, and the very best and largest house in the settlement was set apart for public worship and instruction. In addition to this, we ourselves were permitted to land in safety, and to live amongst the people, not only without molestation and dread, but distinguished by every mark of their attention and respect, and importuned by neighbouring chiefs to furnish them also with Missionaries. Thus auspiciously was this interesting and important Mission commenced, through the merciful interposition of an over-ruling Providence, who is pleased to make use of human instrumentality in accomplishing his mightiest works. No doubt much of this success was attributable, under God, to Fauea, with whom we met so providentially, and who was so admirably adapted to further our important embassy. His relationship to the principal chiefs was a circumstance of no small moment, for it was almost certain that had we not met with him, we should not have gone to the place we did, and of course should not have known Malietoa. He was a man of great decision, and not easily diverted from his purpose. Having once expressed my fear lest Malietoa and his countrymen should not receive the teachers, he replied: 'If they do not receive them kindly and treat them well, I will go to a strange land and die there.' Fauea also possessed such soundness of judgment and fluency of speech as would rivet the attention of listening multitudes for hours together, and always

secure him the victory in a dispute. After reaching his home, he and his wife were constantly engaged in describing the triumphs of the Gospel at Tongatabu, where Tupou, the greatest chief in the island, had embraced it, and at the Haapai Islands, where all the people had become Christians. Facts, so well attested and so forcibly described, had immense weight with the natives. Of this we had an interesting proof. When they were told by him, that those who had embraced this religion, could communicate their thoughts to each other at a distance, and while residing even at a remote island, they flocked to the teachers' houses to learn this mysterious art, many of them coming eight or ten times each day, to be taught their letters.'—pp. 353—355.

Here we must close our selections from this most interesting volume. Mr. Williams made a second voyage to these islands, respecting which he has furnished much new and valuable geographical information; but we are unable to pursue the narrative any further.

Art. II *Philosophy and Religion, with their Mutual Bearings Comprehensively Considered, and Satisfactorily Determined, on Clear and Scientific Principles.* By William Brown Galloway, A.M. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 8vo.

THE author of this book, of whom we know nothing but by the book itself, seems to be a pious, we may say an eminently pious man, truly desirous of glorifying God, both by his studies and his writings. By this circumstance, we will confess, though it may be little in harmony with the real or supposed temper of a professional reviewer, our sympathies are enlisted on his side; and we are sure we shall say with pleasure whatever we can say in commendation, and with pain whatever we may feel it our duty to say of a different kind.

It will be admitted on all hands, that, in the mutual bearings of philosophy and religion, Mr. Galloway has chosen a most interesting and important subject. It is not that religion is in any measure dependent on the aid of philosophy; still less that she is subject to its control: but, on the one hand, philosophy has assumed an attitude of hostility to religion, for which there is no good reason; and, on the other, a sound philosophy may contribute much to the destruction of erroneous views of religious truth. Our author justly observes, that 'the roots of most controversies 'are to be found in false philosophy;' and, with as much justice, that 'the poisonous influence of a subtle scepticism has been ex-'tensively diffused, and mingles more with the principles and 'maxims of common life, than most men are aware of.' (Pref. p. vi. viii.) For both these reasons the object he has aimed at is important, and the full measure of success with which he may have prosecuted it, will be matter of congratulation.

He has brought to his task stores of knowledge, and powers of mind, by no means inconsiderable. The volume is highly creditable to him as a writer, as a biblical scholar, and a master of metaphysical reading and thought. It contains passages of much beauty, and contributes, we think, some valuable and original materials for the improvement of metaphysical science. But with all these excellencies there are blended great and obvious defects, of the nature of which, perhaps, we shall give our readers the best idea, by indicating some of the methods in which they discover themselves.

In the very title, then, there is a tone of confidence and complacency, not at all adapted to engage the reader's favourable regard. The volume is announced to us as one in which the Mutual Bearings of Philosophy and Religion are 'comprehensively considered, and *satisfactorily determined, on clear and scientific principles.*' One begins to fear already, that a writer who can thus speak has been as far from realizing the whole difficulties of his subject, as he evidently is from cherishing the spirit of caution and modesty in which they are most wisely treated. The same tone of confidence pervades the entire work. In the introduction he draws a comparison between the strong-hold of philosophy and the fort of the Jebusites, the former holding out against Christianity as the latter did against David; and himself, like David, "boldly prosecuting the assault" against this last intrenchment. He affirms himself to be 'humbly confident of having accomplished' his object; and thus claims to be 'the first fairly to plant the standard of Christ on the rock of Eternal and Immutable Truth—its peaceful ensign at length floating on the high ramparts of Philosophy.' p. 6. And towards the close of the volume, after some of the most surprising speculations that were ever penned (we shall give a sample of them presently), he breaks out into the following apostrophe—

> 'My God! it is even so. These are not the fictions of my brain, nor dependent on the ingenuity of my argument: *they are thy own eternal and unalterable truth:* and I adore thee that thou hast thus made me, equally with my reader, a passive and humble witness of thy glory, in which by thy grace we may participate, but to which we cannot add, and from which we cannot take away.'—p. 465.

There is a weakness in this pretension to oracular and almost inspired authority, which totally destroys our confidence in the guidance proposed to us. The writer tells us that, 'at one 'period, he suffered much from erroneous and ill-defined notions of 'philosophy;' and that his present work is 'the result of a deep 'and ardent investigation of the subject, through seven or eight 'years,' Pref. p. vii. viii.; circumstances which, operating on an

apt constitution, may have tended to produce the infirmity we have pointed out.

In addition to this general fault, we must say that the treatment of many of his topics is to us far from satisfactory. In presenting examples of this, we are somewhat perplexed by the multiplicity of the subjects which he handles, through nine and twenty chapters, from 'Power, Cause, and Effect,' to 'the deeper 'Mysteries of Revealed Religion.' We will, however, select a few. He thus treats of the Immortality of the Soul. Having laid it down that, 'if we are now animated by living thinking 'souls, we are *bound to believe* that these souls will live for ever, 'unless it can be shown that the causes which interrupt and de-'stroy the life of the body, are such as can also destroy the life 'of the soul;' and having admitted that 'the same argument of 'immortality will apply equally to the spirits' of 'other animals 'besides man,' he proceeds in this fashion:

'Dost thou think this a paradox, reader? Courage! I desire thee to cast off every prejudice, and to follow me along this dark and lonely cavern of entrance to the shades. Be not frightened by phantastic shadows, by apparitions of faces grinning at thee, or by seeming obstacles which are but emptiness. These ever hover round the gloomy entrance of this untrodden descent, for no foot of man hath yet passed through its dark recesses, and reached the light of that nether world. But if thou hast followed me hitherto, follow me still.

'Man, and all other animals which think, are not sentient souls, inhabiting insensible material bodies; but they are composed of sentient bodies, and intelligent actuating spirits. The body is not a cipher, it is a constituent part of the animal. Now death being the dissolution of the animal, a proper immortality cannot be attributed, unless the soul bear so high a proportion to the body in point of importance, as that the body may be neglected in our idea of the person. In this case the person's identity will not be affected by the separation of the body. The remark just made farther implies this: That if the conscious state of the soul be so changed by the separation, as that no one trace of what it was remain in its own memory, then, although the same substance of the soul continue to exist, there is no proper immortality, that is, no such immortality as men always mean when they speak on the subject, nothing corresponding to what is understood by *man's* immortality. This latter remark gives more precision to the former, for it fixes the ratio of the soul to the body, necessary to proper immortality, to be such, that, by separation from the body, the conscious state of the soul shall not be entirely altered, nor so altered as to destroy remembrance.'—pp. 234, 235.

To say nothing of the gorgeous prelude to this attempted reasoning, or the unintelligible notion of a variable ratio, "in point of importance," between the body and the soul; we have here a singular distinction between two kinds of immortality—a proper,

and an improper one; the latter to be found where souls, or spirits, once embodied, continue to exist, without memory, or connected consciousness; and the former, when connected consciousness and memory are added to such continued existence. It is necessarily this author's opinion, that every animal spirit which has ever existed still exists; and, when asked what becomes of them, he suggests that each 'may be placed in another body, whe-'ther of the same or another species.' p. 239. We acknowledge this to be 'a modification' of 'the Pythagorean doctrine of the 'transmigration of souls;' and though we are willing to oblige him by not 'laughing' at it, we must confess that we consider it an unfortunate method of aiming at logical demonstration, and producing general unity of belief.

Mr. Galloway adverts twice to the solemn and difficult subject of future punishment. In the first instance he contends for it, as 'the evident conclusion of reason,' 'that no creature shall in-'herit eternal sufferings.' p. 302. He admits at the same time, that future suffering is 'spoken of in Scripture as eternal,' and 'in very plain terms.' Our readers may perhaps be curious to know how he extricates himself from this dilemma. He avails himself for this purpose of the distinction between *absolute* and *relative truth;* and lays it down as 'the design of Scripture,' to 'exhibit chiefly relative truth, but with the purpose to bring us 'nearer to truth absolute, and for this end couching the latter be-'hind the veil of the former.' p. 409. The meaning of this is, that in the Bible God is not telling us what is true in itself, but only what is true in relation to us, or what will be true, when distorted and perverted by our previous notions. And strictly in this sense does he apply his maxim. For having set out certain doctrines of God's immutable hatred of sin, &c., &c, he exclaims, 'How can these doctrines be intelligibly promulgated to the 'world, otherwise than by declaring the eternity of future punish-'ments?' p. 415. Such a principle of interpretation we need scarcely denounce, as utterly subversive of the authority, and even of the intelligibility of the sacred records.

We pass by much tempting matter for animadversion, in order to come at once to what is certainly the master-piece of this writer's ingenuity. It is his theory of the Scale of Being in the Universe. In constructing his fabric he avails himself, as will be seen, of Sir W. Herschel's astronomical speculations.

'Suppose, then, man the beginning of an ascending series. We have considered the human body as containing sentient particles duly disposed, and the soul as a pervading intelligence, knowing all the sensations of the body, and having power to actuate its movements. Let then the sentient particles of the body be put down as the first term of the series, and the human mind as the second; in which it will at once be perceived, that the second term is removed from the first by an im-

mense difference of value and of excellence, such as, were it represented by any number, must be by a very high one; but let us say a *thousand* to *one*. If now we suppose one intelligent spirit pervading all the minds in the world, penetrating them by his knowledge, and having power to actuate them, that intelligence will stand in the same relation to our mind, which our mind has to the sentient particles of our body. This planetary intelligence, then, will form a third term, ascending by an equal ratio, and the first being represented by *one*, and the second by a *thousand*, this will fall to be represented by a *million*—the difference between our minds and this planetary intelligence being thus a thousand times greater than the difference between our minds and the sentient particles of our body. Again, let us suppose one pervading spirit in the solar system, penetrating all the planetary intelligences by his knowledge, and having power to actuate them. This sidereal intelligence, standing in the same ratio to the planetary intelligences, that the pervading spirit of our world has to our minds, will form a fourth term of the series, and will be represented in the numerical series which we have adopted, by a *thousand millions*. . . . . Ascending from the pervading spirit of the solar system, let us next suppose a spirit pervading that group of nearer stars, among which the sun shines but as one brilliant—penetrating by his knowledge the sidereal intelligence, and having power to actuate them. This arch-sidereal intelligence will form a fifth term of the series, still ascending by the same ratio, namely, that of our mind to the sentient particles of our body. Let us then ascend to a great spirit pervading all the groups of stars which form the nebulæ in which the sun is situated—penetrating the arch-sidereal intelligences, and having power to actuate them: this will furnish a sixth term for the series. Then let us suppose one spirit pervading all the nebulæ in the visible heavens, penetrating with his knowledge and power the presiding intelligence of each nebulæ: this will supply a seventh term for the series.' —pp. 209—211.

It is not as *conjecture* that we are disposed to find fault with this singular flight. But it will be scarcely credible to our readers, perhaps, that all this is subsequently affirmed to be the 'eternal 'and unalterable truth' of God, and upon the alleged testimony of his own word. If any inquire with amazement, Where is such testimony found? the answer is ready. It is in the wheels and living creatures of Ezekiel's vision! The entire interpretation of this vision is extraordinary; but it is too long to quote, and our readers will probably be satisfied with a fragment as a specimen.

'Not less evidently hieroglyphical are the wheels, which are constructed in harmony with the living creatures, with a power of moving towards any of the four quarters, without turning out of the line of their direction. And to this end their figure was, 'as it were, a wheel within a wheel:' that is, they were made by two circles of a sphere, crossing one another at right angles, like the equator and meridian, so

that they have one rim for moving in one line to two opposite quarters, and another for the other two opposite quarters, in a line at right angles to the former. And as the four quarters, as formerly stated, are put for the whole departments of the universe, so these two lines crossing at right angles, must stand for all the variety of directions. But, were the wheel accommodated to all varieties of direction, it would be a perfect sphere; and indeed even now we discern in it the plain rudiments of a sphere, which the two great rings, or circles, divide into four compartments. 'And the rings of the wheels are full of eyes round about.' Now, the 'eyes' are to be interpreted as intelligences. 'And the rings of the wheels were so high that they were dreadful.' What height is this, which imposes on the prophet's mind a solemn feeling of reverential awe? Seems it not that the vision here represents the lofty circles of the starry spheres, and that each star, or planetary system, is pointed out as pervaded and actuated by an intelligence? For surely there is no such dreadful and imposing height in all the movements of human affairs; nor such steady, majestic, and straight-forward progression in their busy and fluctuating agitations. But who that has by night contemplated the starry spheres, has not felt on his mind the deep impression of an unspeakable and sacred awe, at their stupendous height and grandeur!'—pp. 449, 450.

There are many pages of a similar quality; and yet the author affirms that he is 'most anxious, in the interpretation of Scrip-'ture, to avoid every thing which is merely fanciful!' p. 459. We wish he had been more successful. He throws out in one place (p. 432) the idea, that each intelligence is a sort of God to that below him, as 'we may call the soul the God of the body;' and teaches that 'worship could not have ascended to the supreme 'God, otherwise than through the intermediate orders, the nearest 'of which,' according to his views, 'are entitled to honour and 'worship from the inhabitants of' the worlds they respectively pervade. p. 446. But we are weary of these extravagances, and so probably are our readers. We have felt ourselves obliged, however, to go so far into them, to justify the opinion which it is our duty to pronounce, that the volume, whatever be its partial merit, cannot be safely taken as a guide. Such lucubrations are most especially deplorable in a man who comes forward, not as the advocate merely, but as the champion of Christianity, professing to establish for the first time its doctrines 'on the rock of 'eternal and immutable truth,' and to plant at length the standard of victory on the hitherto unscaled ramparts of a hostile philosophy.

We have yet another word to say, however, on a different subject. To his philosophical book this writer has thought proper to add a political note, of about twenty pages, in which he treats of 'Mandeville, Smith, Malthus, and the *prospects of Britain*.' On

the last named subject, he favours us with some strictures on the money-making character of the present times, which are not entirely wanting in justice. But he carries the matter to an extreme length. 'So tremendous is the impulse of the principle,' he tells us, that it may be interpreted into the following cry: 'Never mind health, morals, religion! Down with the church, 'we can buy religion cheaper! The clergy are unproductive 'labourers, or at the least they may be ranked as tradesmen, who 'work only for money, [he might have said that not a few of them 'had money without work] and therefore had best be paid by the 'job!' p. 52. And having warned the innovators of the age of the importance of public credit, and the danger of revolution, he thus proceeds—

'But why talk to us of revolution? We do not mean revolution, but only to reform abuses. No, verily, ye do not mean revolution. But where is the current of innovation to stop? Think you that the House of Lords can be overthrown, (for it cannot be invaded otherwise); think you that House can be overthrown, without shaking credit throughout the nation—without breaking up that fabric of society which is based on credit—without stopping the wheels of commerce and manufacture—without suspending the employment of many, many thousands of operatives—without a clamour for bread—without the blame of their miseries being thrown upon their rulers—without their idleness being employed in organizing a total revolution? Do not these things all follow in their natural order? Or think you that the church can be overthrown, without the House of Lords and the throne following? Or will universal suffrage mend the matter? Or think you that Ireland can renounce her allegiance after the example of Belgium, as was lately put into their heads by their great leader, without shaking credit throughout this nation? Can the Irish Corporation Bill be withheld, without endangering a rebellion there—or can it be granted without giving a great accession of power to the revolutionary party? Is there nothing treasonable in telling the Irish and the whole public, that it might be wrong to behead our most honoured sovereign, but that a better way would be to send him, with his royal family, a wanderer, a fugitive, a vagabond, on the face of the earth? O my honoured king, may God, may God preserve thee! May he deliver thee from such counsellors as those who take part and keep counsel with this bold and desperate traitor? For, had thy government one particle of vigour, Ireland would be put under martial law, and that man brought to trial and punishment. But now thy arm is powerless, and woe to them by whom the first blood is shed, for the flood-gates of wrath are open, and no mortal hand can shut them. For thy ministers have bowed down their neck to worship that many-headed god, the people, and have offered up the incense of their adulation to this idol, and have told them that *they* are the sources of all legitimate power, and have denied him who is KING of kings, and LORD of lords, by whom *alone* kings reign, and princes decree righte-

ousness. This, this is the spirit of Anti-christ, and all, all are consenting to it—Whig, Tory, Radical, even the very ministers of the church. Therefore, behold the foot of the people whom they worship is already on their neck. But thou, my honoured sovereign, give God the glory, and worship thou him, who is the fountain of all lawful authority. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. For promotion cometh neither from the east, nor from the west, nor from the south, but God is the Lord; he is Judge; he putteth down one, and setteth up another.'

pp. 532—534.

Sadly perplexed have we been to determine to what section of political men this redoubtable champion must be assigned. We cannot recommend him to Sir Robert Peel; for, although, according to his recent speech at Glasgow, he hates *majorities*, he has, as we all recollect, no invincible objection to governing by a *minority*, if he could have managed it. And as for Lord Lyndhurst, he is plainly in love with the monster majority itself. Nor would it do to give the author an introduction to the venerable the archdeacons; since, as he affirms, even 'the ministers of the church' are idolizing the people, and drinking into 'the spirit of Anti-christ.' We fear there is no promotion for Mr. Galloway from either of these quarters. He is an unapproachable Ishmaelite. There is nothing for him, but to put himself at the head of a new sect of absolutists; and then—if King William the Fourth, and some other 'powers that be' (and which, *being*, 'are ordained of God,') would permit him—he might try whether 'martial law,' or a just and conciliatory government, would be the shortest way to 'a rebellion' in Ireland; and whether the 'reform of abuses,' or the assertion of the Divine right of kingcraft, would most eminently promote peace and prosperity in England.

But enough of this harmless rhodomontade, of which, however, there is plenty more, if any of our readers have an appetite for it. Before taking leave of the book, we will do ourselves the pleasure of naming what we think its most interesting portion. It is that in which the author propounds his 'new theory of sensation,' and the results immediately dependent upon it. He impugns the opinion, universally held by philosophers hitherto, that *sensation is in the mind*, and endeavours to show that the body consists of, or contains, particles *themselves sentient;* the mind being so connected with the body as to have a knowledge of its sensations, and thus to complete the state called perception. We think the theory at all events ingenious, and should be pleased to see a rigorous and candid investigation of its merits.

Art. III. *The Choir and the Oratory; or Praise and Prayer.* By Josiah Conder. pp. 288. London: Jackson and Walford.

THE author of this volume is well known to the readers of the Eclectic Review, as its able and independent editor, during the longest period of its past existence. Having lately retired from the bench, he now appears in that court where he was wont to administer justice, to have the like measure dealt to himself, as an author, which it was his honest and honourable endeavour to mete out to others in the same predicament. We should be happy to judge of this work precisely as he would himself have done, had it been the production of the writer of the present article, and brought some three or four months ago before his own equitable tribunal.

Mr. Conder, we believe, first came forth as a poet at an early age, in some Stanzas which were published in Dr. Aikin's Athenæum, on *Hope*—the favourite theme, the very muse herself, of juvenile bards; for without her inspiration they would no more sing than the nightingale in Greenland. These, though composed in the frigid form of Collins's Ode to Evening, must have had more than common merit, for they caused the anonymous author to be inquired after; a curiosity rarely excited by the character of magazine verses. A few years afterwards, he appeared as one of those Pleiads, '*the Associate Minstrels*,' which, in the groupe, (however individually minute,) attracted some notice at a time when the whole hemisphere of our Parnassus was glowing with constellations of unprecedented multitude and splendour. One of these (Jane Taylor) too early translated to a higher heaven than the 'highest of invention,' exhibited, in her '*Essays in Rhyme*,' proofs of original talent, of a peculiar and exquisite species. This, being consecrated to the best, though humblest purposes, in the eyes of a world, which loves the poetry of religion almost as much as it hates the reality, gave earnest, that, had she lived, she might have become the Cowper of her sex, and executed a '*task*,' rivalling the inimitable archetype which bears that ungracious name—in wit and piety, satire and sentiment, picturesque description, home-scenes and home-feelings, and so embellished with characters drawn from the life—from the *soul* of life—that, while they might have fitted a thousand distinct personages, would yet have been individual likenesses of each. She is gone, and has left an example, but no comparable successor, among all the graceful and accomplished lady-poets of the day.

Mr. Conder's genius, after a meliorating interval, again shone out in '*The Star in the East*,' a noble emanation in blank verse, accompanied by a train of minor luminaries, in a volume,

which, though devotional, drew commendation from critics in the highest place. It is rather humiliating to think, that even the great censors of literature, who pretend not to peculiar sanctity, should, in the present age, have more duly appreciated contemporary as well as antiquated religious poetry, than most of the professors of religion themselves have done. To the latter, as a body, neither the dead nor the living writers in this department have been much indebted, considering that poetry, in the form of hymns, is far more familiar in the mouths, and more influential on the minds of these, than the most popular national songs or ballads are with the mass of our countrymen. Notwithstanding this, it is an evidence of consistent, conscientious attachment both to religion and poetry, that Mr. Conder, amidst his multitudinous labours, as author or editor, still hallows his exercises in the divinest of human arts to the celebration of divine subjects. Had he devoted himself wholly to verse, there is little doubt but that he would, at this day, have been an *intellectual* and *moral* poet of high order;—an order of which, amidst all the varieties of the species, which the last and present generation have produced, there is no pre-eminent example. In *imagination* and *passion* he might have displayed no extraordinary power. Wordsworth is *intellectual* and *imaginative;* Byron was *intellectual* and *passionate;* others we shall not pretend to characterize; but among them all, there is not what we presume Mr. Conder might have been—a great *didactic* poet. It is the more remarkable, that such an one has not arisen, within the last twenty years, considering what an age of 'economists and speculators' has followed that of minstrels and romancers, which closed within ten years of the battle of Waterloo.

We will not quarrel with the title of this book, an author has a right to name his offspring according to his own pleasure; but if a parent will call his son *Og* or *Holofernes*, that son may be a sufferer by it all his life. A title, if it is intended to be significant, should be intelligible at once. We suspect that both '*the Choir*' and '*the Oratory*' will be puzzling, if not in their dictionary-sense, yet in their application, to nine-tenths of those into whose hands this volume may come; nor are we sure that the author's own arbitrary exposition will obviate either the difficulty to his readers, or the disadvantage to himself, from having adopted a title of doubtful interpretation. This, he informs us, 'is intended to express the two-fold view in which the poems 'have been composed; some being designed for the use of the '*Choir* or *congregation*, others for the devotional retirement of the '*Oratory*.' Waiving the objection, we sincerely wish that the contents of this volume, notwithstanding the designation, may become as extensively known as they deserve to be.

A work of greater labour, in the form of verse, has not often

come from the press in this age of exuberant but perishable metre; every page bears the marks of patient process in refining the ore of thought, whether native or borrowed, bringing the gold out pure, and stamping it with the image and superscription of the issuer of the currency. Of the sterling value of the metal, we can speak with more confidence than either of the lustre of the coin, or the execution of the device upon it. But, as pattern and brilliancy, in such a case, are matters of taste, and the author has chosen to act upon his own independent ideas of the beautiful and the sublime, as well as of the useful, we lay the less stress upon what will be rather of prejudice to himself than of injury to the intrinsic excellence of his productions, since he, no doubt, has counted upon being a sufferer to a certain extent, for his non-conformity to the popular, fashionable, nay, universal preference, (not in this age only, but in every antecedent one,) given to that which equally pleases and profits, to that which *would* profit if it *could* please. The business of poetry, however, (and we affirm it unqualifiedly,) being both to please and to profit, he who aims solely to please spends his strength upon fancy-articles, fit only for the bazaar-market; and he who aims solely to profit, at the peril of not pleasing, will lose his labour in proportion, because 'the reading public'—'the few,' as well as 'the many'—will not please to be profited, unless they can profit by being pleased.

These remarks on what is actually and irrevocably a law of verse—a law of nature indeed, and in force wherever verse is attempted—of course are general, and only in a limited degree attaching to '*the Choir and the Oratory.*' These compositions are very miscellaneous; and whatever be their abstract or comparative merits we fear not to foretel, that the author will find favour with his auditors just in proportion as he has condescended, more or less frequently, to be unto them 'as a very 'lovely song of one who hath a pleasant voice, and can play well 'upon an instrument.' When Milton, appealing from vulgar and temporary disparagement, solaces himself with the hope that he should yet 'fit audience find though few;' it was in the consciousness, that *such* he could please by his divine and complicated harmonies, while he disregarded the neglect of the multitude of those who *were not* pleased, because they *could not* be so with strains too exalted for their comprehension. He, however, who, like Milton, writes above his age, or looks beyond it for his reward, hazards much; yet the venture is a brave one, and the sacrifice ideal, though hard to make; for, if the man of genius can be content to forego the praise of one generation, he will never repent the stake, since, if he fails, he can never be affected by the posthumous loss, and if he wins, he will enjoy his modicum of renown when it comes—but not to himself—as much as Homer has enjoyed his immortality above-ground, for three thousand

years past, during which he has been below. And this verily is the consummation of that fame, towards the acquisition of which, there is such an ineffable instinct in minds of the proudest standard, that no labour, privation, or suffering have been deemed too costly for the purchase of a chance of the smallest reversion of it: as though a man were to sell all that he had to buy the reversion of a lease which had 999 years to run, and was held during that term at a peppercorn rent. So far as Mr. Conder can be concerned, in this question, we merely presume to anticipate, that his greatest efforts will be least esteemed by the majority even of his devout readers. We allude especially to what he very properly styles 'poetical translations of the Psalms,' in which he has endeavoured 'to exhibit the poetry of the Hebrew Scrip-'tures in the rich and varied measures of English versification, 'without compromising either the fidelity of a chaste translation, 'or the simple majesty of the original:' avoiding, as he intimates in the context, the errors of former illustrators of these divine songs, who 'have presented to us either a free imitation or a 'florid paraphrase.'

The matter of fact at issue between our author and his predecessors, we leave to the decision of that infallible jury, the public, and shall merely observe, that to make poems of the Psalms is one of the most hopeless employments on which talents, study, and skill in metrical composition, can be exercised. Such things must, in some way or other, be cast for devotional *use*, or they will not be used at all. The experience of almost every genuine poet of our country, previous to the eighteenth century, when poets became ashamed of the word of God and the gospel of Christ, proves this. There have been hundreds of versions of the most striking of these compositions, of which not fifty are in vogue, except where no other kind of psalmody is allowed. Those that go under the title of 'Watts's Psalms' are no exception, how extensively soever some of them may have been adopted in Christian congregations. His *Psalms* are *Hymns*, and therefore they are sung; had they been 'translations,' even of the freest strain, which that title will tolerate, it is no disparagement to his memory to believe, that few, if any of them, would have been 'either sung or said' at this day. He who offers himself to the Christian public as a new renderer of the Psalms, or any portion of them, whether for '*the Choir*' or '*the Oratory*,' appears before a prejudiced tribunal, the follower of so many who have miscarried in the enterprize, that,—as of every fresh traveller who sets out, under better auspices than others had done, to penetrate into the heart of Africa,—we feel an irrepressible presentiment, that he must also fall, as every one before him has fallen, even when on the verge, not of a promised, but a forbidden land, guarded against intrusion by a

power as mysterious and impassable as the flaming sword of the cherubim, turning every way to keep the tree of life. So must every Psalmist in our English tongue, at the close of his experiments, say, "I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought;" or else others will say it for him, which is not less disheartening, however conscious he may be, that he has not only meant well but done well. Victory itself, on this ground, is but a drawn battle; unless the combatant can triumph, he must retreat.

It cannot be denied, and it need not be concealed, that all attempts to versify portions of Holy Writ, must fail in the main purpose of poetry, which is, *so* to adorn or dignify its themes, that by the new light thrown upon them, they may be exalted beyond any previous conception of their beauty or their grandeur, which obtained in ordinary minds. Now, it so happens, that the *authorized translation* of the Scriptures, to ninety-nine out of a hundred of our countrymen, is *the Bible itself*, as though neither Hebrew nor Greek prototypes existed, and the oracles of God had been actually delivered in their own tongue. Hence the most perfect metrical rendering of the most poetical passages, has the same comparative flatness, to the multitude of readers, as the best translations of the classics have to the learned, who are familiar with the originals. This is not a small hinderance to *practical* success; and *abstract* success issues not in utility beyond the circle of the author's own connexions, or the few among his contemporaries who may read, approve, and casually recommend a work, the merit of which the world is very willing to admit on their credit, and then care no more about it. This might be verified both by late and living examples, but we forbear.

The great, the insurmountable obstacle in the way of Scripture paraphrasts and translators, has been thus stated and exemplified—no matter by whom: 'Scripture language, whether historical, 'poetic, or doctrinal, is so comprehensive, that in any wise to 'alter, is to impair it; if you add, you encumber; if you di-'minish, you maim the sense; to paraphrase, is to enfeeble ever-'lasting strength; to imitate, is to impoverish inexhaustible riches; 'and to translate into verse is necessarily to do one, or the other, 'or both of these, in every line. For example, 'The law of the 'Lord is perfect, converting the soul; the testimony of the Lord 'is sure, making wise the simple; the statutes of the Lord are 'right, rejoicing the heart; the commandment of the Lord is 'pure, enlightening the eyes.' Psalm xix. 7, 8. 'The literal 'terms here are so perfect a vehicle of pure thought, that any 'metrical reading must render them less so; because words, 'equally few and simple, cannot be found in the English tongue, 'which would express these plain sentiments in rhymes and 'numbers. An extreme case has been purposely chosen to make

'the illustration more palpable.' * * * * * * * * *
'The prime cause of miscarriage in every attempt to paraphrase 'Scripture passages, appears to be, that, in order to bring them 'within the rules of rhyme and metre, all that the poet introduces 'of his own becomes alloy, which debases the standard of the 'original. On the contrary, when he adorns a train of his pri-'vate thoughts with Scripture images and ideas, or interweaves 'with his own language Scripture phrases, that fall without strain-'ing into his verse; the latter is illustrated and enriched by the 'alliance or the amalgamation. In a word, divine themes are 'necessarily degraded by human interpolations; while human 'compositions are necessarily exalted by the felicitous introduction 'of sacred allusions. This is a secret of which few, that have 'meddled with the perilous and delicate subject, have been aware. 'A single stanza, in each way, will probably make the point 'clear.—*Olney Hymns*, Book II., Hymn 74.

> 'But could I bear to hear Him say,
> *Depart, accursed, far away;*
> *With Satan, in the lowest hell,*
> For ever thou art doom'd to dwell.'

'How impotent is this, compared with the terrible words, '*De-'part from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the 'devil and his angels.*' Here the divine theme is degraded by human interpolation and omission, *both.*—*Olney Hymns*, Book III., Hymn 28.

> 'Perhaps some golden wedge supprest,
> Some secret sin offends my God:
> Perhaps that Babylonish vest,
> Self-righteousness, provokes the rod.'

'Here the poet adorns the train of his private thoughts with Scripture images; and oh! with what force and conviction are 'the wedge of gold,' and the 'Babylonish vest,' brought in! The reader, from previous knowledge, needs no other hint to recollect the whole history; yea, and to make him tremble too, as though he felt himself in the tent of Achan, at the moment when his sin was discovered. Who does not instinctively recoil, and look with horror towards that dark corner in his own heart, in which 'the accursed thing' was *once* found, or *is there still?*'

If the foregoing judgment be just (and we are persuaded that it is), he who thus enters into unequal conflict with an inspired writer, wrestles with an angel, over whom, persevere as he will, he cannot prevail, except by courtesy, and even then he must go halting away; yet not without a blessing, worth all the agony on the field, and the trophy of lameness which he bears from it to his grave.

Mr. Conder, in his Psalms, has broken the threefold cord of long, common, and short measures, with which usage and indolence have tied and bound most of his predecessors in their compositions for '*the Choir;*' having introduced several new and well-constructed forms of stanza, of which some are admirably adapted for musical association. These, when happily worded, ought, by the very march and cadence of the numbers, to inspire melodies of corresponding sweetness and variety, to supersede the droning tunes of our national psalmody, dinned, from generation to generation, into the ears of singers, and haunting the imaginations of composers with the eternal monotony of *eights* and *sixes*, like circulating decimals, perpetually running into and evolving from each other, in the metres, rugged yet racy, of Sternhold and Hopkins, or those of Tate and Brady, as neutral and undisturbing as after-dinner dulness could desire. We doubt, however, whether Mr. Conder himself be a singer or a player upon an instrument; the length of some of his lines, and the *staccato* steps and stops of others, would be found very refractory recruits under the musical drill. In those pieces which we presume are intended for '*the Oratory*,' since it would be impossible to employ them in '*the Choir*,' unless they were set, from beginning to end, like 'the Messiah,' or 'Judas Maccabeus,'—he has availed himself of the utmost license that can be exercised in English verse, by adapting the metres of each clause to the burden of the sense. By this mode he has secured singular advantages for himself, both in facility of construction and a nearer approximation to the literal meaning of the originals, beyond what the writer for congregational or family worship in singing can ever attain. Yet it is doubtful whether such license will be in his favour with the reader, who seldom likes to be unexpectedly turned out of his way, or alternately hurried and retracted into a quicker or a slower pace. Of this character is the sixty-eighth Psalm, one of the most diversified and magnificent even of inspired records, and our author's masterpiece of its kind, which, in either form, wants only the genius of a Handel or a Haydn to work it into an 'Oratorio.'

The subject of metres in psalmody being of prime importance, we lay considerable stress even upon what may be deemed insignificant points, in reference to it; metre being the organization of the bodily vehicle of the thought in poetry. Mr. Conder has rendered the twenty-ninth Psalm in blank verse, thereby bringing his pretty close imitation of the original into rather hazardous comparison with the authorized version, which is marked by uncommon vigour, animation, and celerity of utterance, adapted to the brief, sententious, and peremptory style of the composition. How differently writers and their readers may

sometimes feel, and judge according to feeling, on topics wherein each is self-confident, will appear from the contrary opinions entertained by our author and his present critic on a question mooted by himself, in his preface, and referring to this Psalm. He says, 'A striking instance of the want of adaptation in the 'metre to the character of the composition occurs in more than 'one version of Psalm xxix., rendered in a jigging anapæstic 'measure, the effect of which is almost that of travestie.' Not certainly on 'the measure,' but on the management of it, must this point turn. It is a stale saying that between the sublime and the ridiculous there is but a step; and so there is between the top of a precipice and the bottom, but how many steps are there back again? The showy phrase is a mere truism; for there is but one step between motion and rest, good and evil, life and death; between all antagonisms and antipathies; where their very proximity (being the extreme of each, beyond which neither can go), is the sign of infinite and everlasting separation. Now no kind of metre, of itself, belongs either to the sublime or the ridiculous, but every kind may be, and has been, used for the one or the other, consequently none can be either exclusively elevated or degraded by its heterogeneous application. It is true, that the magnificent measure here disparaged has frequently been made the vehicle of vulgar ribaldry in songs and ballads, as well as in ludicrous exhibitions of men and manners, like the '*New Bath Guide*,' and the '*Twopenny Post Bag*.' It is true, also, that justice has seldom been done to it by those who have adopted it for serious themes; indeed, so bunglingly, so blunderingly have its cadences been jumbled and perverted, that, if it be 'a jigging measure,' none but an adept can dance a 'reel' through ten bars of it, without stumbling over discords and flats, false accents, false quantities, redundant or defective syllables, in three lines out of five. That the anapæstic measure is capable of sustaining the height of the greatest argument that can be held in song, or touching the finest chords of affection into tones the most delicate and tender, two examples will prove, from '*Lochiël's Warning*,' by Thomas Campbell, and '*the Tabernacles*' of Herbert Knowles. Lochiël, the Highland chieftain, marching with his clan to the fatal field of Culloden, consults a second-sighted countryman by the way, respecting the result of his enterprize; yet, when calamities the most fearful are foretold, he treats with contempt both the wizard and his warning. The latter indignantly retorts, and thus pictures in vision, the future conflagration of the warrior's dwelling, the devastation of his lands, and the impoverishment and destitution of his family; though an extract from a poem so perfect in its kind, is injustice to the whole.

'Ha! laugh'st thou, Lochiel, my vision to scorn?
Proud bird of the mountain, thy plume shall be torn:
Say—rush'd the bold eagle exultingly forth,
From his home in the black-rolling clouds of the north;
Lo! the death-shot of foe-men outspeeding, he rode
Companionless, bearing destruction abroad;
But, down let him stoop from his havoc on high!
Ah! home let him speed—for the spoiler is nigh.
—Why flames the far summit? why shoot to the blast,
These embers, like stars, from the firmament cast?
'Tis the fire-shower of ruin, all dreadfully driven
From his eyrie, that beacons the darkness of heaven.
—O, crested Lochiel! the peerless in might,
Whose banners appear on the battlement's height;
Heaven's fire is around thee, to blast and to burn;
Return to thy dwelling, all-lonely, return;
For the blackness of ashes shall mark where it stood,
And a wild mother scream o'er her famishing brood.'

Are these noble numbers unworthy of the catastrophe which they thus terribly blazon to the eye, thunder into the ear, and make the heart quail in the contemplation of it? No; the anapæst is no 'jigging measure' here.

From '*Verses, written in the Church-yard of Richmond*' (Yorkshire), by a youth belonging to the adjacent grammar-school, take these stanzas:

'Methinks it is good to be here;
If thou wilt, let us build—but to whom?
Nor Elias nor Moses appear,
But the shadows of eve that encompass the gloom,
The abode of the dead, and the place of the tomb.'

After asking, 'Shall we build to ambition?'—'to beauty?'—'to pride?'—'to riches?'—'to pleasure?' he proceeds:

'Shall we build to Affection and Love?
Ah! no; they have withered and died,
Or fled with the Spirit above;
Friends, brothers, and sisters, are laid side by side,
Yet none have saluted, and none have replied!'

** ** **

'Unto Sorrow?—the dead cannot grieve;
Not a sob, not a sigh meets mine ear,
Which compassion itself could relieve:
Ah! sweetly they slumber, nor hope, love, and fear;
Peace, peace, is the watchword, the only one here.'

We doubt whether any combination of iambics or trochaics in our language could express with equal brevity, beauty, and

precision, the sentiments contained in the closing couplets of the two latter stanzas. Is there an 'effect' approaching to 'travestie' here?

We might quote Lord Byron's famous 'Hebrew Melody,' on the destruction of Sennacherib's army; but we have at hand a greater authority in favour of anapæsts than either Campbell, Lord Byron, or Herbert Knowles; and, though Mr. Conder may demur to the judgment of his critic here, the latter must insist, in *this* place, that the precedence be given to himself before the illustrious names above mentioned, or any other, on the question at issue. We refer him to his own versions of the twenty-third Psalm (pp. 170, 171), and the three stanzas of the same measure shortened, occurring in the seventy-ninth Psalm (pp. 113, 114).

If ever poetry is to be composed in our language, approaching to or rivalling in majesty and spirit the classical metres, it must be by substituting anapæsts and dactyls for iambuses and trochees, in our verse, notwithstanding some miscarriages of great poets in attempts of the kind. Lines, on this principle, may be reduced to *three*, and extended to *seventeen* syllables, with every intermediate proportion, more flexible, free, and comprehensive than any thing that yet has been compiled in heavier cadences. The principal baulk to improvement in this direction is the ambiguity of many of our accents, and the almost utter deficiency of spondees in our pronunciation. But, to show how doubtful such judgments about 'jigging measures' may be, what thinks our author of the following flippancy of Shenstone, who has himself reduced the minor form of anapæsts to proverbial namby-pamby, in his famous pastoral?

> 'My banks, *they* are *furnish'd* with bees,
> Whose murmurs invite *one* to sleep.'

That prince of Arcadians asks, 'Does not the first line in Virgil patter like a hail-storm?'

> '*Tityre, tu patulæ, recubans sub tegmine fagi.*'

And what if it does? is the Latin hexameter to be debased on that account, when this pretty collocation of syllables is followed by four lines of superlative and strikingly-contrasted harmony, from the pathos of

> 'Nos patriæ fines, et dulcia linquimus arva,
> Nos patria fugimus, &c.'

to the bugle-toned cadence of

> 'Formosam resonare doces Amaryllida sylvas.'

To return to the twenty-ninth Psalm: one reason why it might be—we do not pretend that it has been—successfully rendered in the anapæstic measure, is the familiarity of English ears to the words of the Bible translation, abounding, as it does, in phrases and strains of peculiar beauty and consonance, which scarcely can, without violating the '*jus et norma loquendi*,' be pressed into the service of the slower-motioned iambus, or the sweet and flowing trochee. 'The voice of the Lord' occurs seven times in this brief psalm. It will not be in the present generation that 'Jehovah's voice' (our author's version of the term) can be satisfactorily substituted for this favourite and vernacular expression of the same. 'Worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness.' This consists of four pure anapæsts, not one of which, without violence, could be crowded into Miltonic numbers: 'Give unto the Lord the glory due to his name.' This, though not metrical, equally defies combination with the lesser feet of verse. Mr. Conder turns it thus:

> 'O give unto the Lord the glory due
> To his dread name.'

If these two renderings be pronounced aloud, and consecutively, we shall not find fault with the preference which may be given to one or the other, according to the voice, the ear, or the taste of the reader. We shall only add, that the whole pace of the prose of this Psalm, in the English Bible, is anapæstic; and more than half of it, with nearly as few wrong accents and lame quantities as are usually mixed up with this staple, both by profane and sacred rhymers, might be divided into lengths, and read as blank verse of this 'jigging measure,' which even Mr. Conder would scarcely denounce as 'travestie.' One word more in favour of the anapæst. A curious reader, with an ear for 'nicely discerning,' will find that the rhythm of eloquent prose, whether impassioned or argumentative, will often run into the cadence of this measure, without design on the part of the speaker, or consciousness on the part of his audience, of the spell that has come over them both. We have expatiated and insisted upon this subject the more strenuously, because Mr. Conder, both as a poet and a critic, is *an authority;* and, by what we humbly deem his mistaken opinion, he may help to confirm the cant-cry of prejudice against any innovations for the better, upon the antiquated usages of psalmody—innovations of which he himself has set many commendable examples in this volume, by introducing new forms of stanzas.

As we have already stated, Mr. C. has given this, as well as another Psalm or two, in blank verse (and good blank verse too), that he might come as near a spossible to the sense of the original. These, of course, will never be sung, and are liable there-

fore to be neglected, after a first perusal. The truth is, that any thing like literal translation of the Psalms, even without rhyme, must be destructive, to a great degree, of the poetry of the original. The body must be paralysed to get a plaister cast of the features, but the spirit will be fled. The language of one country cannot so reflect thought from the language of another, as face answers to face in a mirror, or as a lake gives back the images of sky, landscape, and animals around it. No translation can be more than a *resemblance* of a reality; its *double* it can never be.

The preamble, musical and spirited, to '*the Choir and the Oratory*,' (both of these implying the exercise of speech for declaring the wonderful works of God), is entitled 'The Tongues of Earth,' and the burthen is, that the gospel has been, is now, or hereafter shall be, preached in them all. Among these, we know not why the Latin is uncelebrated; that tongue, in which the translated Scriptures have been more extensively read than any other; in which the most ancient evangelical hymns are to be found; and in which more books have been written since it was a dead language, than were, probably, ever composed in it while it was a living one—the court language of the world, while Rome was in its glory, as it is still the closet language of the learned, and likely to remain so as long as that glory is remembered.

Scattered throughout the volume are the author's favourite exercises, which we must simply call his Psalms. Concerning these (*Preface*, xi.) he expresses the 'hope that (his) endeavours to il-'lustrate the genuine character and poetic spirit of these songs 'of Zion will not be deemed wholly unsuccessful.' This point, even to the letter, may be conceded to him; less he could not ask, and few poets could conscientiously claim more, how fondly soever they may have deemed, at the time of its execution, each specimen to be as perfect as they could desire; for, in cool blood, after the lapse of less than nine years, on reviewing their best performances, they would feel sufficient defectiveness to excite a misgiving, that their readers would not be less sagacious to detect it than themselves.

Among the happiest of these, we mention Psalm lxxvi., p. 86. We mark a feeble line—'In Zion *does he* love to dwell.' A speck in a pearl is a flaw; a mote in a beautiful eye makes it water, and dims its vision. Why not expunge the flaw here, which is but superficial? Why not remove the mote with the touch of a feather? and say, 'In Zion *He delights* to dwell.'

'In Judah God is known:
His name is great in Israel.
In Salem is His throne:
In Sion does He love to dwell.
There did He break the sword, and bow,
And shield, the weapons of the foe.

Thou art more glorious now,
Yea, more exalted, Mount of God,
Than hills of loftiest brow,
The ravening spoiler's proud abode.
Powerless the mighty, spoil'd the brave,
They sleep the slumber of the grave.
Both horse and rider at Thy frown,
O God of Hosts, sank lifeless down.

How terrible Thy name!
Before Thine anger who may stand?
From Heaven the sentence came:
Earth trembled, silence hushed the land,
When from His seat the Judge arose,
To save the humble from their foes.

Thus the blind wrath of man
Turns to His praise who lets it rage,
And then at pleasure can
The tempest by a word, assuage.
To Him alone, to Israel's King,
Nations, your vows and tributes bring.
The pride of princes He can tame;
And monarchs tremble at His name.' pp. 86, 87.

Psalm xlviii., in the original is very majestic, and expressed as well as conceived in the highest style of inspired poesy. It is sufficient for one who hazards an imitation, if his performance may be compared with it, as the echoes of the everlasting hills may be presumed to return faint and imperfect responses to the songs of the redeemed around the throne of God and the Lamb. This remark, if at all just and comprehensible to plain readers of our review, may be equally applied to all our author's happiest achievements in the difficult labour which he has here undertaken, and of which he may say with Milton,

'My muse with angels did divide to sing.'

Among the better specimens, also, we may name Psalm cxvii., a stanza of six lines, worth six pages of well-sounding verbiage:

'Jehovah's praise sublime,
Through the wide earth be sung;
Ye realms of every clime,
Ye tribes of every tongue,
His infinite compassion bless,
His ever-during faithfulness.'

Here every word is in its place, has its distinct meaning, and does its duty in carrying on the thought to the end. Yet why

could the author not have used the good old term, '*everlasting*,' rather than that iron compound, '*ever-during*,' at the close? A metrical version of the whole book of Psalms, of equal simplicity, strength, and fidelity to the original with this, would leave nothing to be desired, because there would be nothing more to be done, either in rhyme or reason, towards what must yet be considered an impracticable accomplishment.

Psalms xx., xxvii., xlii., xliii., xc., ciii., cxv., and others, may be justly characterized as excellent. Psalm xcii. is constructed in a metre so recondite, that we shall give our ingenious readers the pleasure of tracing out the shape of the stanza by a literal quotation, undivided into lines. 'Thy works, O Lord! impart a 'holy gladness. In thy glorious deeds my soul exults. O God! 'how great thou art; thy wisdom infinite our highest thought 'exceeds.' The solution of the riddle may be found at p. 149.

In this and some previous strictures we may seem to have given too much importance to trifling matters. Nothing is trifling where all ought to be perfect—that is as perfect, according to its kind, as tact, talent, and fine taste can make it. And we notice these matters less for the author's sake than the reader's, lest the latter, on the strength of such a precedent, should deem any remediable error or defect to be venial.

It is in his scriptural pieces especially, that harsh cadences, unwieldy stanzas, expletive phrases, perpetually returning rhymes, always involving the same thought, the monotony of similar vowels, and the hubbub of jarring consonants, most frequently occur; and occur because he is straitened in his paraphrases (of the Psalms for example) by the *letter*, and in his celebration of select themes (such as 'the Cross,' and 'the Apocalypse') by the *facts*, of the respective originals. But, when he takes *a text merely* from the sacred records, he discourses far more feelingly, eloquently, and poetically than when he is a commentator in verse on a larger portion. Page 182, 'I am thine, save me!' Psalm cxix. 94, commencing the hymns of prayer, illustrates this:

Creator of all being,
My Maker, God all-seeing,
  My source, my rest!
Thy grace in me fulfil:
Re-mould me to thy will,
  And make me blest.

Redeemer of the lost,
Thy blood the ransom's cost,
  Thy grace afford.
The faith, the virtue give,
On Thee, to Thee to live,
  My life, my Lord!

Spirit of quickening might,
Fountain of love and light,
Thyself impart;
And with thine influence sweet,
Most blessed Paraclete,
Possess my heart.

Almighty Father, Word,
And Spirit, each adored,
In Godhead one:
Throughout creation's frame,
All glory to Thy name,
Thy will be done.' pp. 181, 182.

Here is no high pressure employed to force the ideas and images into prepared moulds and prescribed places, or to bend reluctant expression to unyielding sentiment, which cannot be modified without departing too far from the original. Hence every one may perceive that the versification in this, indeed in all our author's hymns, is more natural, graceful, and appropriate than the elaborated diction, the stiff-jointed clauses, and the dovetailed implication of his lines, in many even of the finest passages of his Scripture illustrations. In the latter the poet is speaking a language which he has learned, and learned well, but which he pronounces with a hard accent and doubtful intonations, which no native would fall into. In the former (his Hymns, and other original compositions) he is at home, and he is himself; uttering in his mother-tongue, thoughts, the progeny of his own mind, and giving vent to feelings, the experience of his own heart. Here he is not working out an exercise, of which the highest point of excellence that can be reached must be *below* the standard at which he is aiming, and *within* the compass of it, while his highest commendation will be that what he has achieved is not unworthy of the original, considering the inadequacy of English words to represent Hebrew ones.

The six Hymns (for such they are), on the Lord's prayer, are pleasing amplifications of its consecutive clauses, and well calculated for edification.

Two sections of this volume comprise two distinct series of sonnets, entitled, '*the Cross*,' and '*the Apocalypse*.' These, in a lesser degree, suffer under the principal disadvantages which affect all metrical versions of Scripture; for, though the matter, not the manner—the ideas, not the diction—of the Divine originals, form their respective themes, yet, in order to compress within the limits of fourteen lines, as many points touching the burden of each of these insulated yet congregated pieces, it has been necessary to sacrifice much both of the graces of style and the harmonious arrangement of syllables; an expense of pains and labour

which none but the author can know, and which is not likely to be repaid by enthusiastic or extensive admiration of his skill or success, whatever of the one he has displayed, or of the other deserved. The peculiar structure of this kind of miniature poem is so difficult, not to say impracticable, in our language, without inversions and elisions of syntax, and consequently of sentiment, that the sonnet is itself the cross, both of poets and readers, the first of whom are far more willing to endure its agonies than the latter. There is not a really popular sonnet in the whole range of our literature, though there are many of high excellence. Milton's, 'on his blindness,' is perhaps the only one (though of the severest character, both in rhythm and diction), which is at once so sublime, pathetic, and imaginative, as to leave an ineffaceable impression on the mind of him who can feel all its power and discern all its majesty.

Mr. Conder's sonnets do not often flow forth like voluntary effusions of warm feeling, devout aspiration, or thought following thought in rapt or excursive contemplation. Nor do the several clauses which constitute them easily implicate with each other, so as to form an *indivisible whole* of *distinct parts*, of which not one can be spared or dislocated, without detriment, if not destruction, to the rest.

> 'With blood, but not his own, the awful sign
> At once of sin's desert and guilt's remission,
> The Jew besought the clemency Divine,
> The hope of mercy blending with contrition.
> Sin must have death: its holy requisition
> The Law may not relax. The opening tomb
> Expects its prey; mere respite, life's condition;
> Nor can the body shun its penal doom.
> Yet there is mercy: wherefore else delay
> To punish? Why the victim and the rite?
> But can the type and symbol take away
> The guilt, and for a broken law requite?
> The Cross unfolds the mystery. Jesus died:
> The sinner lives: the Law is satisfied.' p. 60.

See of how many minute pieces the fine workmanship of inlaying here consists, and how hardly the precious materials are compacted together, to fit them *within* the Mosaic frame. The twelfth of this series we deem the best, because it is wholly the author's own, and yet we suspect that it cost him less, either of handicraft or headcraft, in its composition than most of the others, for this simple reason, because he was free to choose, from beginning to end, out of the abundance of his heart, what ideas he would express, and in what diction he would arrange them.

'The peace of God! Oh boon beyond all price!
A blood-besprinkled conscience; never known
By those who fondly dream they can atone
For sins untold, by aught of man's device;
By costly rites or bloody sacrifice,
Long pilgrimage, lean fast, or vigils lone,
The torturing scourge, or hermit's couch of stone.
One Cross alone can lead to Paradise.
The servile rites of ignorance and fear,
Reluctant worship of a heart estranged,
That leave the stubborn nature still unchanged,
Change not his law, nor turn aside his rod.
But to the Mercy-seat thro' Christ draw near,
And, justified by faith, thou shalt have peace with God.' p. 62.

Even here we must carp a little, though it be but upon one word. We appeal to the writer himself whether the plain Scripture word '*gift*,' would not have been preferable to the sentimental '*boon*' in the first line, which is well enough in its place, in 'the Mysteries of Udolpho,' or 'the Lay of the Last Minstrel,' that is, in *romance*, whether prose or rhyme. But put it to a sacred test: 'If thou knewest the *gift* of God, and who it is that saith unto thee, 'Give me to drink,' thou wouldst have asked of him, and he would have given thee living water.' John iv. 10. Who durst substitute '*the boon*,' for '*the gift* of God,' in this emphatical declaration? *So much*, *so much* depends upon right words in right places.

Mr. Conder's sonnets in general have much of the mannerism of blank verse, the lines being so divided and intercalated, that couplets rarely occur. This may be no objection to them as poems, but the annoyance to the reader is, that the rhymes are so little allied to the measure, that they are frequently missed when expected, and as frequently come upon him unawares; in both cases disappointing the ear, and disturbing the melodious concatenation of the strain, instead of being felt, like time-keeping strokes, from the beginning to the end, and reporting progress at every gradation. In the series on '*the Apocalypse*,' as in '*the Cross*,' we think the final sonnet the crown of all. The author, in the foregoing ones, has been painfully employed in versifying given thoughts already found in fixed words, which he changes, at the peril of encountering, in every instance, the prepossessions, perhaps the prejudices, of his readers; those very thoughts having been first presented to their minds, like the woman in the wilderness, 'clothed with the sun, having the moon 'under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars;' that is to say, they have been already apparelled in beauty of diction and splendour of adornment, which can hardly be changed without being impoverished or overburdened. When, therefore, as

in the tenth sonnet, Mr. C. writes from the fulness of wealth within his own mind, his own images and ideas have all the advantage over his adopted ones (even though the former be human and the latter inspired, and surpassing all mortal conception), as much as a man's natural affections towards his own flesh and blood offspring, are more freely, fervently, and intensely manifested in the very tone of their expression, than they can be towards the children of a superior parent, of whom he is the tender and faithful, but reverential guardian.

The Sonnet "*On the Monthly Prayer Meetings*" is worthy of the subject. The circumstance of thousands, and tens of thousands of Christians, in the spiritual fellowship of saints, meeting periodically, at the same hour, for prayer and praise, for the universal promulgation of the gospel, all over the earth, would be exceedingly affecting as well as sublime, were it literally contemporaneous; but, as the hour itself makes the circuit of the world by steps of consecutive moments, so "the Missionary Prayer Meeting" accompanies the hour; and, commencing in farthest India, is taken up westward, by relays of churches, from stage to stage, till its circumvolution is completed in New Zealand—and the same hour of another day is just arriving from the eastern archipelago at Canton, in China—or the latest established colony of the gospel within the Burmese empire. Thus incense and a pure offering, are continuously rising all round the globe, throughout one complete journey of the sun round the visible heavens. On that hallowed evening, the reminiscences of friends and relatives far away, those abroad remembering those at home—heart responding to heart, across continents and oceans that intervene—the joy over sinners repenting among tribes, and people, and tongues, with whom Missionaries are residing—a joy shared by angels before the throne of God, as well as by saints round his footstool; sympathy awakened into agonizing intercession, in behalf of those who still sit in darkness, and without hope that to them it will ever be said, "Arise and shine, for thy light is come;" the memory of those who have died in the Lord, and are resting from their labours in strange lands, but who have fathers, and mothers, and brethren, fellow-labourers with ourselves, in maintaining the Missionary cause in all its departments, with whatever service can be required;—all these associated considerations, together with the peculiar blessing of the Lord at such seasons of refreshment from his presence, so hallow the evening of the Missionary Prayer Meeting, that it becomes the best and the sweetest work-day evening in the month, and glad are the people of God when it is said to them,

'Come to the house of prayer. It is the night
When, by a compact sweeter than command,
Their mutual prayers, throughout this happy land,

The scattered family of Christ unite.
Nor here alone observed the simple rite,
In western climes prolonged, by many a band
In busy town, lone wild, or coral strand ;—
Where'er the Gospel shines, a beacon light.
Taught by one Spirit, all their prayers agree.
This night, the self-exiled for Christ can dare
Dwell on dear friends he ne'er again may see:
The thought is balm, that on their hearts they bear
His name while blending thus in harmony
The vows of faith. Come to the house of prayer.'—p. 21.

We refer to foregoing quotations to remark upon certain systematic disfigurements of these pages, and meditated dismemberment of the sentences which fill them, so that it cannot be doubted that the outrage has been committed "of malice prepense!" and it may be feared that the author will not only vindicate, but glory in, the barbarity, which not a single sonnet, and few comparatively of his stanzas, have escaped. We lay down the law, that *full stops*—meaning thereby *periods*—ought never to be employed in the course of a poetic stanza. The *colon* (:) is quite sufficient when the sense requires a *distinct* yet *connecting* division, forming (if we may so say) a hyphen-sentence. Now, a full stop is a stumbling-block to the reader, being in effect a positive mutilation of *the strain* which is *one*. This hard use—hard usage rather—of the period is like cutting a live worm in two, by dissevering that which is vitally indivisible. For example:

'Fond ambition! whisper not:
Happy is my humble lot.
Anxious, busy cares away:
I'm provided for to-day.'

Here four lines are meted out into four separate *dicta*, or *sayings*. There is no "linked sweetness" of "melody long drawn out," from the first syllable to the last. Each line stands apart; the nearest relationship between either two (the *colon*) being the most distant that can be allowed in a perfect sentence, which this very stanza ought to be, and may be made at once by changing the two colons into *semicolons*, and the period at the end of the second line into a colon; there will then be a rhythmical cadence throughout the whole. The second line, in sense as well as in sound, is a response to the first, assigning the reason of the apostrophe to ambition; the fourth line is the same to the third; while the total consists of two couplets, each complete in itself, and both happily consonant when united. Every stanza in a poem, whether long or short, ought to be a progressive air, from which no segment can be insulated without the defect—the defraud rather—being felt and resented by the ear. The strain,

indeed, as when it is set to music, may still consist of two (or even more) parts; of these the colon, like the double bar, is the right and the significant mark, because it shows, that the meaning, so far as it has gone, is perfect, yet being only a *first* part, a *sequel* is necessary to make a *whole of both.* For instance, the national song of "*God save the king!*" in this, the two sections of the melody, corresponding with the two sections of the words, are beautifully distinct; yet is the second so necessary an adjunct of the first, and the ear so habitually requires the recurrence of the latter to consummate the former, that either part sung alone is recognized as but a fragment, ejaculated in a burst of patriotic enthusiasm, or a sally of humorous vivacity. This singular mode of dislocated punctuation is sometimes carried to such excess by our author, that in the first Sonnet of "*the Cross,*" three full points terminate three successive lines; and just below these, we have two periods within a line and a half. In the eighth number of the same series, six of these barrier signs occur in fourteen lines, where (we contend) more than one was neither needful nor proper. The only extra period allowable, even in a Sonnet, is after the two quatrains which constitute the first division of that very artificial structure, though, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, a colon had better be adopted, because *it* indicates the connexion between the said quatrains and the two triplets which make up the sum total of the fourteen lines. The inconvenience to the reader is, that both Sonnets and Stanzas are split into brief sentences, for the purpose, no doubt, of compression; but, this is done at the expense both of ease and symmetry; while, like the shoes of the Chinese ladies, it so cramps the feet of the Muses, that, instead of the graceful gait, by which, like the Queen of beauty, they ought to be known, they are made to step in petty paces, while their followers stick and stumble after them as well as they can.

Throughout this volume numerous versifications of the Church Collects are intercalated. These, Mr. Conder has taken commendable pains to render, not only as nearly literal as may be, but they are more artless and easy in expression than his Psalms and the Sonnets generally; though even here he has had to contend against a degree of that difficulty, which embarrassed him in those larger exercises of ingenuity on foreign materials, and which no skill or diligence could wholly overcome in these minor ones. The simple models in prose are so familiar to those who make them the burden of congregational or social prayer, that they can scarcely bear addition, excision, or transposition, without prejudice to their accustomed effect. Every word in its place—where the words are few and choice—is so associated in the minds of those who devotionally use them, that the same thoughts have not the same form, pressure, or pathos, when exhibited through

new readings, or merely in new collocations of the same phrases. Yet he has contrived to make them beautiful and affecting; and in several of these small, sweet strains, the utmost practicable justice has been done to the best of the originals. We may quote:—

'O God, Protector of the lowly,
Of all that trust in Thee;
Without whom nothing strong or holy,
And nothing good can be:
Guide Thou our steps to heavenly glory,
And teach us so to choose,
As not for pleasures transitory,
Eternal bliss to lose.'—p. 199.

'O God! to whom the happy dead
Still live, united to their Head,
Their Lord, and ours the same:
For all Thy saints, to memory dear,
Departed in Thy faith and fear,
We bless Thy holy name.

'By the same grace upheld, may we
So follow those who followed Thee,
As with them to partake
The free reward of heavenly bliss.
Merciful Father! grant us this,
For our Redeemer's sake.'—p. 230.

'Eternal God, who hatest
No work that thou createst;
And grantest free remission
To all who feel contrition:
Make these hard hearts relenting,
That we, our sins lamenting,
Our wretchedness deploring,
Thy boundless grace adoring,
May peace divine inherit,
Through our Redeemer's merit!—p. 195.

We like trochaic ending so well, that we are glad to give, in the latter quotation, an agreeable instance of the extent to which they may occasionally be spun out, even in our unaccommodating tongue.

Of our author's Original Pieces, the *Hymns of Praise* and *Hymns of Prayer*, we are disposed to speak with unqualified approbation, (merging all carping criticism); because, by these he has made himself a benefactor to the Christian church, having, by rare felicity, produced a small number of standard compositions of this class, some of which deserve to be sung so long as there is a church in the wilderness—a church militant—a church of Christ on earth.

From the "Miscellaneous Poems," at the close of the collec-

tion, the following is a fair sample of the powers which the writer can put forth, when hand, and head, and heart are all free to exercise spontaneous thought, and give utterance to unfettered feeling.

'Oh, the glorious multitude
That bright Hades must include!
All the old heroic dead,
Gathered round their glorious Head:
Saints of every age and clime,
From the infancy of time;
Seers, apostles, martyrs, sages,
Those who, through the mist of ages,
Shine with undiminished fame,
Lamps of wisdom, souls of flame;
And the meek, obscure, and lowly,
Whom the world despised as holy,
Through the Saviour's grace and might,
Victors, walk with him in white.
There, in Heaven's most wide embrace,
Myriads, too, of infant race,
Rudely snatched from earth that seemed,
Swell the hosts of the redeemed.
Though the sword that harvest reap,
Childless mother! cease to weep:
Weep not for thy sinless dead;
Rachel! be thou comforted.
Parents, friends, have joined the throng;
Nor shall we be parted long.
Some with us are tarrying here,
For whom, with whom, life is dear.
But the last will soon have fled,
And our home is with the dead.
Life is here in wandering spent;
Earth our place of banishment;
Virtue is but mortal strife;
'Tis at death we come to life,—
Lay the shield and helmet down
For the palm, the wreathed crown;
Death, the Christian's great reward!
Death, the presence of the Lord!'—pp. 234—236.

The lines, page 243, entitled "*Fear Not,*" are noble poetry. It is by such compositions as these, that the author's strength must be tried, and on such the highest claims which he professes to make, may be fully sustained.

'Oh, cling not, Trembler, to life's fragile bark:
It fills—it soon must sink.
Look not below, where all is chill and dark:
'Tis agony to think
Of that wild waste; but look, oh! look above,
And see the outstretched arm of Love.

'Cling not to this poor life: unlock thy clasp
Of fleeting, vapoury air.
The world receding soon will mock thy grasp;
But let the wings of prayer
Take the blest breeze of Heaven, and upward flee,
And life from God shall enter thee.'—p. 243.

A few of the multiform contents of "*the Choir and the Oratory*," have been contributed by another of the "Associate Minstrels" of "auld lang syne," who, as Mr. Conder informs us, "has made the poetry of (his) life." What sort of poetic life that has been, may be judged from the following touching lines on "Saturday Evening."

'The hours of evening close:
Its lengthened shadows, drawn
O'er scenes of earth, invite repose,
And wait the Sabbath-dawn.
So let its calm prevail
O'er forms of outward care;
Nor thoughts for 'many things' assail
The still retreat of prayer.

'Our guardian Shepherd near,
His watchful eye will keep;
And safe from violence or fear,
Will fold His flock to sleep.
So may a holier light
Than earth's our spirits rouse,
And call us, strengthened by His might,
To pay the Lord our vows.—pp. 270, 271.

We dismiss the volume with our hearty commendations to all who love poetry and piety united.

Art. IV. *The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby: a Reprint of Sir Henry Slingsby's Trial: his Rare Tract, "A Father's Legacy:" and Extracts from Family Correspondence and Papers, with Notices and a Genealogical Memoir.* By the Rev. D. Parsons, M.A. 8vo. London. Longman and Co.

THE Cavaliers and the Roundheads have passed away, but their principles and passions survive them. They have left a heritage to their children which has been handed down from generation to generation with filial piety. Circumstances have moulded the character which they imprinted on their descendants, but many of their most prominent qualities are yet retained, and are apparently destined to continue so long as our political

distinctions survive. From their struggles our parties date their origin, and in their deadly feuds, and indiscriminate condemnation of each other, may be traced the germ of that relentless hostility which yet embitters our party warfare. The boisterous and undistinguishing loyalty of the Cavaliers, their lofty bearing and contemptuous defiance of the popular will, their love of power and devotion to the interests of a *caste* are all faithfully copied by the Tories of the present day; while the settled resolve, the inflexibility of spirit, and the religious fervour which in many cases,—would that we could say in all,—characterize the true reform section of the community, shadow forth, though but obscurely, the virtues of Hampden, Pym, and Vane. In such times as ours it is both pleasing and instructive to look back at the struggles of our earlier and most illustrious patriots. The lessons of political wisdom, and the elements of moral courage are most securely gathered from an association with the master spirits, who in a former age, and under circumstances infinitely less advantageous than our own, set bounds to monarchy, and achieved their country's freedom. They have gone to their rest, but their memory is embalmed in the grateful recollection of the virtuous and the wise, and the animating influence of their bright example is now urging their descendants to a final struggle with the abettors of corruption and tyranny.

In surveying the political parties and strifes of our own day we are subjected to innumerable influences which mislead the judgment, and warp the sympathies of our heart. The adventitious qualities and family connexions of a statesman, the benefits conferred upon ourselves or upon our associates, the personal respect, or the contemptuous neglect received at his hands, nay, the very chit-chat of his private hours, reported by unfaithful servants, and thoroughly distorted in the course of its transmigrations, these and a thousand other circumstances may insensibly engage our love or hatred, our warmest support or our fiercest opposition. From many of these influences we are relieved in looking back upon the past. In the calm and clear light of history the character of men, and the tendency of actions are most distinctly visible. The false glory of the passing moment is removed, the veil is torn away, and both men and their principles are seen in a truer light. The leaders of the constitutional party in the Long Parliament are now securing the justice which has been denied to their memory during a century and a half. Borne down by the mad and drunken loyalty of the Cavaliers, when the treachery of Monk, and the fickleness of the nation permitted the return of Charles Stuart, they have since been abused by every Tory scribe, as the refuse of society, the vile and misshapen productions of an 'age of sects and schisms.' Every advocate of existing corruptions has endeavoured to recommend himself to the

patronage of his party by directing an envenomed shaft against the reputation of England's Worthies. Men who ought to have been loved and venerated, who rank among the noblest and most proudly elevated of their species, who combined unrivalled powers for government, with a moral integrity and strength of religious principle never surpassed, have been defamed by party scribblers with an industrious malice which their virtues only could have inspired. It is true, indeed,—and here is the secret of their calumniators' success,—that they failed to accomplish their designs. The popular party was composed of various sections. Some men joined its ranks from a goading sense of injury, while others were mainly influenced by a creed as intolerant as that of Laud. While they feared a common enemy they were kept together, and acted in concert; but no sooner were the royalist forces broken, than ambition and ecclesiastical tyranny,—the one showing itself in the army, and the other in the assembly of divines,—conspired to work the ruin of that noble cause in whose service Pym had exhausted his masculine spirit, and Hampden had shed his blood. The event which followed is known to every reader of English history. A military dictatorship was preferred to a Presbyterian uniformity, till the nation, wearied by the prostration of its hopes, sighed for the repose which a restoration of the monarchy promised.

A sufficient period has now elapsed to look calmly back, and to dispense with an impartial hand the censure and the praise which are due to the respective parties. Neither of them is entitled to indiscriminate eulogy. Even Clarendon in his elaborate defence of his master's government, is compelled to make admissions unfavourable to his character and policy; and the most zealous advocate of the parliament, if acquainted with their history and alive to the obligations of truth, will be constrained to acknowledge their many and serious obliquities. It is not necessary, to justify a preference, that the whole conduct of either should be fully approved. Were we reduced to this dilemma, we should abstain from pronouncing judgment, and should look to the future for the objects of our admiration. But while we admit that there was much to condemn in the proceedings of the popular leaders, we cannot hesitate for a moment in choosing our party, or in pronouncing our general verdict. 'There was ambition, there was 'sedition, there was violence,' said Lord Chatham, when referring to the patriots, 'but no man shall persuade me that it was not the 'cause of liberty on the one side, and of tyranny on the other.'*

But while we give an unhesitating preference to the popular party, we are free to admit that there were men of unbending integrity and of sincere devotion to the constitutional rights of

* Lord John Russell's Essay on the English Government, p. 66.

the nation to be found amongst the counsellers and soldiers of Charles. Their number was probably limited, and their influence comparatively trifling; but of their existence no unprejudiced reader of our history can entertain a doubt. 'I am not yet convinced,' says Mr. Hallam, the most severely impartial of our historians, 'that the great body of the royalists, the peers, and 'gentry of England, were combating for the sake of tyranny. I 'cannot believe them to have so soon forgotten their almost 'unanimous discontent at the king's arbitrary government in 1640, 'or their general concurrence in the first salutary measures of the 'parliament. I cannot think that the temperate and constitutional 'language of the royal declarations and answers to the House of 'Commons in 1642, known to have proceeded from the pen of 'Hyde, and as superior to those on the opposite side in argument, 'as they were in eloquence, was intended for the willing slaves of 'tyranny. I cannot discover in the extreme reluctance of the 'royalists to take up arms, and their constant eagerness for an 'accommodation (I speak not of mere soldiers, but of the greater 'and more important portion of that party), that zeal for the 'King's re-establishment in all his abused prerogatives which 'some connect with the very names of a royalist or cavalier.'*

We have been led into these remarks by a perusal of Sir Henry Slingsby's *Diary* now before us. It is an interesting, and valuable document, and supplies some details of the civil war not to be met with in Clarendon, and the other royalist writers. Its chief value arises from the light which it throws on the views and policy of the class to which its author belonged. He was a country gentleman of considerable fortune, zealously and honestly devoted to the cause of the King. His private character was estimable, and his influence in Yorkshire great. He was a member of the Long Parliament, and was one of the fifty-nine who voted against the attainder of Stafford. Like most of his party, he retired at an early period from the councils of the parliament, and embarked his life and property in the service of Charles. He does not appear to have been distinguished by any extraordinary talent, but was evidently one of a numerous class who act from the impulse of hereditary loyalty rather than from a clear perception of the constitutional question in debate.

'We gather from it,' says the editor of his Diary, 'that he was one of that class of men whose dispositions would lead them to the tranquil employments of a country life; and who are rather fitted for serving the public interest, by filling the stations to which in the common course of things they would be appointed in their counties, than for taking a lead in state policy or in war.' Pref. ix.

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* Const. Hist. ii. 201.

After the death of his master, he shared in the fate and in the intrigues of the royalists. His estate was sequestered, and his practices against the government of Cromwell while a prisoner at Hull having been detected, he was arraigned for treason, and suffered death. Mr. Parsons asserts, that he 'fell a victim to a 'long premeditated plot, by which he was entrapped into conduct 'exactly such as it was known his loyalty would lead him to un-'der the circumstances.' But we see no ground for such a charge, but much on the contrary which inclines us to the conviction that he was an active and zealous agent for the royal exile. He is admitted, at the time of Penruddock's insurrection, in 1655, to have been concerned in the plan for a general rising in the North. On this account he was subsequently arraigned, and it is certainly to the honour of the Protector's government, that no severer penalty than imprisonment,—and that not a close one,—was inflicted. In 1658, the Marquis of Ormond made a descent on England, and Sir Henry Slingsby about the same time was discovered in making efforts to suborn the officers of Hull from their allegiance. His defence can scarcely be deemed satisfactory by the members of his own party. He acknowledged having delivered a commission in the name of Charles to Major Ralph Waterhouse, and having held conversation with the other officers tending to engage them in the same service. That such conversations could have been 'in jest,' as he affirmed, no reasonable man will believe, and we are, therefore, compelled to affirm his guilt. The tribunal before which he was arraigned was unconstitutional and arbitrary in the last degree; but the validity of the accusation, and the substantial justice of the punishment, are not hereby affected. He virtually admits the facts with which he was charged in the defence that he makes in his beautiful *Legacy* to his sons. Instead of denying the treasonable practices alleged against him, he pleads the force of conscience, and constrains our admiration of his integrity while we condemn his conduct.

Sir Henry Slingsby, like many of the royalists, was far from approving of the superstitious rites introduced into the Church by Laud. Speaking of the year 1638, he says,

'Notwthstanding this inhibition we venture to have sermons in our Chapple now & y^{e}, altho' we incur some danger if it were complain'd off, it being contrary to ye orders of ye Church. I once assay'd to get it consecrat'd by our Bishop wch is Bishop Neale, but he refus'd, having as he saith express command not to consecrate any, lest it may be occasion of conventicles, & so I think it may be abus'd, yet it would be of great ease to us y^{t} live here at Redhouse to have a sermont in ye Chapple, being so far from our Parish Church at Moor Mountain; especially in Winter wether. It is not amiss to have a place consecrat'd for Devotion, as our Churches are, therby to seperate y^{m} for y use: but we

cannot stay ourself here, but must attribute a sanctity to ye very walls & stones of ye Church; & herein we do of late draw near to ye superstition of ye Church of Rome, who do suffer such external devotion to efface & wear out ye inward devotion of ye heart, & so may come to be as conceited in Judgement as ye Pharisees, whom our Saviour Jesus Christ reprehends, who said y^t^ whosoever shall swear by ye Temple it is nothing, but whosoever shall swear by ye Gold of ye Temple, he is a Debter; such a Zeale wth out knowledge had y^t^ Monke, whom we read of, call'd Demophilus, who seeing a poor penitent at ye feet of his confessor to receive absolution of his faults, fell into so violent a fit of cholar, to see so vile a sinner as this man was to approach so nigh ye high altar, y^t^ falling upon him, kick'd & push'd wth his feet, reviling ye priest y^t^ had admitt'd him, & y^n^ running unto ye altar, he took away ye holy things there, & carry'd y^m^ off, lest, as he would make men think, ye place should have been prophan'd by ye sinners approach: et multa alia quæ acceperant tenenda. Not only in this but in other things men are prone, if they be suffer'd, to turn devotion into superstition, & place it in ye splendour of outward things; as one saith ye scence of man carrieth a resemblance of ye sun, wch revealeth all ye terrestial globe unto us, but again it obscureth ye stars & celestial globe; so whilst y^t^ we apply our sence to this outward cervice, it obscureth in us ye opperation of God, who would have us serve him in Spirit & truth. The holy writ sayth, ye are Temple of ye Holy Ghost: & as if our Churches were a more safe repository for it, our Churchmen, will divest y^m^ selves of it to place it there. W^n^ we come into a Church we come wth our hatts off, & endeavour to lay aside all worldly cares, and compose our selves to more serious matters, considering where we are; but if in a place Clergimen are, & enter into their acquaintance, for ye most part we shall receive no benefit, but rather harm; whose example shall teach us rather to embrace ye world y^n^ forsake ye world; being covetous, contentious, proud, boasters, ambitious: of such St. Jerome warnes us in one of his epistles: Negotiatorem Clericum, ex inope divitem, ex ignobili gloriosum, quasi quandam pestum fugio.' 19—21.

His judgment respecting the episcopal order is characterized equally by moderation and good sense, with some light tincture of the false reasoning of his party. The enormities of Laud's administration had alienated many of the warmest friends of the Hierarchy from the bishops. The most enthusiastic 'roundhead' could not denounce their tyranny and misconduct in severer terms than were employed by Lord Falkland, the most virtuous of the royalists, who described the bishops as resembling the dog in the fable, 'having,' said his lordship, 'neither practised themselves, 'nor employed those that should, nor suffered those that would!' But Falkland, while he denounced 'some bishops and their adhe-'rents' as 'a principal cause' of the 'many and great oppressions' under which the kingdom had long laboured, was strenuously

opposed to the abolition of episcopacy. This was the position taken by all the more thoughtful and upright of the King's party. It was evidently the opinion of Sir Henry Slingsby. Speaking of the Long Parliament, he says,

'The Bishops they endeavour'd to bring into a premunire for making of new cannons contrary to Law; & having many other matters against y^m^, they do not endeavour so much to remove y^n^, as totally to abolish Episcopacy, & to establish a government of presbitary. Petitions are brought out almost of every Country against ye Bishops; some do petition to reform y^m^, others to abolish y^m^ root & branch; But importunate petitioners are ye Londoners, shewing y^m^ selves ye most implacable against y^m^ as they did against my Lord Stafford, resorting to ye Parliament house in great multitudes, demanding justice against him. I went wth ye Bill for their taking of their votes in ye house of Peers, & for medling wth temporal affairs, but I was against ye Bill for taking away ye function & calling of Bishops; this is a business chiefly aim'd at by ye Parliament & solicit'd by our countrimen y^t^ live beyond ye seas in Holland hoping y^t^ if episcopy were abolish'd they might peaceably live at home & enjoy their consciences. I could never be of y^t^ opinion y^t^ ye government of ye Church, as it is now establish'd by Bishops & ArchBishops to be of absolute necessity so y^t^ ye taking of y^m^ away would quite overturn ye state & essence of ye cristian church; but I am of opinion y^t^ ye taking of y^m^ out of ye church as ye government is now establist & so long continu'd, may be of dangerous consequence to ye peace of ye Church; for admitting y^t^ government of Bishops be not of divine right, nor in every point, as it is now exercis'd, of Apostolical right, yet we find some foundation thereof in ye wrighting of ye Apostles, y^t^ there was not intend'd a party [parity] amongst all ye presbiters, but some in dignity above ye rest, as Timothey & Titus; but considering y^t^ this government hath continu'd from ye Apostles, or near ye Apostles time, it were not safe to make alteration from so antient a beginning; we used to say y^t^ custome makes laws, & our common laws is but antient customs; yet if any custome should be found against right reason (wch intrincecally makes laws) it would be regulat'd for an evill custom [and] were better broken y^n^ kept.

'The common people judges not wth things, as they are wth reason or against; but long usage wth y^m^ is instead of all, so y^t^ they would think y^m^ selves loose & absolv'd from all government w^n^ they should see y^t^ wch they so much venerat'd so easily subverted, were ye government of Episcopacy plainly deduc'd from ye wrighting of ye Apostles, none should gainsay it, yet I may say there is as much ground y^t^ ye calling of Bishops was institut'd by ye apostles, at y^t^ the sabbath day was chang'd by y^m^, & yet who would be so presumptuous to hold y^t^ it may be again chang'd? & it is as great a presumption of private dislikes, & for ye misgovernment of some, to alter & change a government y^t^ hath been long establisht. W^n^ ye people of Israel desir'd a King, y^t^ desire of theirs was ground upon ye miscarriage of Samuell's Sons,

who walk'd not in ye ways of their father but follow'd their own lucre: Yet God saith they had not reject'd Samuell, but they had reject'd him, & w^n^ God had annoynt'd Saul to be their King, all were not pleas'd to take a man out of ye meanest tribe & meanest family of y^t^ tribe: so it is said in ye text y^t^ ye wick'd despis'd him & brought him no presents; so it may at this day, those y^t^ are against Episcopacy, may pretend it is for their misgovernment y^t^ they dislike y^m^, & yet it may be out of disdain y others should be preferr'd before y^m^: and if their should be made a party amongst ye ministers, in few years there would be as great contention between those y^t^ are learned & unlearn'd as now there is betwixt those y^t^ are preferr'd to honour & those y^t^ are not, those y^t^ have riches, & those y^t^ have none; as we had, this Parliament, some call'd before us, y^t^ were but tradesmen, who yet would undertake to preach, wch they did, not only in opposition to authority, but they thought so well of y^m^ selves, as they thought none so worthy as y^m^ selves.' 66—69.

Sir Henry was present both at Marston Moor and at Naseby, when the military genius of Cromwell wrested victory from the hands of the royalists, and scattered their forces over the kingdom. The military tactics of the future Protector were indicative of the character of his mind. To a concentrated energy he united an entire self-controul, which preserved him from the impetuosity and rashness which neutralized the bravery of Prince Rupert. The account of these celebrated battles which Sir Henry gives, does not add much to our previous information, but there is a freshness in his description which interests the reader far more than the elaborate details of the general historian. Speaking of Naseby, where the power of Charles was crushed, and the fate of the monarchy sealed, he says,

'In this Interim S^r^. Tho. Fairfax was come about wth his army to Northampton, & and some of his horse in our Quarters, before we were aware of y^m^. This made ye King draw his whole army together & take ye Hills y^t^ were about Dantry, y^t^ wch is call'd ye Daws[Danes] Hills: where yet one may see ye intrenchments of an army, & so high as it overlooks a good part of ye Country between it & Northampton; & there upon y^t^ Hill ye whole army of horse & foot stood in arms y^t^ same night. The next Morning [we] were command'd to march back again to Harborrow, & in our march we understood y^t^ General Fairfax follow'd wth his army upon ye side of us 6 miles distant. W^n^ we took our Quarters we made ye head quarters at Harborrow; our horse lay Quarter'd in Villages between us & ye enemy, who gave y^m^ an Alaram, but presently were encounter'd wth a party of our horse, & chas'd untill they came to see where they had made their fire, in an open feild. Upon ye charge Liet. Coll. Sair, receiving a Shott near ye shouldier, was brought off to Harborrow, to S^r^. Marmaduke Langdales Quarter.

'This alarm'd ye King who lay at a place a little beyond Harborrow; thereupon command was given to draw fourth; wch was ye 14th of June 1645, upon a Saturday; & by ye time it was light ye King himself was come into ye Town, & all in readiness to march: we had not march'd a Mile out of Town, having taken a Hill whereon a Chappell stood, but we could discerne ye enemy's horse upon another Hill about a Mile or two before us, wch was ye same on wch Naseby stood: here we made a Hault, but after prayers being said, prince Ruport draws forth a good body of horse, & advanceth towards ye enemy, where he sees their horse marching up on ye side of ye Hill to y^t^ place where after they imbattl'd their whole army: but being hindred of any nearer approach, by reason ye place between us & y^m^, was full of bursts & Water, we wheel'd about, & by our guides were brought upon a fair piece of ground, partly corn & partly heath, under Naseby, about Half a mile distant from ye place.

'The prince having taken his ground began to put in order [his] horse in sight of ye enemy, who were now come to ye top of ye Hill, & begin to draw down their Regiments upon ye side of ye hill: where they took their ground to imbattle their forces: immediately he sends to ye King, to hasten away ye foot, & Cannon, wch were not yet come off ye Hill where they first made ye randevous; & he perceiv'd y^t^ General Fairfax intend'd not to quitt ye advantage of ye Hill, where he had drawn up his men: so advantageous was it, y^t^ they could easily observe in w^t^ body we drew up our men, & ye utmost y^t^ we were, w^n^ as they lay wth out our sight, having ye Hill to cover y^m^, & appear'd no more to us y^n^ w^t^ they had drawn out in Battalio upon ye side of Naseby Hill; besides, they had possess'd an Hedge upon our right wing wch they had lin'd wth Musqueteers to Gall our horse, (as indeed they did) before we could come up to charge theirs. It fell upon prince Ruport to charge at y^t^ disadvantage, & many of ye Regiment [were] wound'd by shot from ye hedge before we could joyne wth theirs on y^t^ wing: but [he] so behav'd himself in ye charge, y^t^ he beat y^m^ up upon y^t^ wing beyond ye Hills, & had our success been ye like upon our left wing, in probability we might have had ye day.

'But our Northern horse who stood upon y^t^ wing, & ye Newark horse who was appoint'd their receive [relief] being out front'd & overpour'd by their assailants, after they were close joyn'd, they stood a pritty while, & neither seem'd to yeild, till more came up to their flanks & put y^m^ to rout, & wheeling to our right took y^m^ in disorder, & so presently made our whole horse run: & our foot thus left nak'd were fourc'd to lay down their arms. Y^e^ enemy did not pursue, wch gave time to us to stop, & really our men, & ye prince on ye one hand, & S^r^. Marmaduke Langdale on ye other, (ye King yet being upon ye place) having got together as many as they could, made an offer of a 2 charge, but could not abide it; they being horse & foot in good order, & we but a few horse only, & those mightily discourag'd; y^t^ so we were immediately made to run, & ye enemy in pursuit of us gain'd bag & baggage all we had, wch they found to be a very rich pillage: & tho' our Waggons were left at good distance yet could they not be carry'd off, but some were taken, & some overthrown & monys shaken out, w^ch^

made our soulgiers to venture their lives once more, wch was but to stay & take it up.' pp. 149—153.

The King never recovered from the defeat of this day. The forces of the parliament swept the kingdom, and pursued the royal fugitive. Charles moved from place to place, more to escape his foes than with any hope of collecting a sufficient force to make head against them. He was sometimes reduced to the poorest fare, and was compelled to find shelter under the lowliest roofs.

'In our Quarters we had but little accommodation,' says Sir Henry, 'but of all ye places we came to, ye best at old Rodnor, where ye King lay in a poor low Chamber, & my L^d^ of Linsey & others by ye Kitching fire on hay; no better were we accommodat'd for victuals; wch makes me remember this passage; w^n^ ye King was at his supper eating a pullet & a piece of Cheese, ye room w^th^out was full, but ye men's stomacks empty for want of meat; ye good wife troubl'd wth continual calling upon her for victuals, & having it seems but y^t^ one cheese, comes into ye room where ye King wos, & very soberly asks if ye King had done wth ye cheese, for ye Gentlemen w^th^out desir'd it.' 167.

The present volume, in addition to the *Diary* from which we have extracted, contains 'A father's legacy,' a rare and deeply interesting tract, written by Sir Henry in the Tower, immediately before his execution, together with extracts from his family papers, and a reprint of his trial. We should be glad to quote some passages illustrative of his views and character, but must content ourselves with recommending the whole to the perusal of our readers.

Art. V. *Elijah the Tishbite.* By F. W. Krummacher, D.D., of Elberfeld, in Prussia. Translated from the German. London: The Religious Tract Society.

IT is but seldom we allow ourselves in strictures on the proceedings of societies so admirable as the one to which we are indebted for the publication before us; yet, in the present instance, we cannot suppress an inclination to criticise. *We have a complaint to make. It relates to an offence of* omission. In many of the re-publications of standard Christian authors, by which the Tract Society has deserved so well of the religious community, we have observed something like a designed retrenchment of all prefatory matter. Now we are, we candidly own, of that class who value a preface, and think a book incomplete without one. It is the part in which we often feel most interested, and which we make a point uniformly of examining before we pass to the work itself. We fancy that we are thus the better prepared for a just appreciation of the merits of an author.

In the case of *religious* treatises, or of works, the pretension of which is to instruct and amend, the information which a preface affords is peculiarly desirable. It seems scarcely possible that the full amount of impression which writings of this kind are calculated to produce, should be realized whilst the author remains unknown to us; unknown, we mean, as to his motives, feelings, and general religious history; for where some clew is not given to guide to a judgment on such questions, the mere inscription of a name in a title page affords little satisfaction. We have partially felt this deficiency in the perusal of the work now under our notice. The work itself is abundant evidence of the sincere and single minded piety of the author: still there are other inquiries which involuntarily suggest themselves, respecting which we should have been glad to receive some information. It would have been gratifying to have been furnished with notices of the former life of the author; of his previous public labours; of the length of time he has been connected with the Christian body to which he now belongs; and of the exact nature and importance of his present position among them.

The contents of the volume were evidently, in the first instance, a series of expository discourses, delivered to the author's own congregation; but it would have been satisfactory to have known why '*Elijah the Tishbite*' was selected as the subject of such discourses; whether they had been preceded by any similar course; whether their publication had any special reference to the wishes or circumstances of the congregation which heard them; and what is the numerical or other importance of this congregation. In a subsequent edition of the translation, we would respectfully suggest to the Committee of the Tract Society, the propriety of endeavouring to supply, in a brief introductory chapter, these desiderata. We are no advocates for applying the rules of social etiquette to questions of literary conduct; but in the introduction of a foreign author to the readers of any country, we do think it a courtesy due equally to the party introduced, and the parties to whom he is introduced, that he should not be allowed to stand before them *an entire stranger.*

We do not wonder at the interest which this work has already excited. A portion of this interest it doubtless owes to the circumstances of its authorship. After the miserable theological crudities, or worse than crudities, with which we have been sated from Germany, it is refreshing to see a champion come forth from the high places of German literature, prepared to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints. Such a champion is Dr. Krummacher. With little need to shrink from any intellectual comparison with the men that have ruled the German mind, he is yet at the very antipodes of them, in all that concerns faith and feeling. In the system of doctrines which he professes,

he is content to appear as the humble disciple of revelation, not its self-sufficient emendator. His practical Christianity too, is the Christianity of the New Testament, enlightened without frigidity, and experimental without enthusiasm. Dr. Krummacher is an *evangelical* Christian. The motto which he has prefixed to the last of the chapters in this volume, 'None but Jesus,' might with equal justice be employed as the index of his own habitual frame. In the more distinctive features of his character, there is much which constitutes him a fit biographer of the distinguished prophet who gives its title to the volume; the same uncompromising faithfulness, the same ardent zeal, the same simple dependence on heavenly succour. The similarity, in all essential particulars of his *situation*, he himself, in many passages, appears to have recognised. Notwithstanding all that is cheering in the present spiritual prospects of Germany, the true picture of its condition is, we fear, still an *awful night piece;* and the welcome given to such writers as Dr. Krummacher, must be construed as in a measure the joy inspired by the appearance of a fresh luminary in the darkened scene.

Independently, however, of this source of interest, the work has merits of its own to justify public favour. We do not reckon among the least of these the delightful unction and spirit of Christian love and tenderness which pervades the discourses. We have more than once been reminded, in reading them, of the charm of some of the writings of Flavel. It is to this moral cause we attribute, in part, the finished ease of composition which is apparent throughout the volume. Both Dr. Krummacher's thoughts and language flow evidently out of the abundance of his heart. His style is at once natural and forcible. He is a little too fond of description, in which he has considerable power; and if we were disposed to criticise, we should say this is the chief temptation against which, as a writer, he has to guard. The work is divided into thirty-two chapters; and the style, though sufficiently rhetorical, and sometimes bordering on the declamatory, shows the author not to be deficient in habits of acute discrimination, as the following extract will evidence :—

'Do we inquire whether the Lord directs his children still, as in old time? Undoubtedly he does; though not by any audible voice, yet with equal certainty and evidence; and *this commonly by closing up inwardly or outwardly, all other ways, and leaving only one open to us.* And is not this equivalent to our hearing a voice behind us, saying, This is the way, walk ye in it, when ye turn to the right hand and when ye turn to the left, Isa. xxx. 21? When he *inwardly* leads us, he impresses a Scriptural conviction on the judgment as to what we ought to do, and it is scarcely possible for us any longer to hesitate. Would our feelings lead us in a different course? Then peace immediately departs; and such disquietude arises within us that we are

compelled to retrace our steps. When he *outwardly* leads us, he brings us into such circumstances, connections, and situations, that only one way remains open, for we see every other obstructed by visible providences. The ways which the Lord thus points out to us, seem, therefore, like that to the brook Cherith, selected and appointed purely for the exercise of our faith, and the crucifixion of our old man, the mortification of our inveterate corruptions. Only then follow on courageously! Whenever the Lord says to any of his children, 'Get thee hence and hide thyself,' he also adds, either expressly or by implication, 'and the ravens shall feed thee there.'

Considering these discourses as pulpit compositions, one capital excellence of them appears to us to be the liberty assumed by the author in selecting materials for the elucidation or enforcement of his ideas. He evidently did not feel himself shackled by the conventional canons of pulpit law which sway so unhappily in this country. The illustrations with which he has enlivened his pages he has borrowed alike from real and fabulous narrative: from facts which have become matter of history, and from such recent events as had fallen under his own observation. The following anecdote will strike our readers as equally touching and solemn. It occurs in the chapter entitled 'Renewed Mission,' and is introduced (we do not say with what appropriateness) as illustrative of the nature and influence of 'the still small voice.'

'There was some years ago, not far from this place, a very gifted preacher, who for several years preached, with great earnestness and success, the doctrine of the cross; but who, on that very account, was violently opposed. One of his opponents, a well-informed person, who had for a long time absented himself from the church, thought, one Sunday morning, that he would go and hear the gloomy man once more, to see whether his preaching might be more tolerable to him than it had been heretofore. He went; and that morning the preacher was speaking of the narrow way, which he did not make either narrower or broader than the word of God describes it. 'A new creature in Christ, or eternal condemnation,' was the theme of his discourse; and he spoke with power, and not as a mere learned reasoner. During the sermon, the question forced itself upon this hearer's conscience, 'How is it with myself? Does this man declare the real truth? If he does, what must inevitably follow from it?' This thought took such a hold upon him, that he could not get rid of it, amidst any of his engagements or amusements. But it became from day to day more and more troublesome; more and more penetrating; and threatened to embitter every joy of his life; so that at last he thought he would go to the preacher himself, and ask him, upon his conscience, if he were convinced of the truth of that which he had lately preached. He fulfilled his intention, and went to the preacher. 'Sir,' said he to him, with great earnestness 'I was one of your hearers, when you spoke, a short time since, of theonly way of salvation. I confess to you, that you

have disturbed my peace of mind, and I cannot refrain from asking you solemnly before God, and upon your conscience, if you can prove what you asserted, or whether it was an unfounded alarm?' The preacher, not a little surprised at this address, replied, with convincing certainty, that he had spoken the word of God, and consequently, infallible truth. 'What then is to become of us?' replied the visitor. His last word, *us*, startled the preacher; but he rallied his thoughts, and began to explain the plan of salvation to the inquirer, and to exhort him to repent and believe. But the latter, as though he had not heard one syllable of what the preacher said, interrupted him in the midst of it, and repeated, with increasing emotion, the anxious exclamation, 'If it be truth, sir, I beseech you, what are *we* to do?' Terrified, the preacher staggers back. 'We,' thinks he, 'what means this *we?*' and, endeavouring to stifle his inward uneasiness and embarrassment, he resumed his exhortations and advice. Tears came into the eyes of the visitor; he smote his hands together like one in despair, and exclaimed, in an accent which might have touched a heart of stone, 'Sir, if it be truth, we are lost and undone!' The preacher stood pale, trembling, and speechless. Then overwhelmed with astonishment, with downcast eyes, and convulsive sobbings, he exclaimed, 'Friend, down on your knees, let us pray and cry for mercy!' They knelt down and prayed, and shortly afterwards the visitor took his leave. The preacher shut himself up in his closet. Next Sunday, word was sent that the minister was unwell, and could not appear. The same thing happened the Sunday following. On the third Sunday the preacher made his appearance before his congregation, worn with his inward conflict, and pale, but his eyes beaming with joy; and commencing his discourse with the surprising and affecting declaration, that he had now, for the first time, passed through the strait gate. You will ask what had occurred to him in his chamber during the interval which had elapsed. A storm passed over before him—but the Lord was not in the storm; an earthquake—but the Lord was not in the earthquake; a fire—but the Lord was not in the fire. Then came a still small voice; on which the man enveloped his face in his mantle, and from that time knew what was the gospel, and what was grace.'

The defect by which we have been most annoyed in perusing this volume, has been the discursive character of its contents. This fault was, perhaps, inevitable in a series of lectures on 'Elijah,' which should comprise 32 Nos. and 360 pages; but then, where was the necessity for extending the series thus far. There are some authors, we have occasionally thought, who seem, when they write, to be making experiments on the endless divisibility of matter. The character and career of Elijah would doubtless furnish materials for a skilful preacher for ten or twelve distinct expository exercises; but what skilful preacher would not deprecate advancing beyond this point. The result of the attempt, in the present instance, has been, that some of the chapters are little more than an historical paraphrase; that several of the pas-

sages, inserted as the basis of observation, simply serve the purpose of a starting point; that many of the reflections introduced are built upon suppositions and conjectures appended to the text rather than on the text itself; that interpretation has been often dropped for allegory; and that portions of the history, which ought, in all fairness, to have been treated as a whole, have been split into fractions of narrative. The latter of these strictures will be understood on casting a glance at the table of topics. We make them all in perfect good feeling, having been much gratified in the perusal of the volume. It is a valuable addition to our devotional literature, and cannot fail to promote the interests of scriptural piety.

Art. VI. *First Impressions and Studies from Nature in Hindostan; embracing an Outline of the Voyage to Calcutta, and Five Years' Residence in Bengal and the Doáb, from* 1831 *to* 1836. By Thomas Bacon, Lieutenant of the Bengal Horse Artillery. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Allen & Co. 1837.

THE work before us professes to be 'a delineation of India and its Society, Anglo-Indian and Native, exactly as they are, 'nothing extenuating,' and certainly not 'setting down aught in malice;' in short, adds the author, 'it is as close an 'imitation as possible of the process whereby local scenery is 'depicted to the eye.' Such a work, if faithfully executed, cannot fail to be extensively acceptable. The Indian Continent is daily growing in interest and in importance, and is now an accessible country to the commercial enterprize and enlightened curiosity of the people of Great Britain. Every addition to our knowledge of the institutions, habits, resources, present condition, and prospects of India, is therefore a valuable contribution to our national treasure. The narrow policy which commercial selfishness so long maintained, has happily given way to more enlarged and national views, and India is, in consequence, now regarded as a portion of the British empire, rather than as the property of a Company of Merchants.

But our readers must not suppose that we are introducing them to a work of grave disquisition on the politics and commerce of India. Lieutenant Bacon wisely refers such matters to other parties, and employs himself in sketching the scenery and manners of the country, the habits of the English residents, more particularly of the military, and the sports in which they are accustomed to engage. It is indeed sufficiently obvious that he is no friend to the government of Lord William Bentinck, but he does not intrude his views on his reader; he never goes out of his way to introduce them. The strict economy which his

lordship carried into all departments of the Presidency, seems to be the chief ground of complaint. If our suspicion on this head be correct, we have only to express a hope that his lordship's successor will act on the same system, and still further apply the rules which he adopted.

The style of the work is in harmony with the subjects which it embraces. It displays a happy combination of correctness and gaiety, which at once commands the approval and keeps up the interest of the reader. Occasionally, it verges towards levity, but the good sense and correct taste of the author preserve him from the faults into which buoyant spirits and a gay temperament would have led less gifted men. He seems to have anticipated a charge of this kind, for, speaking in his preface of the opportunities for extensive observation which he possessed, he says, 'Of 'these facilities he has endeavoured to avail himself to the ut- 'most; and if what he did observe, he has not expressed with the 'gravity of a tame journalist, if he has detailed conversations in 'a conversational style, and has treated some subjects in a tone 'which very sober readers may stigmatize as levity, his facts are 'not on that account the less to be relied upon.'

But, instead of indulging in further remarks of our own, we shall defer to the wishes of our readers, and proceed to adduce for their amusement or instruction, some extracts from the multifarious contents of these volumes. Mr. Bacon met with more than the usual adventures in his voyage to India, and we are tempted to quote his animated and graphic description of the appearance and manœuvreings of a pirate vessel, 'a little rakish gull-like craft,' as he designates it, which broke the monotony of their voyage, and threatened to change their destination.

'During the 17th and 18th of May, a distant sail had been seen upon our starboard quarter, standing the same course with ourselves; and from the circumstance of her position being always the same, we could only conclude that she was steering by us, for she continued to preserve, both in light and fresh breezes, the same distance, as a mere speck upon the horizon, so that it was impossible to make her out. The suspicions of the captain were awakened by her continuing to hover thus perseveringly about our wake; the magazine was overhauled, and the ship's cutlasses and muskets were passed once more through the armourer's hands; however, it was not thought necessary to remount the guns, which had been stowed away only the previous day.

'In the evening, I was writing in my cabin, when Tom, the little cabin-boy, came running in. 'Sir, sir, there's a great ship coming down to us, to fight us; there's the captain and officers and all the passengers upon the poop, with their glasses, and they all think she is a pirate ship.'

'I took my telescope, and ran on deck, and there, as the boy had said, were all the people anxiously reconnoitring the stranger, who was bearing directly down upon us. It was getting dark, and the vessel was at too great a distance for any but a sailor's eye to determine what she was.

'What do you make of her, Mr. Harcourt?' asked the captain of the chief mate.

'She's a schooner, sir, and a rakish little craft she is too; in my mind no better than she should be.'

'Faith, and there may be some truth in that,' replied the skipper. 'Let's have the guns on deck smartly, Mr. Harcourt, and tell Macauley and the steward to stand by the magazine. Carpenter, knock out the ports!'

'Considerable excitement now prevailed on board; every hand was actively engaged in preparation. It was evident that the captain anticipated a bit of a skrimmage; for except while superintending the work on deck, his eye was anxiously fixed upon the movements of the stranger. She was nearing us rapidly, and every spar and every rope quickly became visible in relief against the clear sky.

'Now, boys,' said the captain, 'if we are obliged to grapple that little devil, there will be no child's-play for us; you all know what hands such as she are manned by. I don't want to preach to you, my lads; I put too much confidence in every man of you to think that you require to be talked into your duty—it is enough that you are British seamen. Boatswain, pipe all hands to splice the main-brace!'*

The little craft was now within hail; not a soul was to be seen on board, except the man at the wheel. She really appeared to manœuvre as if by magic, as she came sweeping down upon us, now luffing to the wind, now again lying off a point or two, as if to show her superiority of sailing. Now, like a little water-witch, the most perfect model of symmetry and grace, she came skimming over the waters but a stone's-throw to windward of us. Our captain hailed her, but she made us no reply; again, but with as little effect: once more, but she still persisted in her obstinate silence. He now threatened to fire into her if she did not reply, and up started a figure, trumpet in hand, who answered our hail by a loud incomprehensible sort of a grunt, and again she steered wide of us. As she fell off from us, she wore round upon the wind, as if with the intention of bringing her broadside to rake our decks from the stern forwards: our skipper, however, was a little too wide awake for her, and wore ship also, before the manœuvre had time to take effect, so that we were again standing the same course; but we were now upon the windward side, an advantage which the schooner had hitherto enjoyed. Finding herself foiled, she now went off at a tangent before the wind, and was quickly lost sight of in the increasing gloom.

'She's not gone yet,' said the captain; 'lay the ship her course again, Mr. Harcourt; she'll be down upon us again directly. But,

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* 'Nautical phrase, signifying to receive an extra glass of grog.'

eh! how's this? why the ladies are all in the cuddy; they had better go below. See to that, Mr. Harcourt: I'll keep an eye on deck.'

'Now let us take a peep fore and aft the decks. All the more combative among the passengers were assembled upon the poop, armed to the teeth with fowling-pieces, regimental swords, ship's muskets, boarding-pikes, and cutlasses. I had taken my station upon the larboard bumpkin-boom, with my double-barrelled Joe, having been commissioned by the captain to reserve my fire in order to pick off the stranger's helmsman, if an opportunity should occur. The quarter-deck, waist, and forecastle, were crowded with the able hands on board. The capstern was surrounded with ammunition and small arms, and all the shot-lockers were well furnished. The sailors appointed to man the guns stood by them, anxiously awaiting an opportunity of displaying their skill; the musketeers occupied the intervals between the guns, and at the gangway stood, with his shirt sleeves tucked up above his elbows, our gigantic immolating priest, Tom Kitts, the butcher, brandishing a red-hot poker, wherewith to fire the guns: not a port-fire was to be found on board.

'It will be understood that the schooner having gone off before the wind, and we now lying our course with the wind upon our larboard quarter, the two vessels were supposed to be sailing in directions diverging from one another. It was to our utter astonishment, therefore, that the watch upon the forecastle descried the little witch coming down directly across our course, and not a hundred yards a-head of us; it could be no other? no! there she was, the same little rakish gull-like craft, sweeping along under a press of canvass, and impudently running under our very bows.

'Port your helm!' roared the captain to the man at the wheel; 'why that lubber is determined to make us run her down: but, by the mighty Jove, I'll not lay a point off my course for her again. Steady!'

'Steady she is, sir,' replied the helmsman.

'The schooner again tried the same manœuvre as before, but our captain was too keen to be out-witted, and as she brought her broadside upon our quarter, we again wore round, so as to keep her on our beam. Finding that she had gained nothing, she did not attempt any renewal of this manœuvre; but filling again her towering canvass, she passed a-head, and once more crossed our bows, so close, indeed, that our flying jib-boom was reported to have carried away her peak halliards: for our skipper kept his word, declaring that he would run her down rather than break off his course again. We entreated him to fire into her for her insolence; but he declared he dared not do it.

'I would,' said he, 'if I dared, but such a thing would subject me to the loss of my command; besides, remember how many petticoats I have under my charge: if we were to get the worst of the fray, a very pretty pickle I should bring these young girls into: the most fortunate of them would have their throats cut, and the rest, the fattest of course, would be led in captivity to the harem of the Dey of Algiers. Do you think, Miss Virginia Letitia Swallow would ever survive the honour of being made a sultana? No, my dear fellows; if he hits me, I'll fight; but I dare not strike the first blow.'

'Once more, she hauled her wind, and sailed clean round us, still refusing to answer our repeated hail; well might she have been proud of her superior sailing; but she did not venture to compete with us in force. I fancy she was too well satisfied with her scrutiny, for as she ran to leeward of us, she put herself before the wind, and once more took her departure.

'Ah, ah!' cried the captain, 'that is the last of her,' as the rising moon displayed to us her rigging, decks, and bulwarks literally swarming with human beings. 'She's off!' repeated the captain, 'or she would never have shown her bee-hive. Why, they mustered full 200 hands, I'll be sworn. I'm very glad she has walked off; let us go down and crush the hopes of the aspiring sultanas.'

'Well, Adams,' said I to an old man-of-war's man, 'what do you think of her? I hardly fancied that she would display such a craven crest. Do you think we should have been a match for her?'

'No saying exactly, sir; she's a proper tight little craft as a sailor might love to look upon, and carries a 'nation lot of hands; regular fire-eaters too, every man jack of 'em, I'll be sworn; but then they never show fight unless it's a dead thing; she see'd too many hands aboard of us, and didn't quite like our skipper's cool way of working; besides, she didn't twig no quakers * among our bull-dogs, and may be, it's the better for both of us that she didn't, your honour.'

'But a couple of broadsides would have cut her up fore and aft, and a third would have sunk her.'

'Don't know that, sir; them 'ere sort of craft ain't quite so easy done up; you might riddle her hull through and through like an old cullender, before she'd die of the dropsy.'—Vol. I., pp. 24—31.

Arriving at Madras, our author was entertained at a friend's house, and has given us the following amusing description of his first night's repose—or rather torture:—

'A friend provided me with a bed, and, thoroughly worn out with fatigue, I turned-in soon after midnight. In two minutes I fell asleep under a fine canopy of musquito-gauze; in two minutes more, however, I was aroused from my slumbers by buz——z in one ear, then whiz——z in the other; then a dreadful irritation and swelling on the end of my nose; then on my foot, ditto cheek, ditto hands, ditto legs, ditto ditto all over, until I was fairly driven out of my bed, half-mad. I roared out for a light, and took a delicious revenge upon a score or two of fat fellows, who had gorged themselves to repletion on my blood, and who were sticking to the curtains without the possibility of making their escape by flight, the weight of their over-stuffed bodies being too great for the power of their wings. There I stood, in my night-clothes, murdering these pigmy harpies, until my hands were covered with blood, and the white curtains were speckled like a school-boy's pocket-handkerchief.

* 'Imitation cannon, made of wood.'

'I turned in once more, but to little purpose; the voices of the musquitos, tenor, treble, counter-tenor, and bass, kept up a chorus that would have awaked Washington Irving's Rip Van Winkle; then their poisonous bite; the hoarse croaking of the bull-frogs just under the window; the incessant whir——r of the crickets and grass-flies; the tic-tic-tic of the lizard; and the howling of the pariah-dogs, drove me into a positive state of frenzy. At last, I had almost coaxed old Somnus to descend, and was gradually mingling all my persecutions in one common feeling of discomfort, when a blaze of lurid torch-light glared into the room, and then came an excruciating unmusical burst of tom-toms, pipes, and sundry poker-and-tongs-like instruments, at which good Morpheus took fright, and not one wink of sleep did I get that night.

'At breakfast, I gave vent to my complaints in a pitiable relation of the miseries which I had gone through during the night: all the sympathy, however, which I met with was an assurance that the noise was only occasioned by a marriage procession, which happened every night in the year; and as to the musquitos, I should soon become so used to them as to be unable to sleep without having half-a-dozen put inside the curtains before going to bed.'—Vol. I., pp. 102—104.

Most of our readers are probably acquainted with the habits of the gigantic crane, known in India and elsewhere by the name of the 'adjutant.' It is an object of curiosity to all new comers, and is a constant attendant in the neighbourhood of the British barracks, where it affords much amusement to the soldiers.

'Except that the joints of the knee,' says our author, 'bend backward, instead of the contrary, the action and walk of these large birds is ludicrously like the measured gait of a decrepit old man, as he may be seen sauntering about with his hands under his tail coat pockets, and his bowed head turned inquisitively first on one side then the other. They take their flight in search of food, wheeling in regular circles round and round over the same space of ground repeatedly, so that nothing edible escapes their sight; they are seen promenading on the tops of all the buildings in Calcutta, or resting upon one leg, as motionless as images, upon the highest summits they can find.

'They are constant waiters at the tables of those European soldiers who may take their meals outside the barracks, and laughable indeed are the tricks played upon these greedy birds. The moment a bone is thrown to them, the whole posse rush upon it, and a regular scuffle succeeds, in which bills and wings are used as weapons, and no very gentle blows are dealt; the scramble generally ends in two or more, who are fortunate enough to obtain a good grip, pulling and tugging in opposite directions, until the happy victor bolts the morsel entire.

'This exceeding voracity is taken advantage of by the soldiers for their amusement, by tying a bone to a string, and then casting it to the bird; it is probably caught and swallowed before it can reach the ground, and thus the poor animal is taken prisoner, as of course the bone will not return as smoothly as it went down. On one occasion I

saw two bones tied together by a strong cord, four or five yards in length, thrown to these birds; of course they were instantly secured by two happy individuals, who thus found themselves coupled together, the weakest being constrained to follow the steps of the more powerful, until he bethought him of flight, when, proving the swifter of the two, he led his persecutor a pretty flight all round the fort, though he was himself more than once made to turn a summerset in the air by the resistance acting upon his head. So powerful is their flight, and so sharp are their enormous bills, that they might prove formidable antagonists to almost any quadruped. In 1821, a private soldier running hastily round an angle of one of the barracks, came suddenly in collision with an adjutant, and was spitted clean through the body by its beak; both were victims to this untimely meeting, for the violence of the concussion broke the bird's neck, and both fell dead upon the pavement.'—Vol. I., pp. 142—144.

Mr. Bacon has made but infrequent and very slight allusion to the aspect which Christianity assumes on the Indian continent. He speaks indeed in one place of 'the excellent Missionaries,' but gives us no insight into the character of their disciples, and supplies no information respecting the influence which their labours are exerting. Perhaps he deemed these topics beside his province: we hope he did not regard them with aversion or contempt. Some passages of his work would lead us to fear that religion occupied but little of his attention, and was seldom brought, in its more simple and Scriptural form, before his view. There is, however, too much good sense, and ingenuousness of disposition, displayed in his volumes, to permit the suspicion of his entertaining any other than a respectful, if not an admiring view of Christianity. His account of the chaplains of the army is in painful consistency with what we have learnt from other quarters. Speaking of the military station, known by the infelicitous cognomen of Dum Dum, he says:

'Dum Dum possesses a neat little church, with sittings for about 1,200; but there is one thing which struck me as being peculiarly infelicitous about this little place of holy worship: it is situated very close to the mess-house, and the enclosures are separated only by a low parapet wall, so that nearly all which passes in the one may be audible in the other. I have often at the mess, heard the organ pealing forth the solemn notes of the old 100th Psalm, at the same moment that some man at my elbow has been whistling, 'Malbrook,' or 'Oh dear what can the matter be.' Independently of this inconvenience, there is, in my mind at least, a strong objection to so close a propinquity between that which is strictly and entirely sacred, and that which is devoted exclusively to the gratification of our appetites and animal indulgences.

'I do not at all apprehend that the same feelings would very sensitively operate with the majority of our military chaplains in India; on the contrary, although I am right happy to admit that there are very

many zealous and highly estimable Christian ministers in our service, still, if by their fruit ye shall know them, I fear that by no means the smaller moiety would be found to have their hearts set upon the good things of this world, rather than the importance of their spiritual duties; and very many among my ecclesiastical acquaintances would as readily have tallyhoed a jackall, found within the sacred precincts of the church-yard, as if he had been unhoused from some less sanctified spot. That we have upon our establishment a very long list of 'sporting parsons,' is well known both to the bishop and to the community generally; and though I should be sorry indeed to speak with levity, or inconsiderately in disparagement of the sacred profession, yet the fact above stated is too notorious to call for any reserve on my part in mentioning it.

'Illustrative of the opinion I have just advanced, I could instance a great many anecdotes; I will, however, content myself with the following: I had been invited to attend the marriage ceremony of a young friend of mine at the house of the bride's parents, where a splendid breakfast had been prepared for the guests. The nuptials were to be performed at eleven o'clock, after which all hands were expected to fall-to upon the abundance of good cheer. The hour appointed came, and all were present, with the exception of the priest who was to tie the indissoluble knot; this was scarcely wondered at, for our clerical friend was known to be a man of late hours, and never punctual to an engagement; but when half an hour had elapsed, and still no chaplain came, the party grew somewhat impatient of delay: twelve o'clock struck, and still he failed to appear; the poor bride cried twice as much as ever, and all the impatient bride's-maids became doubly agitated.

'It was really a very strange thing of Mr. ———; quite unpardonable, and the breakfast would all be spoilt; a blank disquietude with whispering conjectures ensued, until I proposed to gallop over to the parson's quarters, and bring him back with me. This was acceded to, and upon arrival at the gentleman's bungalow, I inquired for the *Padri Sahib,* and was answered by one of his servants, '*Khodawund, Padri Sahib shikar khelna geiya hi,*' which being interpreted, signifieth, 'Great sir, (literally, chosen of God), the parson has gone out hunting.'

'I concluded at once that the oblivious divine had forgotten the wedding altogether, and galloped back again to give intelligence to the party. Just as I rode in at one gate, however, in dashed the little chaplain at the other, dressed in a green hunting-coat, leathers, and tops, cracking his whip and cheering his dogs, 'Harmony! Harmony! Music! Rattler! Rattler!' He galloped up under the portico, with a hundred regrets that he should be so late, but they had really had a clipping run of five and forty minutes, 'the best thing of the season,' he continued: 'might have covered the dogs with a table-cloth; but upon my word I'm very late; half-past twelve, upon my honour—Here, you bearer,' calling one of his servants who was in waiting with a partial change of apparel, '*Kala pantaloon our koor i do,*' and seizing a pair of black trowsers from his slave, he hastily jumped into them, top-boots, leathers, and all; then making a similar change in the

upper part of his dress, he put on his surplice, and walked deliberately into the room where the expectant party were assembled, making a cool apology to the lady of the house, on the score of unavoidable business of the greatest importance, which had detained him beyond his appointment.'—Vol. I., pp. 152—156.

The duplicity and craft of the Hindoos are proverbial; but after all that we have heard of their artifice, we confess that we were scarcely prepared for the following:

'Among the lower orders of natives, it is no uncommon thing to find men who can counterfeit so skilfully the semblance of death as to deceive even a medical man, until the hand is applied either to the heart or pulse: these men are frequently at very great pains to acquire this faculty, and practise it for many purposes. It serves sometimes as a means of concealment, but more frequently it is made available for the purpose of imposition.

'The imitator of death is laid upon a *charpáhi*, or light native bed, and being painted as if covered with wounds and bruises, he is carried, in a state of complete nudity. to the house of an European magistrate or other civil functionary; here a pitiable story is related of his having been murdered in some remote village, and with bitter tears and lamentations, the magistrate is entreated to send officers to make official investigation of the case, and if possible to bring the perpetrators to an expiation of the outrage. In the mean time, the friends of the unfortunate murdered man, having excited the compassionate interest of the Englishman, or of some of the inmates of his house, solicit a gratuity for defraying the expenses of the funeral, for which they aver that they have no means; and if the trick be new to the beholders, an ample shower of donations will most likely be afforded to the poor bereaved creatures. The moment their object is secured, the sorrowing family withdraw, carrying with them the corpse of their deceased relative, who, as soon as he is out of sight of the house where the imposition has been practised, returns to the mortal world, and again condescends to make use of his limbs, taking care to appropriate an adequate share of the bounty which his ingenuity has purchased. Having then cleansed himself from his stains and artificial wounds, the whole party disperse, to avoid apprehension when the fraud is detected.

'I was once staying at the house of a civilian, when one of his servants came in and reported that a murdered man had been brought to the door by a party of his friends, in the manner related above; he intimated at the same time that, from the appearance of the strangers, he was suspicious of their statement, and believed the dead man to be a counterfeit. We went out and found a squalid-looking corpse, with two or three wounds upon the chest, and with many marks of violence about other parts of the person.

'The bed upon which the body lay extended was placed upon the ground, and all around it squatted the relatives and friends who owned it, howlin', screaming, and groaning, with a touching emphasis, which

would have excited the sympathy of the most obdurate. My friend approached to examine the body, but was assailed with a thousand importunities not to pollute the corpse before the rites of sepulture had been performed. He, therefore, refrained from touching the body with his hand; but remarking to the people that wood could not defile it, he stuck the sharp end of his billiard cue, which he had in his hand, into the side of the supposed corpse: this evidently disconcerted the surrounding throng; but as the body showed no signs of animation, or any fear of incurring a repetition of the test just inflicted, we began to think that the suspicion of the *Chupprassi* had been unfounded: the blow was repeated with increased force, and until the sharp point of the cue penetrated the flesh, between the ribs. A very slight quiver of the muscles, and an almost imperceptible movement of the head, discovered the cheat; and my friend then told the people that they had better take the body to the hospital, for that life was not yet extinct. 'Wa! wa!' said they, 'why the man has been dead since cock-crow; how, therefore, can he be alive now?' (an idiom quite as purely Hindostani, as it may be thought Irish).

'Bring a tea-kettle of boiling water,' shouted the gentleman, to the dismay of the family.

'Sir, great sir, what would you do with boiling water? the man is dead.'

'Exactly so, my good friends; and that is the reason that you are all weeping and sorrowful?'

'What else, sir?'

'Why I am a great physician, and know how to bring such dead men as these to life.'

'The poor fellows begged hard that the body might be spared; but the kettle was brought; and still the dead man moved not, until a small quantity was poured upon his foot; when he bounced from his *charpáhi*, and upsetting one-half of his little brothers and cousins, fled like a spirit rather than an earthly body.'—Vol. I., pp. 206—209.

Our author, like all other military travellers in India, engaged, of course, in the perilous sports of the country. Hunting parties were occasionally made up, and leave of absence from the barracks having been obtained, the spirit of enterprize was indulged to the full. It is strange to observe what the daring spirit of man will hazard. Excitement must be obtained—and in order to it life is recklessly perilled. Lieut. Bacon's account of one of these hunting expeditions puts the scene distinctly before his readers. He was in company with two of his brother officers, and had engaged the services of Mirchi, an old experienced tiger-hunter.

'We came up with our elephants,' he says, 'about a mile from the belt of jungul where the tigers were supposed to lie: here we mounted for action, loading, and carefully re-examining our guns. The best elephants of the number had, of course, been selected for our *háodas;*

the others, being only required for beating up the spaces intervening between us, were of less consequence. Upon one of these we put Mirchi, and committing our course and manner of advance to his guidance, we formed a line upon the east side of the jungul, which, fortunately for us, was also the leeward side, so that we had thus two great advantages; the sun at our backs, instead of in our faces, and the wind carrying the noise of our advance from, instead of to, the game. I took the centre of the line, and each friend a flank, the beating elephants walking in the intervals. In this order of battle we moved forward, making our way through the high jungul grass in silence; nothing could be more exciting than this slow and deliberate approach upon a powerful enemy.

'The sagacious beasts on which we rode seemed aware that we were striking at the higher game, for, as the deer bounded almost from beneath their feet, they took no notice of them, nor did they stop, as is their habit, to allow their rider to take aim; but continued to advance step by step, with a slow and careful pace, as if designing to make as little noise as possible. Every step increased the excitement, and every head of game which was roused by our approach we thought must be the tiger; but we were green hands at the sport, as our friend Mirchi politely told us, for the timid deer are not apt to lie quite so close upon the quarters of their destroyers.

'In this manner, we advanced at least half a mile through the jungul, without coming upon any signs of those we sought, and we were naturally beginning to fear that Mirchi had conducted us upon a false scent; but we still held on our march, and soon found the small game less abundant, as the jungul grew swampy and difficult of penetration. I was about to express my disappointment, and to recommend our trying other ground, when my elephant came suddenly upon the half-devoured carcase of a bullock, around which the ground was trodden down, and the jungul torn in fragments; the slaughter was evidently recent, and no doubt the tiger had made his banquet shortly before daybreak. 'Ha! ha!' I cried, 'we have him now; look here, *Mahawut*, here are his foot-prints, each as large as a *chuppatti*.'

'*Such hi khodávund*,' replied the obsequious driver, echoing each word of my exclamation, '*ab jeldi milega, oos-ki punja chuppatti ki muafik burra hi*.'

'Mirchi came up, and having made his comments upon the carcase, passed a hint to the two marksmen on the flanks to be upon the *quivive;* presently, one of the elephants commenced trumpetting through his trunk, and the whole line advanced more warily. This is the most exciting stage of the pursuit; every eye is fixed upon the long jungul grass, watching eagerly for the hidden monster; every waving blade is taken for the tiger, and every gun is raised to smite him. After passing the carcase, we found the jungul much higher than heretofore, it being in some places even with the tops of our *háodos;* but here the ground, though swampy, was not so adhesive as to impede the progress of our line.

'My elephant now began to speak, uttering a long low rumbling

noise internally, accompanied with occasional nasal squeaks, the signals of alarm and caution, and then a loud shout of enthusiasm from old Mirchi proclaimed the sport in view, though we were greeted neither by roar or charge, as is generally supposed to be the case. The only circumstance which attracted our notice was a slight waving of the grass in front of us. '*Mar! Mar!*' screamed the old *shikarri*, in the vehemence of his excitement, 'Fire! Fire! he will get away.' A shot from the left *háoda* was the first fired, but without effect, for the grass in front of us continued to wave about as if moved by some bulky animal below it, slinking away a-head of us.

'Fire, again!' cried Mirchi, 'do you wish to let him escape?' I fired, but with no better success than my friend before me, except that the grass began to move faster, as if the brute beneath was hastening his retreat. A double shot from the right did as little execution, and old Mirchi, with ardent interest in the pursuit, grew angry at our want of skill.

'Lower down, lower down,' he cried; 'what are the gentlemen doing that they fire at the grass and not at the tiger? Ah! if I had Judge Kummul Sahib, or Broon Sahib, or E-smit Sahib in the *háodas*, it would not be so.' A simultaneous discharge from all three batteries was instantly followed by a roar, such as never was heard within the walls of the Tower, or Exeter Change.

'Ha! that is bravely done,' cried the old man, changing his note, and every feature of his aged countenance working with excitement; 'press on now, gentlemen, and give him chase; you are young hands at this sport, and shall make the most of it; press on now, Mahawuts.' And in obedience to his command, we urged our elephants forward at a long trot: they, it may be believed, shared in the general excitement, and exhibited their interest by a mixed concert of trumpeting and rumbling of their thunders within them.

'The tiger, for a moment, made a pause, as if meditating vengeance of the injury he had received; but he again stole off, until he unexpectedly found himself in a circular patch of barren ground, quite free from cover: the spot was like a little amphitheatre in the centre of the jungul, which looked as if constructed purposely for the encounter. As he entered upon this bare spot, he turned for a moment, and surveyed with terrible demonstrations of his wrath the formidable line advancing upon him. He was wounded in the hind quarter, whence the blood was slowly oozing; it was a glorious sight to see how proudly the mighty monster stood to reconnoitre us, displaying his tremendous tusks and grinders, as if to warn us off, and then making the heavens ring again, in echo to his awful voice.

'By mutual consent our fire was reserved until we entered upon the open ground, and then a shot which grazed his shoulder brought him at once to the charge: raising himself upon his hind legs, he uttered another yell of mingled agony and rage, and with a concentration of all his powers, he rushed at my elephant, evidently with the intention of fixing himself upon its head. Firmly and without wavering, did old Eima (the elephant, a female), stand her ground, though not

without preparing for the charge, if it should be made good: this, however, was not permitted; for when the tiger was within ten yards of me, having taken a careful aim, I put a ball into his chest; and then a volley was poured in on all sides, which quickly made him bite the dust. Again he rose, again and again he endeavoured to effect a charge upon one or other of the elephants; but we were too strong for him, and a couple of shots through the skull brought him again to the earth, where, with all the tenacity of life attributed to the feline race, he lay, tearing the stumps of jungul in his now impotent wrath, and glaring upon us with his flaming eyes a picture of vengeful antipathy even in the throes of death. I pushed my elephant close up to him, and as we then thought, terminated his agonies by putting a ball clean through his skull, for his head sunk upon the ground, and his eyes closed.'—Vol. I., pp. 397—403.

We must venture only on one more extract, and must, therefore, lay aside several respecting elephants, bears, wild hogs, and other equally civilized animals, to make room for the following. It is generally supposed by the good people of this country that slavery has ceased to exist throughout the British dominions. But this is far from being the case. It prevails to an awful extent in many parts of our Eastern territories, and is found to produce the same fearful results as in other quarters of the globe. It was supposed, even by the best informed amongst us, that its termination had been provided for by a clause of the Act renewing the Charter of the East India Company. But it turns out, that this provision, enforced alike by religion and humanity, was thrown out of the Bill by our hereditary legislators. It was too humane and Christian-like to obtain their lordships' approval; and slavery, in consequence, continues to inflict its innumerable wrongs on a large portion of the Indian community. It was at the Hindoo city Hurdwar, whither our author had gone to witness the 'Grand Festival,' that this subject was brought under his attention, and the account he has furnished, supplies a fearful illustration of the guilt which it involves.

'Upon our return to our tents,' he says, 'we found there a man waiting our arrival with a very different sort of merchandise to any we had hitherto seen. He had with him two young girls, whom he had brought down from the Punjab, and these he was anxious to dispose of as slaves; offering the eldest, who was the least comely of the two, and about sixteen years of age, for one hundred and fifty rupees; and the other, who had really some pretensions to beauty, and was younger by about four years, for two hundred. The poor little things, putting their hands before them, in attitude of supplication, begged earnestly that we would purchase them, declaring that otherwise they should starve, and vowing to be faithful and obedient to us. Finding that we were not inclined to become purchasers, the man took them away, and the same proffer was made at every tent: they were ulti-

mately purchased by a native gentleman, residing in the neighbourhood of Delhi, for about half the sums above-mentioned. This traffic in slaves is considered to have been long since abolished, but it is still surreptitiously practised throughout the upper provinces, and at any of these fairs, girls may be purchased: they are generally from Georgia, Cashmeir, Kabul, the Punjab, or Moultan.

'One of my servants, a Musselman, had a slave-girl, whom he had purchased for the sum of twenty-four rupees, about £2. Her history, as far as she was herself acquainted with it, is a very romantic one, and the reader will perhaps excuse my giving a slight sketch of it, which may be condensed in a very few pages.

'The name of the girl was Rahmea; she was handsome, not more than seventeen or eighteen years of age, a native of Almora; her parents were not Ghoorkas, as might be thence naturally inferred, but settlers from some large town upon the banks of the Ghinab, in the district of Kishtawar; the girl herself was ignorant of the name of the town. Her mother had been exceedingly beautiful, and, though poor by birth, had been exalted to great honour and dignity, as the wife, or favourite concubine, of a petty Rajah, who, by virtue of his comparative wealth, was looked upon as the principal man of the town; but he was a dissipated, debauched character, according to his wife's account, and she, therefore, thought it no sin to decamp from his bed and board, and furnish herself with a more sober, though less consequential, lord and master: and being in fear of vengeance from him upon whom she had turned her back, she quitted the neighbourhood and fled with her new spouse to Almora. Here they continued to live in peace and happiness for several years, having a bond of unity in the existence of a little daughter, who was considered the beauty of the place.

'When the daughter had arrived at the age of ten years, she was one day playing, with others of her acquaintance, in the neighbourhood of the temples, when she was accosted by an old man, in the guise of a *fakhir,* who asked her many questions about her father and mother, their names and history; the child unhesitatingly gave the religious man all the information in her possession, and further told him that her father lay at home sick of an ague, which no medicine would cure. Upon this, the holy professor tendered his services, and was gladly conducted by the little girl to the habitation of her parents, who, unsuspicious of evil, thankfully received the advice and remedies which he proffered them.

'The drugs having been administered, the symptoms of the patient grew more and more alarming; but the loving pair were comforted by the *fakhir's* assurances, that all would be well, and that a very few hours would suffice to free the sufferer from his malady. In company with the beautiful matron,—who, contrary to the general rule among eastern women, was still fascinating even though she had been ten years a mother, and twice a wife—the disinterested old priest sat and watched the sick man, giving him from time to time fresh draughts to quench his thirst; until at last, as midnight approached, the patient declared his conviction that life was fast ebbing, and would no longer credit the assurances of his physician. The old stranger was still arguing the

point with him, when suddenly the poor man's features became dreadfully convulsed, and after lingering about an hour in the most exquisite torment, he expired, affirming with his last breath that the *fakhir* had poisoned him.

'Even so,' said the disguised Rajah, for it was he, the lady's former lord; 'even so; I have poisoned you: would that your pangs had been doubly, ay, ten-fold more excruciating! And, now, Luchmi,' said he, turning to his *quondam* love, 'what better fate do you expect from your injured master? Your nose is my first demand, and your matchless daughter is the next;' and then, at his command, the hut was immediately filled with armed men.

'The beautiful Luchmi was gagged, and bound; and her ruthless captor, with his own hand, severed her nose from her face; she was then placed on horse-back, under the charge of one of the Rajah's followers, and was conveyed away, the daughter knew not whither; certainly with no very happy purpose, for nothing of love or tenderness was seen in the tyrant's bearing. There can be little doubt that, if suffered to live, she must have been confined for life, her only lot protracted misery; but there is better reason to believe that the ruffian would have destroyed her, when the heat of his reproaches and abuse had in a measure evaporated.

'As for the poor child, Rahmea, she was carried to the Rajah's zenana, and continued for a few months an unwilling concubine of the murderer of her father; but having made more than a few attempts at self-destruction, she was ultimately cast adrift upon the wide world, with no fortune but her native comeliness. This gave her value in the eyes of one of the Rajah's dependents, who obtained permission to take her into his house; and business soon after carrying him to Delhi, he disposed of her to my servant, Secundur Kahn, for the trifle above-mentioned, being wearied of the poor girl's unbending indifference.

'At the time that Secundur Kahn related this tale to me, the girl had become greatly attached to her master, having been with him about six years, and being the mother of three fine children: I expressed a wish to see her, and my servant instantly complied. She was quite as handsome as he had described her; but I could elicit from her no intelligible replies to my inquiries, touching her history, or that of her mother. This apparently did not arise from shyness or stupidity, but from a disinclination to converse upon the subject with a stranger, and therefore I forebore to probe her further.' pp. 181—186.

In parting from our Author, we beg to express our acknowledgments for the pleasure we have derived from the perusal of his volumes. They display an intelligent, acute, and observing mind, and are written in a style which can hardly fail to render them extensively popular.

Art. VII. *The Church and Dissent, considered in their Practical Influence.* By Edward Osler. Formerly one of the Surgeons of the Swansea Infirmary. London: 1836. 12mo.

THIS is a curious book; not indeed on account of any remarkable talent which it displays, the discovery of any truth, or the new light thrown upon old truths. It is curious because in it bigotry and candour, stupidity and cleverness, suavity and bitterness, truth and falsehood, piety and politics, are strangely huddled together. In itself the book is not worthy of notice; but as a reprint of it is announced, at the *request* of the 'Bath 'Conservative Association,' it would be discourteous to so illustrious a body, not to bestow some attention on what they have so signally honoured.

It begins with a reference to the contest now going on in Ireland; and the Dissenters in England are said to be combined with the 'movement party' which is mainly supported by them. To overthrow this unhallowed confederacy, our author wrote the work; and he proposes to exhibit the real character and design of the Dissenters, '*always in the most temperate language*,' so that his readers may know that dissent and democracy are one, and consequently both are alike dangerous to 'the church and the 'throne.'

In his description of the Church of England and of dissenting churches, we have the oft-repeated tale about apostolical succession, true church, regular ministers, and uncalled, unauthorised teachers, schism, and disorder. We are not going to examine Mr. Osler's views on these matters, for they possess no novelty. We only propose to exhibit a *few* of his inconsistencies, that it may be seen on what shallow pretensions ecclesiastical writers of this inferior grade, ground their abuse of nonconformity.

Mr. Osler never enters into the merits of the question at issue. He *assumes* that the Church of England is quite scriptural, and never attempts to prove it. He applies a similar method to nonconformity. He gives no correct account of our principles or practice, but states some generalities, and then seizing on every instance of quarrel, inconsistency, and folly which an industrious malice can collect, holds them up and exclaims: Behold the results! According to this writer the nonconformists are the scum of society, without property, religion, virtue, numbers, intelligence, or power; a set of men whose delight is to destroy whatever is venerable or useful; who seek, not only to overthrow the throne and pollute the altar, but to reduce society to brutality and barbarism. On the other hand, the Church and church-men are all perfection. The Bishops are lowly, self-denying, pious, laborious men; the priests and teach-

ers are above worldly temptations and desires, their private life adorns Christianity, and they are patterns of learning, eloquence, and piety!

That there are almost innumerable statements in the book utterly inconsistent with these representations, is a fact which will occasion our readers no surprise. Such writers as Mr. Osler always contradict themselves. But to argue with a person who sets truth at defiance, who only sees one side of a question, whose opinions are in fact his tastes, and who *cannot* reason, would be utterly absurd.

Mr. Osler has only one method of dealing with a hard argument. He pronounces it a *fallacy.* Having dismissed the reasoning of an opponent in this summary style, he struts forward with an air of triumph. When nonconformists plead their conscientious scruples, their plea is a *fallacy.* 'The objections of 'Dissenters to contribute to support an Established Church, rest 'on a *fallacy*,' and so on through the whole category of our reasons for refusing to aid the alliance of the church with the world. Now when so high an authority as our author thus decides, who shall presume to question his judgment? High authorities, however, on questions of so much importance, do not generally take great pains to describe themselves, as this writer does.

Mr. Osler's grand objection to nonconformity resolves itself into this; we have no church, no authoritative ministry, and, consequently, no government. Hence disorder and a want of respectability. He is quite shocked that some of our ministers have been raised from a handicraft trade to the pulpit; indeed, he once knew such a person, a shoemaker, who was obliged, after some years, to return to making shoes again. How Mr. Osler must regret that the apostle Paul was a *tentmaker;* and that Peter, James, and John were *fishermen!* Now we do not mean to say that the Bishops of the Church of England should be either tentmakers or fishermen. It is quite enough that they imitate their predecessors on the episcopal bench, in piety, self-denial, humility, simplicity, temperance, and faith. Still it might be quite as well if the advocates of these spiritual lords who have so openly renounced 'the pomps and vanities of this wicked world,' were to observe some decorum and regard to truth in the strictures which they hazard on the principles and habits of the nonconformists of this country. It is but too evident, from the anxiety which Mr. Osler displays about the *respectability* of the Church, that if he had lived eighteen centuries ago, he would not have been a disciple of the 'Carpenter's Son.'

He informs us, p. 1, that the influence of the parties hostile to the Church is very great; that it is notorious that his Majesty's ministers are indebted for office entirely to their support. In page 183, it is said, that dissent 'for many years past has not

'been able to advance, though every thing has been in its favour: 'how then,' asks Mr. Osler in triumph, 'shall it now stand when 'every thing is becoming adverse? Democratic principles, so 'favourable to its own system which prevailed for the last twenty 'years, are daily losing ground.' Here is a strange contradiction. But on which side the truth lies, let the recent meeting of delegates from all parts of the kingdom, and the division in the House of Commons on the second reading of the Irish Municipal Bill, decide. We are represented as canonizing rebellion; 'and 'truly,' says our author, 'they honour their patron saint.' Just before he lays it down as a maxim, that those 'who are true to 'God, will be loyal to their king.' Now as nonconformists 'canonize rebellion,' and are therefore *dis*loyal, they cannot be true to their God, since the two are inseparably connected. Yet he admits, p. 18, that orthodox dissent holds the *essentials* of Christianity. Popery has the *church* but not the religion; but this is a minor consideration with our author. But alas, we have no *ministry!* We have a religion, but no CHURCH! Not cortainly, established by law. But such churches as were in the houses of Philemon, and at Ephesus and Corinth, we have in goodly numbers. But how can religion exist among us without our being 'true to God,' and when libelling a large number of the disciples of Christ, why did this party-scribe pen such a palpable contradiction? Robert Hall described Dr. Magee's celebrated saying as 'an excellent stone for a Churchman to pelt with.' Did Mr. Osler think that by splitting the stone, and having two flings, he should conceal from us whence he obtained his missiles?

Mr. Osler wishes to make his readers believe, that the comprehensiveness of the Church is an infallible proof of her scriptural character. 'It was once said of our Lord, This man receiveth sinners!' p. 29. We know when we meet with a drunkard, or a blasphemer, and ask him to what church he belongs, he will tell us, 'the Church of England.' And did Christ receive sinners in *this* sense? or was it as repentant believers? In which sense does the Church receive them? If not on repentance, what can justify such a misuse of Scripture to sanction her laxity? If she receives them on a profession of repentance and faith, what right has he to quarrel with the nonconformists because they do the same? He charges them with exclusiveness, as if they rejected those whom Christ has received. In fact, the Church sets up the same tests, and requires the fulfilment of similar conditions, with this difference; she asks by *proxy*, we from the parties themselves. The Church comprehensive! Truly so, when Bishop Warburton describes her as resembling Noah's ark, containing 'all 'manner of beast, fowl, and fish, *reptiles, and creeping things, &c.!*'

An authoritative church, we are informed, p. 42, alone can

afford security for the truth; but then we are informed, 'a true 'church may become corrupt.' Where is the *security* for the truth in this case? If his previous axiom be correct, what can be made of the comment on it? That the thing which 'alone' affords the security against corruption should *itself* become corrupt, seems to our plain understanding an absurdity! We wonder whether Mr. Osler had any clear notion of what he meant when he wrote these words. He tells us, indeed, that the essentials of a Christian church . . . consist 'in the setting forth of God's pure 'word, and the right administration of the sacraments, by a 'duly appointed ministry: the authority of such a ministry being 'derived from our Lord's commission to the apostles, transmitted 'by episcopal succession; and residing in the three-fold order of 'bishops, priests, and deacons. All baptized persons, except 'those excluded by ecclesiastical discipline, are members of the 'Church; and the general assembly throughout the world of such 'persons, with their duly appointed ministry, is the Catholic, or 'universal church; of which every particular, or national church, 'possessing these essentials, is a part.' p. 5.

Our readers may perhaps inquire where our author found all this? Does he refer to the New Testament? No, but to the articles of the church itself as his authority. When a question is raised concerning the validity of the pretensions of any one to the character he assumes, it would be a strange way of determining the matter by taking as an *authority* the testimony of the person questioned. Such, however, is Mr. Osler's mode of dealing with this subject. But the thirty-nine articles tell us that a church consists of a 'congregation of faithful men.' How does such a description square with the character of the 'Church of England,' or with Mr. Osler's description, as already quoted? And yet such writers pretend to be authorities, and take upon themselves to pour forth condemnation upon those who appeal to the New Testament, *and it alone*, to decide the point at issue!

But there would be something amusing if it were not for the mischief produced on the unlearned by their use, in endeavouring to show what a *Church-man* means by the phrases, The Church, Our Church, &c., and 'the Church has the power to decree rites and ceremonies.' He will not believe you, if told that, after all, episcopacy is only a form of church government! and an establishment a system of ecclesiastical polity! What, nothing more than *that* in apostolical succession; and that *all* which is meant by the national church! No; he will not credit such a statement. None but a Dissenter, or a Radical, would dare utter such profanity. Mr. Osler has been caught by the magic influence of this word Church, of the import of which he is so utterly ignorant. Has he forgotten that this authoritative church, of which he is so unscrupulous a defender, changed her

religion three times in twelve years? Indeed he himself laments that the church was once overrun with Hyper-Calvinism, and that Archbishop Abbott 'sealed her fate, and that of the monarchy, by promoting it with all his influence.' What became of *the* truth while this heresy was rampant in the church, if the church alone afford security for it? How was *the* truth preserved then? Was it by the churches that were *not* authoritative? Bad as they are, they have done some good at all events; and if we had no other security than what the Church of England has afforded, how enviable our condition would have been *now!*

The Romish Church was an 'authoritative church;' and our author, who seems to have a sort of Roden-like horror of popery, and would enlist under the banners of Harcourt Lees, having for his watch-word, 'Put your trust in God, but keep your *powder* dry,' will, we dare say, admit this. But how does he escape from the dilemma of maintaining that the Church of England, a separation from that of Rome, and therefore composed of Dissenters! is 'authoritative' too? 'The Reformation,' he says, 'did not make a new church in England, but purified the old 'one; just as Paul, the apostle, was the same person with Saul 'the persecutor, but changed in principles and character.' Then the Romish Church, from whom the Church of England received her apostolical succession of ministers, her rituals, creeds, and ceremonies, was, if this extract mean any thing, like Saul, i. e. unconverted and unregenerate, and the Church of England is Paul, who differed from Saul by the whole amount of conversion, apostolical calling, and gifts! This is the most precious bit of nonsense we have ever met with. One *part* of the church of Christ, though, as Mr. Osler admits, a 'most corrupt one,' is like Saul the persecutor; and another part of the church is this Saul transformed into Paul, yet still the *same*, except the *change* which has taken place! We have always thought that there was really very little difference between the churches of Rome and of England; and, seeing their near affinity, we have felt it difficult to account for their mutual hatred. Really this is altogether so ineffably absurd, that we cannot venture a further remark on it.

Now, if the Church of England has failed to oppose an effectual barrier against corruption and error, what pledge have we that she may not fail again; and what becomes of this notion that an 'authoritative church can alone afford security for the truth?' Let the reader look at the following picture of the state of public morals in the times immediately succeeding the reign of James II., drawn by the same hand that erected the absurd theory we have demolished.

'The church was next exposed to the pestilential influence of de-

moralizing national corruption. . . . . In town, corruption lifted its shameless front, and laughed virtue out of countenance. Field-sports, rural merriment, and riotous hospitality prevailed in the country. . . . Two great evils were justly to be apprehended from these circumstances: a gradual corruption of the truth (!) the natural corruption of morals; and the prevalence of a cold formal religion, effectual indeed to promote the general interests of society (!) but falling infinitely short of that surrender of the heart which God requires. For each an adequate corrective was provided, and both were found in the church.' p. 57.

If our author's notions be true, how came these evils to prevail *at all?* If the church had the *remedy* for them, it is strange it had no *preventive.* 'Prevention is better than cure,' according to the old adage; and this we suppose, even Mr. Osler will admit, at least better for the patient, if not for the doctor. May we ask how these statements, and the lofty dogma he has propounded, cohere? What agreement is there between this beautiful theory of an 'authoritative church affording the only security for the truth,' and the facts of ecclesiastical history, as adduced by Mr. Osler? But to expect him to be consistent with himself is hopeless.

Mr. Osler professes great respect for Mr. Wesley and the Methodists; for Mr. Wesley, because he once said, 'If we forsake the church, God will forsake us;' for the Methodists, because the ministers have *all* the power, and the people none! Bishop Phillpots, that amiable successor of the apostles, one year expressed some affection for this body, and very blandly commended them to the good graces of his clergy, though avowedly with the hope of recalling them to the bosom of 'Mother Church.' But at the next visitation he poured out the vials of his wrath on the curate of St. Ives, if we mistake not, for no other offence than his wife's attending occasionally at a Methodist chapel! Mr. Osler seems comforted, amidst the evils which Nonconformity is bringing on the land, by the consideration that the ground which the church cannot occupy, owing to the rapid increase of the population, is taken up by the Methodists, and that they and the church (strange associates!) are driving dissent before them.

We are sorry to disturb the gentle serenity of our author's mind, by telling him that the separations from the Methodist body arose from priestly domination. The New Connexion number, we believe, about 20,000. The Primitive Methodists have 500 itinerant, and 1000 local preachers; and nearly 63,000 members in society. We say nothing respecting the recent secession under Dr. Warren, which is large. But both the New Connexion and the Primitive Methodists admit of *lay* delegation. Indeed, in the latter body, laymen preponderate in Conference. They are, too, uncompromising Dissenters; and what is more frightful still, Radicals! They are going on prosperously; and

latterly the present leader of the Wesleyan host has found it necessary to recommend to *his clergy* a mitigation of their asperity, and a softening down of their expressions of scorn and contempt for a body, too zealous and formidable to be trifled with. And, if John Wesley did utter the remark already referred to, we wonder whether he would say so *now?* At all events, when reproved for his irregularity in preaching from place to place, he exclaimed, '*the world is my parish*,' a sentiment utterly at variance with the principles of an Establishment.

Our author's political principles are no better than his ecclesiastical notions. He seems to have no idea of liberty beyond the most abject submission to rulers, be they whom they may. Of course he quotes the injunction of St. Paul: 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers;' for no churchman can proceed a step without it. He does not inform us what are the limits of this submission, nor indeed explain the meaning of it. Mr. Osler is much too lofty in his notions to condescend to explain any thing. He takes it for granted, as a matter no one can possibly dispute, that this is *passive obedience and non-resistance.* He goes on: 'Though a monster of wickedness filled the imperial 'throne, ... it was not for those whom he addressed to in-'quire for what object of discipline or punishment God suffered 'such a tyrant to reign. Their business was to do their duty 'as subjects.'

And suppose they did not perform it? They would be punished for their neglect. But to whom are kings responsible? Oh! they are exempt from all accountability, save to God and their conscience! What security from oppression and cruelty does this theory afford; and, in the case of a king without a conscience, or one who has no fear of God before his eyes, what can insure *his* attention to the duties of his high trust? But kings are God's vicegerents on earth, says Mr. Osler. It seems to us not more absurd than impious to represent the Almighty as delegating his authority to such unequalled monsters as Caligula, Domitian, or Nero!

This writer speaks most respectfully of Laud, while he pours forth his wrath on the devoted heads of the unhappy puritans, who 'perished without an enemy, unpitied, scorned, and abhorred by the nation.' It is difficult to be ordinarily courteous to a writer that can thus exult over the extinction of a race of men, who, with all their imperfections, were severe in their morals, and stern in adherence to their principles; whose excesses were to be attributed to the terrible severity of the government, rather than to disloyalty or irreligion; while he has not even a lamentation over the affecting spectacle of the outrage of all decency by Laud, who persecuted, with relentless severity, all who refused to comply with 'the solemn fooleries' which he persisted in introducing into

public worship. If Mr. Osler will turn his eye to the twentieth page of Rogers's admirable Life of Howe, he will see a masterly delineation of the character of this arrogant prelate, for whose cruelties he expresses no abhorrence, while he speaks in terms of bitter hatred of the victims of his intolerance. His love for the Whigs and Radicals is not greater than his attachment to the Puritans. We even suspect that he would consider rebellion against a *Whig* government no offence against the doctrine of divine right. This is accordant with the tactics of his party, whose spurious loyalty is extended only to Tory kings. Mr. Osler would hardly consider a Whig monarch God's vicegerent on earth!

We are greatly obliged to him for informing us that the principles of the French Revolution and of Dissent are the same; 'and the principles,' he tells us, 'which could raise such villains to supreme power must be bad.' Pray what principles raised Caligula and Nero to the throne, or any tyrants who have cursed mankind? Why the servile principles of this writer; and therefore, by his own logic, his own principles are proved to be corrupt.

But a Conservative is 'faithful to God and his country, and 'seeks to do his duty in that station of life in which it has 'pleased God to call him.' Woe to you who are *not* Conservatives; you are irrecoverably cut off from all hope of mercy! May we, however, ask, as we are a little curious on the point, in what way the present *leader* of the Conservatives, Lord Lyndhurst, that pattern of all purity and excellence, is 'faithful to God and his country,' a man as remarkable for dissolute morals, and loose principles, as he is for splendid talents? How little this party care for character, while they talk so much about religion, may be seen from the fact of the Marquess of Waterford figuring as one of the principal performers at the late Orange-Roden gathering at Dublin! What character has *this* prop of the church at Melton, we wonder? And of what party were those miserable men who appeared against Lord De Ros, at a recent trial, and who confessed that nearly all their patrimony was lost in gambling, and that some of them were now *living* by it. They were Tories—men who, at the war-cry, 'the church is in danger!' pretend to rally around 'the throne and the altar!' Truly, 'Mother Church,' thy sons adorn thee!

Our author is sorely annoyed at the idea of the people being the only source of legitimate power. He seems to have no notion of any government except a Tory one—for God is 'the God of order'—and hence, as Democracy, and Republicanism, and Dissent are disorderly, they cannot be right. We were, however, much surprised to see, p. 125, this remarkable sentence: 'the king represents the MAJESTY *of the people!*' How did this unfortunate scrap of Radicalism find its way into these Conserva-

tive pages? Was it a youthful reminiscence, a dying glimmer of an opinion once fondly cherished?

'The voluntary principle is rebellion against God,' yet the effort of the Bishop of London to build fifty new churches in the metropolis, by *private subscription*, is lauded to the skies. If it be bad in one instance it is bad in all, for circumstances cannot alter *principles*. But 'the State' can alone find the adequate means to provide for the instruction of the people. 'The State is not the executive government, but *all the people*.' We are thankful for this admission, for it includes *us all;* it upsets our author's theories, which we thought to do ourselves, as we did not, at first, expect that he would have so completely done it himself. But if the people be 'the State,' and the State is to provide a national religion, with all its machinery, and includes the executive government, it may, we suppose, on the same principle, provide Kings and Lords, as well as Commons; and get rid of bad ones, and get better, if they can! Thus Mr. Osler is ever himself; a compound of inconsistency, contradiction, and folly.

There is an attempt to give the misrepresentations of this book—some few of which we have exposed—to expose all, or the worst of them, would require an equal space to the work itself—a sort of ex cathedrâ authority. In his Introduction the writer vouchsafes the following information:

> 'I think it my duty to undertake this inquiry, because very few persons can have had equal opportunities of becoming acquainted with it. I have been enabled to observe it closely for the last thirty years: I was brought up a dissenter; educated under the roof of a dissenting minister; I have those means of knowing the personal and domestic character and habits of individuals of all ranks, and of all opinions, which only a medical practitioner can obtain.' p. 2.

Now we think no man is to be condemned *merely* for changing his opinions on evidence which satisfied himself. But when a man leaves the ranks of those with whom he has been associated, and becomes servile toward his new allies, and malicious towards former friends, he may be safely pronounced a renegade! We dare say a page or two of Mr. Osler's autobiography would be eminently amusing and instructive. His own work would supply some materials.

'The Meeting,' as he loves to call our places of worship, and he does it with a bitterness which only a renegade could infuse into words, exerts a baneful influence on female character; and, as the charge comes from one who has been closely watching dissent for *thirty years*, we shall transcribe a passage or two, that our readers may judge whether we have handled this writer too roughly.

'The system is peculiarly destructive to the character of young females; and how much the best interests of society depend on the female character, it is unnecessary to show. Young women have leisure; and, from their inexperience and their natural warmth of feeling, excited by what may be called sensual devotion, they are easily 'led captive.'' pp. 115, 116.

Sensual devotion! What sort of a devotion is that? He gives a clue to his meaning when, in a note, he quotes some verses from Watts's and other hymns, and gives them the most appropriate title of '*amorous!*' At the head of these elegant extracts we find the following: 'Lord, what a heaven of saving grace,' &c. And this is an amorous hymn, and excites the natural warmth of the female heart, and sustains it by sensual devotion! But we are informed, 'the needful excitement is kept up 'by frequent evening meetings, protracted to a very late hour. . . 'Home is merely the place to live and sleep. . . . In excuse for 'thus employing young females, it is said they make the best 'beggars. How must all that is lovely in their character be 'wrecked before this can be true?' p. 116.

Were pious active young ladies sent forth on other errands than those which relate to the kingdom of Christ, and the good of mankind, their native modesty would lead them to retire from publicity. But, impelled by Christian benevolence, they are not ashamed nor afraid, thanks to the energetic spirit of *true* religion, to embark in enterprizes which seek to carry their influence and results into eternity. But are Dissenters the only parties who thus enlist female persuasiveness and zeal in assisting good institutions; and is the character of all the female members of Nonconformist churches and congregations so terribly damaged as this writer represents? We tell him he has published a falsehood, and *he knows it!* Has he no mother or sisters—have they followed his bad example? If not, did his malice blot out the recollection of *them* when he penned this calumny? Perhaps he would have us believe that he has been exhibiting a practical comment on our Saviour's words: 'If a man love father or mother more than me, he cannot be my disciple'!

A reader who had no information of the Nonconformists beyond what this work would afford him, must naturally suppose, as he read it, that they were the dregs of society, the corrupters of public morals, the active disseminators of disloyalty and disaffection, and the source of nearly, if not all, the evils which afflict our land. How would he be surprised to learn that the very men whom this writer maligns have been in every age the best friends of man; that they broke the iron bonds of the papal dominion, originated Missions to the east and west, called the Bible Society into existence, translated the Scriptures into nearly all the dialects of the Indian world, set an example in the career of educating

the poor, were the foremost among the friends of the slave, and have been the zealous supporters of almost *all* the best institutions of our land! How indignant would an ingenuous mind feel at such wilful misrepresentation, especially when he learned that these institutions and designs have met with their bitterest foes in the bosom of that church, which is here lauded as the only security for the truth, and the cause of all our national glory!

But what proof does this party scribe adduce to substantiate his charges? Why this—the names of dissenters are not often found among the contributors to hospitals and asylums. Who does support them? The clergy and the aristocracy. What else do they support? If they did not sustain these, they would do little indeed out of their abundant wealth. And yet this very party has the meanness and insolence to brand the Nonconformists, whom they hate, and affect to despise, with odium, because they refuse to pay for the repairs of churches, for the sacramental wine, and for washing the apostolic vestments of their clergy! Thanks to the present government, this odious impost will be abolished.

The real feelings of the church party towards us are hatred and fear. They boast of a contempt they do not feel; else why is every deserter from our ranks received with open arms? No sooner does a renegade appear, who has failed among us from want of temper, talent, or piety, than he is cordially embraced, and no questions asked; and, provided he bring a goodly share of bitterness along with him, he is instantly provided for. And this church is all unity and peace! There is no battle among the bishops on Irish affairs! There is no holy war between the deans and chapters, and the ecclesiastical commissioners! No disputes about pluralities, and nothing but unbroken cordiality between the starving curates and the wealthy rectors. There is no rankling feeling between the Evangelicals and the High Churchmen! No; all is peace! But there is a perpetual clamour in the church, which has a stunning effect; and those who are thus overpowered by it imagine that what they hear is only the busy *hum* of activity! We, who are without, however, cannot be mistaken. The conflict is fierce. It is all about money, and patronage; and, as these have been the object of her hirelings, so they will be her overthrow and curse.

No. II.

Art. VII. *Menzel on German Literature. Die deutsche Literatur. Von Wolfgang Menzel.* 1836. *Stuttgart.*

MENZEL'S Second Chapter is on 'The German Nationality.' After a few introductory observations, our author proceeds to give an account of the principal characteristics of the German mind, (considered in itself, and apart from those foreign or extrinsic influences to which he afterwards adverts), at once profound, eloquent, and honest. While he claims for his countrymen that high meditative and imaginative character, which all who are tolerably acquainted with their literature will accord to them, he does not deny the excesses and absurdities to which it has often led, both in their philosophy and poetry;—in the former, to speculations of the most transcendental and *unpractical* character; in the latter, to all that is monstrous, incongruous, and remote from real life in fiction. But let our readers judge for themselves. There are few who are at all versed in German literature, but will at once recognize the truth and fidelity of the portrait.

'From the remotest times were the Germans a fantastical nation. 'In the middle ages they were mystical;—they now exist only in 'intellect. In all ages have they manifested an exuberant strength 'and fulness of mind, which has gushed forth from within, but has 'paid little attention to the *external*. In practical life, the Ger-'mans have ever been more helpless than any other nation, but 'more at home in the world of the soul: and all their national virtues 'and vices may be traced back to this *inwardness*,—this musing 'and contemplative disposition. This it is which has made us '*par excellence* a literary people, and which has at the same time 'stamped our literature with a peculiar character. The writings 'of other nations are more practical, because their life is more 'practical; those of our own have a tincture of the *super-natural*, 'or the *unnatural*—something ghostly and strange, which will 'never happen in the actual world;—and this because we have ever 'before our eyes only the extravagant world within. We are more 'fanciful than other nations, not merely because our fancy trans-'ports us from reality into a region of prodigies, but because we 'take our dreams to be *true*. . . . . But it is our intellect 'which takes the farthest flights into the ideal azure; and we are 'consequently everywhere exclaimed against as speculatists and 'system-makers. Meantime, however, we can *realize* our theories 'nowhere but in our literature. Thus we give to the world of 'words a disproportionate ascendancy over the world of real life; 'and are with justice called book-worms and pedants.

'Meanwhile, this is only the dark side;—with respect to which,

'however, we would by no means deceive ourselves. Opposed 'to it, this thoughtful, literary spirit has its light side, which 'is less frequently estimated by foreigners. We strive after 'a universal cultivation of intellect, and sacrifice to this desire '(not in vain) our energies, and our national pride. The 'knowledge we obtain, may well be considered more beneficial to 'the human race than certain great achievements, falsely so called; 'and the desire of *learning* from foreigners, may be allowed to do 'us more honour than a *victory* over them.'

While contending, however, that the prime and characteristic elements of the German intellect are such as he here represents them, he also contends that there is more variety in the combinations of those elements,—more *individuality*, among the writers of Germany, than among the writers of any other nation. Whatever may be thought of this opinion, the eloquence and force with which he advocates it will not be denied. He says,

'This *thoughtfulness* of the German character has always been 'conjoined with a great *variety* in the forms and products of intel-'lect; our mental opulence seems capable of disclosing itself only in 'proportion as it is bound by no *law*. In our nation, more than in 'any other, has nature exhibited an exhaustless variety of distinctive 'intellects; in no nation are there so many different systems, 'tastes, tendencies, and talents, or such varieties of manner and 'of style, of thinking and composing, of speaking and writing. Men 'see at once that these intellects have never been subjected to one 'law or mode of culture. They have grown up wild,—here and 'there—varied only by nature and education; and their confluence 'in literature gives it a strange and heterogeneous appearance. 'Our authors speak one language as they live under one sky; 'but each man brings a peculiar accent with him. *Nature* pre-'vails, however strongly the discipline of particular schools would 'fain root out the (so-called) barbarism. The German possesses 'little social flexibility, yet so much the stronger is his indivi-'duality, and to that he will give free expression, even to wilful-'ness and caricature. Genius bursts through every barrier that 'would oppose it; and even amongst the vulgar, the mother-wit 'breaks out. When one contemplates the literature of other 'nations, one observes more or less of *normality*—a sort of 'French art of gardening; it is the German alone which is forest-'like—a field overrun with wild growth. Each intellect is a flower, 'distinct in form, colour, perfume.'

After this he proceeds to pass a magnificent but deserved eulogium on the German language; which, he justly contends, is an instrument of thought in exact harmony with the character of the German mind. In its compass, flexibility, and variety; in its power of combination,—of readily accommodating itself to the wants of every writer, and of furnishing each with a diction most

precisely adapted to his style of intellect, he represents it as the impress and reflection of the principal qualities of the national mind. That mind has stamped itself on the language.—We must find room for one paragraph, and heartily wish we could find room for more.

'The German language is the perfect expression of the German character; it has followed the German intellect in all its depths and in its widest range. It corresponds exactly to the variety of intellectual character; and has granted to each writer a peculiar *tone*, which more clearly distinguishes him, than could be the case in any other language. The language gains by these manifold modes of using it. Its various and multiform character is peculiar to it, and constitutes its beauty. A field of flowers is nobler than a plain field of grass; and it is precisely the fairest countries which have the richest change of climate and temperature. All attempts to impose upon German authors a *normal* usage in language have signally failed, and that because they have contradicted nature. Each author writes as he may; each can say of himself with Göthe, "I sing as sings the bird which lives upon the boughs."'

The *third* chapter is entitled 'Schulgelehrsamkeit.' The meaning generally given to this word, in ordinary German and English dictionaries, would convey but a very erroneous or at best inadequate notion of our author's meaning. In the above-mentioned works, the reader would find the word explained as 'classical learning,' 'school learning;' and either of those words would convey to the reader's mind the idea of a particular *species* of literature; the former embracing the learned languages, the latter the scholastic sciences and philosophy of the middle ages. But Menzel does not mean his observations to apply to *any* particular kind of literature, but to illustrate the influence which the *school spirit* exerts on every branch. The chapter might therefore have been entitled 'The Spirit of the Schools,' or 'The Influence of the *School Spirit*, as exerted upon Literature.' While fully admitting the advantages of this same *school-system* in all ages, but especially in dark and barbarous ones, he fully and fairly points out the evils with which it is inevitably connected. He does this in a most masterly and philosophical style. His observations on this subject do not apply to Germany alone; they convey truth equally important to all nations; and, if read in the right spirit, might be read with great *profit*, by all the professors and students of Oxford and Cambridge.

'If we proceed to investigate the *historical* conditions of the present development of our literature, we must at once be struck by the fact, that all literary culture was originally connected with the church. Indeed, even at the present day, literature has not entirely escaped from its influence. The

'clerical *caste* gave literature the form of *a learned guild;* and 'all that school-restraint, which is visible in our writings, is de-'rived from this source. Corporate interests, and the discipline 'of the schools, have perpetually stamped on each succeeding 'century an impression of the *past;* although, it is true, that im-'pression has in each become fainter and fainter. Its conse-'quences are, the exclusiveness which is so characteristic of *caste;* 'an aristocratic spirit in literature; intolerance; pedantic attach-'ment to ancient customs; the learning of the recluse; and 'oblivion of nature. Yet has the system its fair and estimable 'aspects too. So long as all literary life emanated from a certain '*caste* (once that of ecclesiastics, more lately that of scholars), it 'took upon itself all the virtues and all the vices of the spirit 'corporate. Even now the interest of an exclusive order obtrudes 'itself, in a hard ossified form, on literature; even now theology 'is controlled by priests, and the secular sciences managed by 'the Faculties in a purely corporate spirit. The free genius, 'the vigorous nature of the Germans has, it is true, incessantly 'struggled against the spirit of *caste*, ever since the revival of let-'ters; and we may observe a continued warfare on the part of original 'genius against the schools—a perpetual renewal of that most 'ancient feud between the priests and the prophets. . . . . The 'element, however, which has been cast away by one party has 'always been cherished and cultivated by another, and by means 'of this almost all have acquired their rights. Meanwhile, as in 'politics so in literature, the spirit of the old-accustomed 'dominion, after being vanquished, has always proceeded to work 'upon the conquerors themselves. The *negative* has immediately 'shifted round to the *positive*. The prophets have once more be-'come priests; have taken upon themselves the principle of 'authority and legitimacy; under new forms of faith, have laid 'claim to the old monopoly, and sought to re-establish it against 'all innovation. What was yesterday heterodox, is to-day ortho-'dox; what yesterday constituted the *individuality* of one great 'man, is to-day the despotic *manner* of a school. The reason of 'this phenomenon, however, must be sought, not only in the 'continued influence of the middle ages, but also in the character 'of the people. The German burns for the knowledge of truth, 'and he really believes that he knows it. It is the very same en-'thusiasm which impels him both to *persist* and to *reform*.

'Much good is unquestionably connected with the corporate 'spirit. The fidelity with which the treasures of tradition 'are preserved; the dignity with which authority is invested; 'the enthusiasm and the piety with which we honour what is '*sacred*, what is *proved*, or what is *believed;* all those virtues, in 'short, which usually accompany the love of antiquity, must be 'acknowledged in all their worth as contrasted with the fickle-

'ness of many innovators, who so often set aside all moral autho-
'rity and historical tradition, and reject, together with the
'ancient school, its lessons of ancient experience also. The dis-
'ease, however, of that corporate spirit is, the principle of *non-*
'*progression*—the disposition to stand still where there should be
'perpetual progress; the narrow-mindedness which imposes limits
'where there are none. Hence necessarily results, on the one
'hand, a hierarchical system, the restraints of *caste*, party spirit,
'proselytism, the persecution of heretics, and nepotism; on the
'other, a cramped, circumscribed knowledge, clothed in forms
'monstrously prolix, which eternally return to the same point,
'and eternally iterate the same thing. In opposition to these
'vices of the antiquated corporate spirit, enters, in full dignity,
'the quickening power of innovators, who liberate knowledge from
'the narrow limits of the school, character itself from the uniform
'restraints of *caste*, and for this purpose strip off all those stiff
'forms, which only oppress vigorous, self-inspiring nature; but then
'it must be admitted, that as soon as their triumph is achieved,
'they themselves fall back into the ancient errors.

'The relations which all the sciences bore to religion, intro-
'duced a sort of priestly, *canting* tone into scholarship, which is
'still retained in the Faculties, and even taints every other de-
'partment of learning. Our authors are but too apt to play the
'oracle, to endeavour to spread around them a sort of 'nimbus,'
'and to mystify their readers, as the clergy do the laity or the
'school-master his scholars.

'In England and France an author finds himself much in the
'same situation as an orator on the tribune, and gives his vote as
'in a company of men who are his equals, and as well educated
'as himself. In Germany he is given to *preach*, and play the
'*school-master*.

The following is a most humorous description of a thorough German student:—

'The secluded, monkish life of scholars, has undoubtedly pro-
'moted a propensity for profound meditation, learned subtleties,
'and extravagant fantasies; and the result has been a deficiency
'*in practical sense*, and an incapacity of enjoying life. Even now
'the majority of scholars and authors live in their *book-dens*, like
'Troglodytes, and lose, together with the *sight* of nature, all taste
'for it and all power of enjoying it. Life is to them a dream,
'and *their* life is but a dream. Whether a slater has fallen from
'a roof, or Napoleon from his throne, they alike exclaim, 'So,
'so; aye, aye;' and again bury themselves in their books.*

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* 'Stecken die Nase wieder in die Bucher.' Literally, 'Thrust their noses into their books.'

'But fruits which have been kept in a damp cellar soon become 'mouldy; and in like manner are the fruits of intellect affected by 'the learned atmosphere of the study. The parent communicates to 'his intellectual offspring, not only his mental, but also his physi- 'cal diseases. We may trace in books not merely the insensibility, 'the heartlessness, the hypochondriasis, but even the gout, the 'jaundice, nay, more, the deformity of their author.'

Nor are the remarks which are made on the *results* of such a pursuit of literature, less worthy of notice.

'The scholastic spirit has introduced *learned pedantry*. Imme- 'diate, healthful contemplation has given place to hypochondriacal 'musings. Instead of borrowing from nature, we compile books 'out of books. We no longer exhibit things in their simplicity, 'but must display, together with them, the treasures of our *know-* '*ledge*. We forget the original aim of science, and substi- 'tute what is merely the means for the end. In our learned '*apparatus*, we forget the *results*. We seldom see a theologian 'or a jurist; we see only theological and juridical *philologists*. 'All historical knowledge is rendered unprofitable by philologico- 'critical learning. We inquire not about the *contents*, but merely 'about the *shell*. We do not measure the *weight*, but the *accuracy* 'of a citation. We exhibit a sort of childish exultation if we have 'diplomatically proved that this or that decision has been actually 'delivered, without troubling ourselves to inquire whether it is in 'conformity with *truth*, or, generally, whether it is of any conse- 'quence. With unspeakable industry we amass information, from 'which it requires just as much trouble to extract the little which 'is worth remembering. We waste the toil of a year in finding 'out the true reading of some old poet, who in many cases had 'better have been silent altogether. Even our modern poetry is 'crushed under the load of erudition. The language of natural 'feeling and of living thought, is but too often repressed by 'learned reflections, allusions, and citations; and there is no branch 'of literature on which *closet-learning* has not exerted a prejudi- 'cial influence.

'In school-learning, strictly so called (I mean in what are de- 'signated the 'Brod-Collegia'), a certain mechanical system pre- 'vails, vulgo 'Schlendrian,' which moves on in the old tracks, ab- 'solutely without life or soul. Universities are become the manu- 'factories of books and authors. We never depart from certain 'formulæ of the schools, and each succeeding generation implicitly 'follows them. Original truth, however, is darkened by the im- 'measurable commentary. The very point on which properly the 'whole depends, vanishes at last under the load of citations which 'should prove it. Life escapes under the knife of the anatomist. 'The weightiest subject becomes tedious; the worthiest, trivial. 'The mind will not suffer itself to be tied down to a mere skeleton,

'and nature resistlessly forces its way through the paragraphs 'which venture to imprison it.

'Polemics are the instrument for stirring up this mouldering 'bog of learning, while mephitic vapours spread themselves 'around. Nowhere is the *unnaturalness* of recluse scholars 'shown more surprisingly than in their polemical writings. Here 'that good old proverb is verified, 'The more learned, the more 'in the wrong.' Now, they are so superabundantly wise, that a 'healthy understanding finds it difficult to follow the labyrinthine 'windings of their logic; and now, so ignorant in the most ordi-'nary matters, that a peasant might instruct them. Now, they 'are so nice with their attic jokes and learned allusions, (which 'would redound to the honour of an Alexandrian librarian,) that 'an honest German is stultified with them;—now, they resort to 'the most arrant tricks or the grossest invectives—such as even 'the vulgar would be ashamed of.

'Even the corruptions of the German language are in a great 'part to be attributed to the scholastics. That with foreign con-'ceptions they should adopt a foreign terminology, was natural; 'but in their passion for learned distinction, they affected a sort 'of *sacred unintelligibility* for the purpose of making themselves 'more venerable in the eyes of the laity, or else because they 'were too lazy or too little necessitated to sacrifice any thing for 'popularity. The *Faculty-men* can express themselves in a man-'ner so exquisitely German, that no uninitiated person can under-'stand them; nay, in many cases, even philosophers cannot under-'stand themselves.'

After some exceedingly eloquent observations on the advantages secured by the schools during the dark ages, as centres of light, and receptacles of such knowledge and science as still remained in the world, he breaks out into the following noble reflections:

'This may be considered the luminous side of the school 'learning; but then did the light ever *emanate* from the schools? 'rather, did it not shine into them from *without?* Were not free-'born spirits perpetually obliged to purify the schools afresh, and to 'purge them from thick darkness, from accumulated filth? Were 'the great men who gave the impulse to their age, who originated 'a new order of things, or created new modes of thought,—were 'Abelard, Huss, Luther, Thomasius, Lessing, originally men of 'the schools? rather did they not wrestle *against* the schools? 'Has it not always been an evil adherent to the schools that it has 'sacrificed the spirit to the letter, exchanged freedom for bondage, 'light for darkness, till some new teachers from *without*,—from 'the *people*,—endowed with great natural gifts, put an end to 'this confusion for a short time, and laid the foundation of new 'schools, which were themselves destined to degenerate in the 'same manner?

'And is not this tendency to degenerate necessarily involved in 'the very essence of the school-system? The love of scholars for 'their master is sure to be carried to excess; we swear by the '*verba magistri.* The word which in the master's mouth was 'still flexible, becomes fixed and immoveable in the mouth of the 'scholar. The spirit which was free in the master, is circum-'scribed in the scholar. The zeal which was noble in the master, 'in the scholar degenerates into dogmatism and the spirit of 'persecution.'

The actual influence of the *school spirit* in the present University-system of Germany is thus described, and alas! there is but too much truth in the representations it gives of the servile and ignominious dependence of literature on political power. The universities are the creatures and minions of the state.

'Where a school once exists, it forms to itself an *external* in-'terest,—its secular advantage,—or it serves a foreign one. Thus 'the ancient scholasticism served popes, and the modern serves 'kings. Each school is servile in the proportion in which its ad-'herents are called to worldly advantages and honours. The dex-'terous become time-servers; their sophistry disguises truth; and 'when once power is on their side, no one can contradict them. 'The band is made up of blockheads and scholarly under-strap-'pers, who conjoin with their support of falsehood a sort of en-'thusiasm, inasmuch as they are really inspired—for that which 'brings them both honour and bread.

'This is repeated in all ages under different forms; formerly 'the school learning was a department of the church, and the 'professors had *spiritual titles;* now it is a department of the 'state, and the professors have *court titles.* On that account it 'might even be prophesied that our *politically* servile school-'learning will advance, step by step, to a still deeper and 'deeper degeneracy, just as formerly the *hierarchically* servile 'scholasticism descended by the same swift path.—Such is the con-'sequence whenever power succeeds in enslaving intellect.'

The fourth chapter is entitled, 'The Influence of Foreign Literature,' and is one of the most interesting in the whole work. The extravagant lengths to which the Germans carry their admiration of every species of foreign literature, and the extent to which they translate and imitate it, are hardly conceivable to those who have never paid attention to the subject. For example, the productions of almost every English poet and novelist who has the slightest pretensions to reputation, have been translated into German, while those of our most celebrated writers have been translated several times over. This honour has even been extended to some of the occasional papers in our magazines. Menzel begins this chapter by the following remarks on this strong propensity for imitation:

'The well-known propensity for imitation, by which the Germans are characterized, especially prevails in their literature. To stutter and hobble after foreigners is at once their delight and shame. For more than a thousand years have men disputed about this peculiarity of our national character, just as they would about some propensity of the heart which morality appears to forbid. Even in the earliest times there were in Germany two parties, the Imitators and the Purists. Despicable indeed are the apes who are in perpetual chase of foreign gew-gaws; despicable, indeed, the degenerate men who are ashamed that they are Germans. The prejudice that the German character is so bearish and rustic, as absolutely to require a foreign dancing-master, could be originated or maintained only by those who were themselves of a true plebeian stamp. Equally ridiculous, however, are the fools who would clear the *true* German character from all foreign tincture; who would enclose Germany by a sort of moral *preventive system;* nay, command the sun itself to shine—only upon Germany.

'Mental culture is like the light, restricted to no particular people; its beneficent influence is spread in all directions over the earth's surface, whatever the modifications of climate. Nowhere are there limits which it cannot pass. Commerce binds together all countries, and diffuses the peculiar products of each; literature should, in like manner, spread abroad the intellectual treasures of nations. Each land should receive from every other what is agreeable to its nature, and promotes its prosperity; and, in the same manner, may there be *transplanted* into the spirit of a nation what harmonizes with its character and more nobly develops it.

'If there are many things which only *one* nation can possess, and from which it receives its peculiar character, there are many blessings of a higher order that exclusively belong to none, but are the property of the whole human race. The phenomenon of Christianity alone rebukes the zeal of the Purists. In order effectually to purify ourselves from all foreign influence, we must reverse all history; since our whole modern culture rests on the romantic basis of the middle ages. If we would disrobe ourselves of every thing which we have received from foreigners, we must run naked in the woods again. Apart, however, from the necessary interchange of knowledge between nation and nation, which is founded in nature, and is as ancient as history, we Germans are *especially* distinguished by an extraordinary predilection for what is foreign and a rare aptitude for imitation; and we are, in consequence, often led into extravagancies and an unnatural forgetfulness of our own worth.'

The following is his mode of accounting for this propensity. 'The deepest fountain of this inclination for what is foreign is the

'*humanity* of German character; we are thorough Cosmopoli-
'tans; our nationality consists in our wishing to have none, but
'to stamp upon ourselves, in opposition to all national peculiari-
'ties, a certain form of humanity which shall be universally cur-
'rent. We feel a perpetual desire to realize the *ideal* of a philo-
'sophical *normal-people*. We would appropriate to ourselves the
'culture of all nations, and all the flowers of the human intellect.
'This bias of our nature is stronger than our national pride; so
'much so, indeed, that we do not even seek our national pride *in it.*
'Other nations would fain be a normal-people too; and, indeed,
'without this persuasion, there would be no national pride; but then
'they would by no means renounce *themselves:* they seek only to
'impress their own image upon other nations. Other people as
'well as ourselves prize what is foreign; but they do not throw
'themselves away in exchange for it.—Yet this self-renunciation
'has its good aspect, and its natural foundation. True love always
'implies a strong principle of self-denial. To a passion for what
'is foreign, to that passion in which all cultivation originates,
'nothing is more hostile than egotism; to true culture nothing
'more friendly than national vanity. A certain self-surrender is
'necessary, if we would be fully susceptible of foreign impressions.
'If we investigate the obstacles which have arrested the progress
'of improvement among so many nations, we shall find that it is to
'be attributed less to their barbarism, than to their self-com-
'placency, and to the prejudices of their national pride. The
'noblest nations have been always the most tolerant; and the
'basest, the most vain.

'Meantime, it is not merely the philosophical complexion of
'our character, our plasticity, our thirst for knowledge, our
'instinct for development, and our striving after the *ideal* which
'make us love what is foreign, but the poetic complexion of our
'character,—*a romantic bias.* A poetical illusion, embellishing all
'that it touches, hovers over every thing foreign, and takes our
'fancy captive. What is foreign, merely *as such,* awakens a ro-
'mantic voice within us, even when it is inferior to what we have
'long possessed ourselves. It is thus that we take from foreign-
'ers so much that in no way promotes our further advancement;
'the imagination corrupts a propensity, which the understanding
'must approve so long as it duly moderates it. When once the
'imagination carries this propensity to excess, we fall into two
'errors at the same time; a blind surrender to every foreign influ-
'ence, and an equally blind denial of our own worth. We pos-
'sess the poetical faculty of self-mystification, of metamorphosing
'ourselves, as it were, into dramatic personages, and abandoning
'ourselves to a foreign illusion. Many of our scholars think them-
'selves so completely into Greeks, many of our romanticists are
'so deeply imbued with the spirit of the middle ages, many of our

'politicians are so exclusively occupied with France, and many of 'our theologians with the Bible, that they appear to know nothing 'of what is passing around them. This state of mind has some 'resemblance to madness, and to madness it often leads. Those 'who are thus possessed, are aided by the singular plasticity of 'German thought and language. They know excellently well how 'to counterfeit the peculiarities of a foreign language, and thus 'drive out the true spirit of the German tongue for the purpose of 'introducing foreign idols. They jeer at all who will not imitate 'their example, and are angry if now and then nature will not 'comply with art.—Similar extremes, however, obliterate the 'traces of one another. If there were only *one* nation in the world 'beside ourselves, we should probably so *study* ourselves into 'their character, that there would be nothing of ourselves left; 'but as there are *many*, and we *imitate* them all in turn, and as, 'moreover, these nations are *opposed* to one another, the equili-'brium is constantly restored. . . . . .

'Like foolish children, however, we break the play-thing, or 'throw the lesson-book into the corner, when we are no longer 'pleased with, or no longer want them. None are so sla-'vishly devoted, and none so ungrateful as ourselves. None 'know how to renounce their own worth so thoroughly, and 'none so wantonly impute to their neighbours the faults which 'are their own. Fifty years ago, we regarded the French 'as a sort of demi-gods; twenty years ago, we thought them 'demi-devils. We were brutal enough to cringe to them, and 'subsequently still more brutal, to despise them. In place of the 'blockheads, who provided French nurses for their sucking babes; 'nay, French lodgings for the mothers, appeared another kind of 'blockheads, who, with barbarian violence trampled under foot 'the noble flowers of the French *social* character. German poli-'ticians put on an edifying air, and preached against the Gallic 'Anti-Christ, while one or another simple historian endeavoured 'to deceive themselves and others into the belief that the French 'were descended from an ignoble Asiatic stock, and did not de-'serve the honour of being called Europeans. With like bar-'barity each of our parties reproached the rest with their idolatry. 'The Classical school inveighed against the Oriental and that of 'the Middle Ages; while the disciple of the latter still devoutly '*crossed* himself sometimes for fear of the—old heathen!'

Now comes his account of the extent to which the system of translation is carried.

'It was natural that our predilection for foreign literature 'should next exhibit itself in *translations*. It is well known that 'in Germany the quantity of this species of literature is prodigious; 'it is thrown off, as it were, by machinery. Where foreigners con-'tent themselves with a slovenly translation of *one* out of some

'thirty works of any distinguished German author, we translate the 'whole writings of every English or French author, who possesses 'any considerable reputation, *two or three times over.* Nay, we do 'them the honour of permitting our own manufactures to go to press 'under their name, as for example, in the case of Walter 'Scott!* Unquestionably the fame and the advantage are both on 'our side. If we want many of the virtues of foreigners, we at least 'do not participate in that aristocratic narrow-mindedness which 'shrugs its shoulders in contented ignorance at every thing fo-'reign. It does us honour to be acquainted with illustrious Bri-'tons; it can do *them* no honour to know nothing of illustrious 'Germans.'

The following observations, on the mode in which alone foreign excellence can be successfully imitated,—that is, with *a reference* to the national peculiarities and character of the people who attempt to transplant it,—are exceedingly just and beautiful.

'*Imitations* are the inevitable consequence of a perception of 'foreign excellence. Why should we not imitate what is useful, 'or beautiful, or noble?—But then we generally commit the error 'of imitating *forms* instead of *things.* We should endeavour to 'attain as harmonious and universal a culture as did the Greeks, 'but then it should be in the spirit of our age and after our own 'manner, as theirs was in the spirit of *their* own age and in *their* 'own manner. We make ourselves merely ridiculous when we 'counterfeit the Grecian *forms,* without the *life* and *spirit* which 'produced them.—We should endeavour to cultivate the same 'social refinement as the French; but then, as is the case with 'them, it should be with reference to our own peculiarities. We 'are but apes when we clumsily affect French *congèes* and 'flourishes. We should aspire to freedom, manliness of thought 'and action, like the English and Americans, but not expect 'prosperity by aping their outward forms. We should renew in 'ourselves the ability and earnest spirit of the middle ages, but 'not cumbersomely affect ancient dress and phraseology.

'*Formal* imitations resemble fashions, and have the same fate. 'For a short time they prevail exclusively, and he who does not 'comply with them is called an odd-fellow. A little after, and they 'appear altogether ridiculous. A taste for what was Grecian 'was once all the vogue, even in Rome; but who would hesitate 'to prize infinitely higher the strength and seriousness of the 'Roman character, as exemplified in their own intellectual pro-'ductions, than the affectation of Attic refinement in their Greek

* A humorous allusion to the tale called 'Walladmor,' produced by the ready wit and pen of some German author, as another new novel of Walter Scott's. It was at a time when one of the Waverley Series was impatiently expected at Leipsic.

'imitations? The French tragedies on the classical model, have 'long since appeared to us truly *comic*, and yet, however we may 'pride ourselves on a greater aptitude for imitation, the copies of 'Voss, which are acknowledged to be masterly, are not a whit 'less ridiculous.

'The experience we have had of so many fluctuating fashions, 'which perpetually contradict and destroy one another, appears 'not unattended by some good consequences. We have been 'under the dominion of so many parties that we are beginning to 'attempt an adjustment. After having studied all civilized nations, 'one after another, after having admired and imitated Romans, 'Greeks, French, English, Italians, Spanish, we have now, for a 'moment, returned home again, and are *bethinking ourselves*. We 'observe, that from our first acquaintance with a foreign nation, 'we have always rashly passed on to an excessive admiration and an 'absolutely slavish imitation of them; that we have then soon be-'come weary of this extreme; upon which a fresh interval of 'quiet thought has exhibited to our view and enabled us to ap-'propriate *that* in such foreign nations which is *worthy* of imita-'tion, and which we are *capable* of imitating. We gradually dis-'tinguish between the glorious power of transporting ourselves 'into the spirit of other ages and nations—the poetical faculty of 'subjecting ourselves to a foreign illusion—and practically *aping* 'what is foreign. In the one, all incongruities are harmonized; 'in the other, they are all opposed. Fancy may one moment 'transport us to Greece, in another to London, and yet we our-'selves remain all the while in Germany.'

But it is time to stop for the present. We must, however, find room for the following paragraph, and our readers will agree with us that it is most felicitously characteristic of the writer.

'German literature is like a mad-house, in which some hun-'dred fools are aping the costume and manners, the language and 'the modes of thought, of a hundred different nations, ancient and 'modern. There are Gallo-maniacs, Anglo-maniacs, Italo-'maniacs, Hispano-maniacs, Normanno-maniacs, Græco-maniacs, 'Turco-maniacs, Perso-maniacs, Indo-maniacs, Chineso-maniacs, 'Irokeso-maniacs. In harmonious discord, these honest German 'simpletons sit down together and enact the world's history. 'The madness consists in their being all *in earnest* at it. If it 'were merely a masquerade, it would be the merriest of carnivals; 'but the fools make a serious business of the matter.'

Art. IX. *A Word to the Candid Churchman upon Church Rates.* London: Jackson & Walford. 1837.

THIS is an excellent little tract, admirably suited to the purpose for which it has been drawn up. It is attributed to the pen of Dr. Vaughan, and is every way worthy of the historian of the 'Stuart Dy-

nasty.' Firm in the enunciation of principles, yet calm and dignified in style, it is well adapted to make a deep impression on the candid members of the hierarchy. We have no hope of the conversion of those blind zealots who merely echo the cry of their party from interested and base motives. Their selfish intolerance, unmitigated either by humanity or religion, will accompany them to the grave, and consign their memory to the reprobation of posterity. But there are honourable and Christian men strongly attached to the Established Church, before whom we are desirous of having the merits of our case fairly and fully stated. Such are to be found in most of our neighbourhoods, and the tract before us may be circulated among them with eminent advantage.

Art. X. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

"The Assumptions of the Clergy," as the only Authorized Ministers of Christ, Calmly Refuted, in a Letter to a Friend. By Philagathon.

"Athens," its Rise and Fall; with Views of the Literature, Philosophy, and Social Life of the Athenian People. By E. L. Bulwer, Esq., M.P. 2 vols. 8vo.

"History of the Inductive Sciences," from the Earliest to the Present Times. By the Rev. W. Whewell, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. In 3 vols. 8vo.

In the Press, by the same Author, "The Mechanical Euclid;" containing the Elements of Mechanics and Hydrostatics, demonstrated after the manner of the Elements of Geometry; and including the Propositions fixed upon by the University of Cambridge, as requisite for a Degree. To which is added, Notes on the Logic of Induction and Deduction.

"The Roman Catholic Doctrine of the Eucharist:" the Scripture Argument considered, in reply to Dr. Wiseman. By Thomas Turton, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, and Dean of Peterborough. Demy 8vo.

"The Rise and Progress of the British Power in India." By Peter Auber, M.R.A.S., late Secretary to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company. Vol. I.

"The Life of Augustus Herman Franke," Professor of Divinity, and Founder of the Orphan-House in Halle.

"Church Rates Proved to be Illegal, Unconstitutional, and Anti-Protestant." By W. S. Northhouse.

"The Communion of Saints," or the Scriptural Principles of Church Fellowship and Government. By James Bennett, D.D.

In the course of May will be published, a Third Edition of "Dr. Pye Smith's Scripture Testimony to the Messiah." In 3 vols. 8vo. This work, which has been out of print for a considerable time, has undergone a careful revision by the Author, with the addition of much new matter, which the Publishers believe will be found to increase its usefulness.

"Popular Education," or the Normal School Manual; containing Practical Suggestions for daily and Sunday-school Teachers. By Henry Dunn.

"Sermons." By the late Rev. Thomas Scott, M.A. With Brief Memoir of his Life.

In the Press, "Summer." By Robert Mudie, Author of the "Heavens, Earth, Air, Sea, the Spring," &c.

"Self-Communion." By the Rev. Dr. Morison.

"The Life of the Rev. William Newman, D.D.," more than Forty years Pastor of the Baptist Church at Old Ford, Middlesex; First President and Theological Tutor of the Academical Institution at Stepney. By George Pritchard.

A Second Edition of "Dr. Lang's History of New South Wales," with numerous additions, detailing the affairs of the Colony to the close of 1836, will appear in June, in 2 vols. post 8vo.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JUNE, 1837.

Art. I. *The Case of the Body of Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the Presbyterian Denomination, in Relation to their Withdrawment from the Independent and Baptist Boards, and the Consequent Dissolution of the General Body of Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the Three Denominations, Residing in and about the Cities of London and Westminster.* London: Smallfield & Son. 1837.

THE Body of Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the Presbyterian Denomination, residing in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, at an EXTRAORDINARY MEETING, held at Dr. Williams's Library, Red-Cross Street, on the 4th of March, 1836, the Rev. Joseph Hutton, LL.D., in the chair, passed the following Resolutions:—

'That this Body, being one of three Bodies which constitute the General Body of Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the Three Denominations in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, feels itself impelled, at the present crisis, to take prompt and decisive measures for the assertion of its independence, and the preservation of its rights and privileges.

'That the Three Bodies of Protestant Dissenting Ministers formed themselves into an United Body, upwards of a century ago, for the maintenance and extension of civil and religious liberty, upon the understanding and engagement that the Bodies should not call in question or interfere with each other's religious opinions and doctrines; the only terms of association, with regard to individual members of the respective Bodies, being their standing 'accepted and approved' in their several denominations.

'That, notwithstanding known differences of judgment in religious matters between the three Bodies, and, in some instances, between the members of the same Body, the Catholic principle of the Union was,

for a very long period, sacredly observed, and the United Body consequently proceeded in peace and harmony, and by their cordial co-operation rendered eminent services to the cause of religious liberty; the Presbyterian Body being certainly not behind the two others in zeal and exertion.

'That we lament that, within these few years, the Catholic principle of union has been infringed, by allowed references, at general meetings and in public proceedings, to doctrinal differences subsisting between the Bodies, and the members of the same Body, accompanied by reflections and insinuations, to the prejudice particularly of the Presbyterian Body.

'That we record with pain, that at the last election of the Secretary to the General Body, a most valuable and universally respected member of *this* Body, who had, by the suffrages of the United Body, filled the secretaryship for seven years, with such punctuality, diligence, and ability as procured for him the warm thanks often repeated of the whole Body, was set aside, on the ground openly alleged, and even declared in print, of his religious views on points of doctrine, and those of the Body to which he belongs, not being consonant to those of the majority of the Three Denominations.

'That we perceive, with feelings of deep regret, the same spirit of intolerance and exclusion in the resolution of the Anti-pædobaptist Body, not to admit to membership hereafter any minister, though hitherto eligible, who shall not profess certain articles of religious belief; and in the subsequent determination of the General Body, upon the appeal of the aggrieved party, to take no measure for the relief of ministers who may thus be proscribed for conscience' sake.

'That our serious attention has been also, and of necessity, drawn to various public proceedings of individuals and parties of the two other denominations; proceedings notoriously assisted by certain leading ministers of one at least of those denominations,—openly applauded by others,—and approved, it is apprehended, by the greater part of them,—the object or sure tendency of which is to degrade the English Presbyterians in public estimation, to deprive them of rights and privileges until this period never disputed, and even to revive against them, by means of legal technicalities, the penal statutes, which the wisdom and justice of the legislature had repealed, to the satisfaction and joy of all enlightened men in the nation, and so far to thrust them out of the pale of civil protection.

'That, contemplating these proceedings and various indications of the disposition of the majority of the Members of the United Body of Ministers, we cannot entertain a doubt that it is the wish and purpose of such majority eventually to exclude the Presbyterian Body from the Union, or to make its relative position such as no religious body, alive to its own dignity, could consent to occupy.

'That, therefore, we feel it to be an imperative though painful duty,—imposed upon us equally by regard to our own character as Protestant Dissenting Ministers, who hold it to be one of the inalienable rights of conscience, that no man shall, without his own consent, be answerable to another for his honest judgment upon the sense of

the Holy Scriptures, by respect for the memory of those that went before us and laid the foundation of our freedom, and by regard to the welfare of those that shall come after us,—to withdraw as a Body from an Union, the compact of which has been violated, and in which we can see no prospect of equal and peaceful co-operation, or of real and effective service to the interests of religious liberty,' &c.*

At the Annual Meeting of the General Body of the Three Denominations of Protestant Dissenting Ministers residing in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, held by adjournment at Dr. Williams's Library, Red-Cross Street, April 18, 1836, it was unanimously resolved—

'(1.) That from the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1662, till the demise of King William III., in 1702, the Protestant Nonconformist Ministers of the several denominations of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Anti-pædobaptists, residing in and about the cities of London and Westminster, held occasional meetings of their respective denominations, for the purpose of presenting petitions and addresses to the throne on such matters as affected their rights as Protestant Ministers, or respected the general interests of civil and religious liberty.

'(2.) That on the accession of Queen Anne, in 1702, the 'Three Denominations,' for the first time, united in an Address to her Majesty; and since that period have been accustomed to hold united meetings; that in their collective capacity as 'the Protestant Dissenting Ministers' of the Three Denominations residing in and about the cities of London and Westminster, they have enjoyed the privilege of access to the Throne in each successive reign to the present time, and of presenting addresses by deputation, as circumstances rendered expedient.

'(3.) That some time after they had been recognised by the Government as a body enjoying these privileges, the Ministers formed themselves into separate and distinct bodies, known respectively by the names of 'The Presbyterian Body,' 'The Congregational Board,' and the 'Anti-pædobaptist Board;' that the first general meeting of the Three Denominations, after the separate bodies were organised, was held on the 11th of July, 1727. That in these separate bodies the ministers of each denomination have formed their own internal arrangements, and reported, from time to time, such ministers as were added to their number, and had been 'accepted and approved in their several denominations.' Thus introduced to the General Body they have severally continued members during life, unless they violated the standing laws of the union; were officially notified as no longer members of the body to which they respectively belonged; voluntarily withdrew from the union, or were excluded by a vote of the general body.†

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* The conclusion is omitted, as it is merely an expression of feeling.

† Five resolutions are omitted, as they refer to the election of the Secretary, and other details unconnected with the general argument.

'(9.) That the recent withdrawment of certain Unitarian members of the Presbyterian Body from the General Union has not affected, and does not affect, the existence, constitution and objects of the Union. That those members, who are in every respect Presbyterians, and have been for many years members of the General Body, still continue to sustain that relation; that their protest against the secession of the Presbyterian Body, and the reasons alleged in support of their continued connexion with the Union, have been cordially approved by the General Body; that the Union of the Ministers of the Three Denominations is thus inviolably preserved; and that the representations given to his Majesty's Government and the public, of the 'Union being dissolved,' because certain ministers of Unitarian principles have withdrawn from a Body still consisting of more than 140 ministers, are contrary to fact, and adapted to produce unwarranted and unjust impressions.

'(10.) That the imputations contained in the alleged 'reasons for withdrawment by the seceding ministers,' reflecting on the General Body, as if any of its members were desirous of depriving them of their civil rights, or of 'reviving the operation of penal statutes,' are unworthy of the character of any party professing to regard the dictates of truth, justice, and charity.

'F. A. Cox, D.D., LL.D., Chairman.
'G. Clayton, Secretary to the General Board.'

The Members of the Presbyterian Body, at an Extraordinary Meeting, held at Dr. Williams's Library, Red-Cross Street, on the 2nd of May, 1836, passed several counter-resolutions, which thus closed: 'That it be referred to a Committee, now appointed, 'to draw up and to publish, without delay, a statement in justifi-'cation of such of the foregoing resolutions as relate to the Reso-'lutions of the Two Denominations.'

The Presbyterian Committee being duly and formally appointed on the said 2nd of May, proceeded, slowly and deliberately, to concoct its Report, which was in due course presented on the 1st of December, 1836, and published in February, 1837. Whether this elaborate document, subsequent to its presentation, received any further revisal or correction, we cannot decide; but, however that may have been, after a period, as near as may be, of ten lunar months, duly fulfilled in its conception, gestation, and growth, this Presbyterian 'case' first saw the light. We mention this circumstance because we would not have our readers think, that we are about to examine a premature or hasty production.

The controversy, however, must be understood, before the merits of 'the case' can be examined. Our readers then should know that, because the General Body of Protestant Dissenting Ministers did elect, to be its Secretary, the Rev. George Clayton, when it ought, for divers reasons, to have elected the Rev. Dr. Rees;—and also, because it did not provide for the recognition

as genuine Baptists of certain hypothetical, though not hypostatical candidates, who, though immersed, were, in the judgment of the Baptists, who best understand such matters, not properly immersed, or not proper to be immersed, or on some account not proper presentable Anti-pædobaptist ministers;—and further, because there were 'allowed references to doctrinal differences, 'accompanied by reflections and insinuations;' that is, allowed by the chairman, for the time being, whose business it was to allow no such thing, and who was often, as on the occasion more particularly referred to, a good substantial Presbyterian;—and, withal, because some 'individuals and parties,' 'notoriously as-'sisted by certain leading ministers of one, at least, of the deno-'minations,' did, or said, or wrote, something, it is not explicitly stated what, but undoubtedly, from the indignation expressed towards even the accessories, something very wicked; because of some or of all these reasons, an 'engagement' has been pronounced broken, a 'compact has been declared violated,' and the Presbyterian body have resolved, with the exception of three Scotchmen, who, it is intimated, were members 'by courtesy,' and 'not of right,' to separate from the General Body of Protestant Dissenting Ministers. So far with the Presbyterians there is no dispute. With *their* opinions and feelings they acted wisely and honorably in seceding. Who would associate with covenant-breakers? What honest Presbyterian would not have renounced these perfidious Independents and treacherous Baptists? We protest against being understood to complain of their secession. We cordially say, *vale, vale, æternumque vale.*

But the Presbyterians, not content with their own secession, have resolved, 'that we do again declare, in the face of the 'world, that the Union of the Three Denominations of Protes-'tant Dissenting Ministers is dissolved, and has been dissolved 'from the period of our withdrawment.' On the other hand, the General Body resolved, though not 'in the face of the world,' which, having just now much else to think about, is supposed to take but little interest in such matters, 'that the recent with-'drawment of certain Unitarian members of the Presbyterian 'body from the General Union, has not affected, and does not 'affect the existence, constitution, and objects of the Union.'

The precise question between the two parties, and we wish to discuss it divested of all extraneous matter, is, What influence has the vote of the Presbyterian Body upon the constitution or existence of the General Body? We might ask, By whom can the question of the dissolution of any Society be better determined than by its own members? All the members of the General Body, or of the late General Body, were regularly summoned to consider that question, and the resolutions of the 18th of April, 1836, are the result. Other persons may declare the

General Body dissolved, but, while the majority of its members assert its existence, we shall regard its dissolution as we do 'the case' of the great Mr. Partridge, of Dublin, who, contrary to his own remonstrance, was pronounced dead by a jury of his countrymen.

We imagine, that no Society in the world can be dissolved without its own privity or consent, by the act of a minority of its members. But we are quite willing to leave this *à priori* argument, and fairly to meet the Presbyterians upon their own ground—the peculiar constitution of the General Body of Protestant Dissenting Ministers. It will, on such reference, be evident, that the members of the Presbyterian Body, voting 'agree-'ably to the forms and usages observed by the Body from the 'period of its incorporation,' whenever that may have been, were, in the simplicity of their hearts, thus solemnly, deliberately, and according to ancient usage, excommunicating themselves.

The argument, or rather the assumption, of the Presbyterians is, that the General Body was originally constituted by the several and distinct acts of the Three Bodies of Presbyterians, Independents, and Anti-pædobaptists; so that its constituent parts are not individuals, but subordinate bodies, united by an explicit or understood compact. Our position, on the contrary, is, that the General Body was constituted by the members of the several denominations without any act or vote of their respective bodies, so that the constituent parts are individuals belonging to the subordinate bodies, but not the bodies themselves. If our position be correct, then each separate body is no part of the Union itself, but only a part of the machinery, by which it operates in the admission of its members and appointment of its Committee—and the United Body of Dissenting members can be no more affected by any vote of the Presbyterian denomination, than the United Service Club could be affected by a vote of the majority of its military or of its naval members, taken separately. As in the United Service, either the soldiers or the sailors separately, so in the United denominations, the Presbyterians, Independents, or Baptists, separately, if interfering with the General Association, of whose name and privileges they are only copartners, become a cabal, not a community, engaged in an intrigue, not transacting their own business. Tenants in common, they cannot damnify the estate, should they determine to disclaim their own rights.

To controvert the position of the Unitarians, and confirm our own, we beg attention to the following remarks. The discussion may prove dry and technical, yet we think it not unimportant.

1. The name of the Association is '*The General Body of Dis-'senting Ministers* of the Three Denominations in and about the 'Cities of London and Westminster. Unless this title be a gross

misnomer, the Union is composed of Dissenting Ministers, and not of Dissenting Societies. There is not the slightest intimation of United Bodies, in this Union of individuals. According to the Presbyterian hypothesis, the proper title would have been, 'The General Union of the Three Bodies of Dissenting Ministers.' With as good grace may the ministers of Westminster secede *in a body* from their brethren of London, as the ministers of one denomination from the other two.

2. The regulations agreed upon at the formation of the General Body, clearly imply a Union of persons, and not of distinct organized bodies.

As both parties admit, the Dissenting ministers in and about London were constituted into a permanent and regular Association, at a meeting held at the George, in Ironmonger Lane, on the 11th of July, 1727. The official record of the proceedings still remains, both in the Minutes of the General Body, and prefixed to those of the Congregational Board. The original regulations adopted at this meeting were, first, 'That no person 'should be allowed to join the General Body in its public acts, 'besides such as were approved by one or other of the Three 'Denominations.' Secondly, 'That all who were, or afterwards 'should be, approved by the Denomination to which they be-'longed, should be allowed to sit and vote at the meetings of the 'Body of the Three Denominations.' Thirdly, 'That all mi-'nisters falling under these classes, who should reside within ten 'miles of London and Westminster, should be eligible to the 'Union.'

If the General Body were not, what its name imports, a Union of Dissenting Ministers, but a Union of Dissenting Bodies previously organized, what can have been the object, reason, propriety, or use, of declaring who should be *allowed to join it.* If, instead of a new Society having been formed, three ancient Bodies had been united, each member of any Body separate would have remained a member of the same Body in Union, and it would have been absurd to declare that he should be allowed to join it. According to the Presbyterian comment, the meaning of these regulations is, that all the members of the Three Denominations shall be allowed to belong to them. This is called 'their adherence to the fundamental constitution of the original 'Union.'

According to the third regulation, if a minister should have fallen under the right class, that is, should have been approved by his own denomination, and yet should not at the time have been residing within the prescribed distance, he would not have been eligible to the Union. But one approved member of any particular Body, ineligible to the General Union, is fatal to 'the case of the Presbyterians.' If it be said that each Body, by

some fixed and immutable law of its constitution, was not able to expand itself beyond the prescribed limits, then the third regulation, by declaring ineligible a class that could by no possibility come into existence, must have been as absurd and impertinent as the other two. Upon our theory these regulations are exceedingly proper. Who could have been so competent as the members of his own denomination, to decide upon the claims of a minister to the character which he assumed? What Baptist or Independent, for instance, could, or can now, say what constitutes a modern English Presbyterian? Who but a brother can vouch for Presbyterian orthodoxy? Who else could know that Baxter and Belsham were of the same sect? We have indeed read in a Unitarian publication, that Presbyterians are people who 'have come down in regular succession from their ancestors,' that is, as we suppose, who have held fast by ancient endowments. The determination, however, of such questions is wisely left to the appropriate denomination.

3. On the admission of a minister into any particular Body, he does not immediately, and *ipso facto*, become a member of the General Body. By invariable practice no one is admitted to the General Body until his name has been reported at an annual meeting. He may have been eleven months a member of his own Body, before he is received into the General Association. If it be said such a person is not known as an accepted and approved minister until thus reported, we reply, that were he truly a member, better care would have been taken to communicate timely and official information to the General Secretary, that every member might be duly summoned to an Extraordinary Meeting, should such take place previous to the next ensuing Annual Meeting. If the General Body be a Union of the three subordinate Bodies, many of its meetings have been informal; because many of its members have not been summoned to attend them. There have been excluded all ministers, who have been received into their particular denominations subsequent to the next preceding Annual Meeting of the General Body.

4. The members of the General Body, and the members of the three particular Bodies, taken together, are not identical. The lists by no means correspond. In both the Baptist and Congregational Boards, ministers have been accepted and approved, who have never been proposed to the General Body. In several instances, seceders from the General Body have long remained, and still remain, accredited members of their several denominations; and their names have been erased from the one list while they have been retained on the other. If the three organized denominational Bodies were its essential and constituent parts, the General Body has been these many years dissolved, for there has not been any meeting to which all its mem-

bers have been summoned. Whatever, or wherever, the General Body may have been, the meetings usually held in Red-Cross Street have been the meetings of a Society, to which have belonged only some of the approved ministers of the three nominations.

5. The business of the General Body has always been conducted upon the assumption of its being composed of individuals, and not of communities. Its expenses are assessed *per capita.* Its officers are elected, its measures decided, and its votes determined by an enumeration of individuals. Had three Bodies united, each ought to have been charged with one-third of the general expense. When the Baptists and Independents had paid individually a year in advance for the pleasure and comfort of Presbyterian communion and counsel, were they to be told, that a monopolizing minority could dissolve the connexion in an hour? Though the money was a trifle, yet a principle of honour was involved, which ought to have protected inviolate the integrity of the Society.

In the ordinary business of the General Body, the only apparent deviation from the mode of procedure here maintained, is in the election of its Committee. Each denomination separately elects its proportion. This, however, was provided, as a matter of convenience, by a direct vote, which, when examined, confirms the views we have taken. At the meeting of the General Body, next after the lists of the several denominations were completed, according to the regulations of the pastors who had determined upon the Union, held at Salters' Hall, September 17, 1728, it was agreed, 'That the annual choice of the Committee 'be made upon a summons from the Committee then subsisting 'to the three denominations distinctly, without giving the General 'Body any unnecessary trouble as to that affair.' 'According to 'the agreement foregoing, the Body of the Congregational 'Ministers were summoned, and met accordingly, at Mr. Asty's 'Meeting-place, at three o'clock, afternoon, October 1st, 1728. 'Mr. Ridgeley, in the chair, declared that the *General Body had* '*appointed* new Committees of each denomination to be chosen, 'and accordingly, we were now met to choose a Committee of 'the Congregational Body.'* It was usual in the early history of the General Body to fix the day on which the separate denominations should meet to choose their proportions of the Committee. Thus, at a meeting of the General Committee at North's Coffee House, January 6, 1728—9, Dr. Watts in the chair, agreed, 'That the summons appointed to be sent to the several 'denominations, in order to the choice of the Committee for the 'ensuing year, be made for Monday, August 4, 1729.' 'The

* Minutes of Congregational Board, including some Minutes of the General Body.

'Dissenting ministers of the Congregational denomination met 'according to this summons at Blackwell's Coffee House, Aug. '4, 1729,' and balloted for their Committee. It thus appears that, originally, the General Body fixed and summoned meetings of the denominations separately; and made use of them as a part of its machinery. There is also another record of the meeting of January 6, 1728—9, which shows the power of the General Body, and even of its Committee, to correct and regulate the lists of its members, independently of the particular denominations. 'It was also agreed, by the common opinion of 'all present, though not by a formal vote, that when persons on 'the list were dead, or had left the Dissenters entirely, or were 'settled above ten miles from London, there was no need of a 'vote of their denomination to leave them out of the list, but 'the Committee might do it; but when any new members were 'to be added to the list, it was doubted and queried whether it 'could be done by any particular Committee, or by the General 'Committee, and whether it did not require a vote of the Body.' Could there have been a doubt or query upon the subject, if the General Body were merely a Union of three distinct and organized Societies?

6. The assertion of the Presbyterians, 'that the Three Bodies 'of Protestant Dissenting Ministers formed themselves into a 'United Body,' is, if intended in their corporate capacity, contradicted by facts and existing records.

'With the history and the records of one of the denominations, 'the compilers of the case profess to be somewhat intimately ac-'quainted.' Can they produce any resolution by which the Presbyterians, *as a body*, determined to join the other two denominations, previous to the 11th of July, 1727? Had they possessed any thing to sustain their allegation, 'the compilers of the case' would undoubtedly have produced it. The recent secession of the Presbyterians as a Body, is assuredly recorded on their Minutes: but, where is the correspondent voucher for their preceding act of Union?

The Baptist members of the General Body did not at that time constitute, nor have they at any period since constituted, nor do they now constitute, an organized Body *distinct from the General Union* of the Three Denominations. There has been, and is, a Board of Particular Baptist Ministers, but from this the General Baptists are of course excluded. There has been also, under some name, an Association of the General Baptist Ministers in and about London; but there is no organized Body including both parties. If there be, what is it called? Where does it meet? Who are its officers? Where are its minutes? It is quite true, as the compilers of 'the case' state, that the General Baptists 'have always constituted a portion of the Body 'of London Baptist Ministers *belonging to the General Body.*'

But it is equally true that, distinct from the General Body, the two classes of Baptists have no connexion whatever. The Secretary of the Baptist Board may report the ministers accepted and approved by the General Baptists; but still he is not their officer, as they have no vote whatever in his election. The proportion of the Committee of the Three Denominations representing the Baptists, is elected in two parts by two distinct and separate Societies, each having a voice only in the choice of its own representation. The Annual Report of the Baptists is, in fact, always two Reports, combined in the General Committee; for the two classes of Baptists *have no Union whatever elsewhere.* The Presbyterians have their meetings; the Congregationalists have theirs; the Baptists, *as such*, have none. What sort of a Body can that be which has no officers, no minutes, no regulations, and which for more than a century has held no meetings? The Baptist ministers are in no sense one Body. As Baptist ministers they are two Bodies, and not one. As Dissenting ministers they are a part of a Body, and not the whole.

Had the Baptists been disposed to play the same pranks as their Presbyterian brethren, they would have been at some loss for appropriate language. They certainly could not have spoken of themselves as a Body, 'by its constitution entire and independent,' nor have done any thing, 'agreeably to the forms and 'usages which have been observed by their Body from the period 'of its incorporation.' The Presbyterians, though a diminutive minority, have a monopoly of such privileges.

'The case' writers observe that, until the accession of George I., 'the Calvinistic Baptists were the only portion of that denomination who had been admitted into association with the 'Presbyterians and Congregationalists in their public acts.' The correctness of this assertion we may hereafter examine. It is, however, certain that, of a standing Committee of the ministers of the Three Denominations in the reign of Queen Anne, the Baptist part was elected by the Calvinists only, on which account they had been subject to the complaints of their Arminian brethren. It is added, 'the justice of this complaint was at once 'admitted by the Particular Baptists, and an amicable arrangement was in consequence made, on the re-appointment of the 'General Committee, to receive the General Baptists into the 'Union, and to give them a voice in the election. From this 'time they have always constituted a portion of the Body of London Baptist ministers belonging to the General Body.' This is, in the main, true; but if it be inferred, that from this time the Calvinists and Arminians have constituted a permanent Body, the inference must be corrected. Such a Union was then attempted, but as Crosby himself, the authority to which the Presbyterians refer, observes, 'this laudable and good design soon

'dwindled and came to nothing.' * This brief Union in 1714, does not, in the least degree, affect our proposition, that from 1727, the year in which was formed the permanent Union of the London Dissenting Ministers, the General and Particular Baptists have never constituted a distinct Body.

The Society, since called the Baptist Board, is undoubtedly very ancient. It originally consisted of only a part of even the Particular Baptist Ministers of London, who, as a Friendly Association, met weekly at the Hanover, afterwards at the Gloucestershire Coffee House. It seems to have sustained some modification about 1723, when its present minutes commence, and to have obtained the name of the Baptist Board, about the time when the General Body was formed. Crosby, writing a few years afterwards, calls it 'a small Society of Baptist Ministers;' and says, 'it is but of late years they have been rendered contemptible with the name of the Baptist Board, which 'they obtained under their present head.' †

Previously to the formation of the General Body, it consisted of only about a dozen members. On the first meeting of the General Committee, the list of Baptist ministers in and about London was given in, as it included the members of this Society, some Particular Baptists not members of this Society, and the General Baptists. Until that meeting of Committee on November 7, 1727, four months after the formation of the General Body, these various Baptists, being, according to the author of 'The London Manuscript,' of four sorts, Antinomians, Calvinists, Socinians, and Arminians, constituted no United Body or Society whatsoever. ‡ If any further evidence were necessary to prove that about this period the Baptist ministers did not constitute one Board, we could supply it *ex abundantia*. As, for instance, in 1731, according to a manuscript in our possession, sustained by the Baptist minutes, when Dr. Williams' trustees, after the completion of the library by contributions from members of all the denominations, sent notice to the Society already referred to, that 'the use and perusal of the library was permitted 'to all the pastors of their denomination,' the list made out by

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* Crosby's English Baptists, Vol. IV., p. 109.

† Crosby's English Baptists, Vol. III., p. 288. They certainly had the name in 1731, four years after the formation of the General Body. See Letters of Dr. Sayer Rudd, who was expelled the Baptist Board.

‡ These particulars may be ascertained by a comparison of Crosby, the Minutes of the Baptist Board, the Minutes of the Congregational Board, and what has been called 'The London Manuscript,' a curious document, giving an account of the London Dissenting interest from 1695 to 1731, by a hearer of Dr. Doddridge. The copy examined by the writer, was transcribed by Walter Wilson, Esq., from the original, in the possession of the Rev. S. Palmer.

that Society or Baptist Board being necessarily defective, 'Dr. 'Gill was desired to see the General Baptists,' to effect its completion. We agree with the compilers of 'the case' that, in the Minutes of the early meeting of the General Committee, nothing is said of a Board or of a Body. The record is exact: 'Mr. 'Burroughs delivered in a list of the pastors and approved minis-'ters of the Anti-pædobaptist denomination.' Mr. Burroughs was himself, not a member of the Baptist Board, but a General Baptist.

If the evidence furnished by the Baptist denomination, in determining the constitution of the general body, is satisfactory, that supplied by the Congregational is, if possible, much more so. The ministers of the three denominations have stated, in their third resolution, that 'the Ministers formed themselves into separate and distinct bodies; and that 'the first general meeting, after the separate bodies were organised, was held on the 11th of July, 1727." We suppose the allusion is to the forming of the several lists of ministers, of the three denominations residing within ten miles of the cities of London and Westminster; but, if it be, the date is incorrect, as these lists were presented to the General Committee, those of the Presbyterians and Baptists in November 7, 1727, and that of the Congregationalists on January 8, 1728. To the parties, whose names were in these lists, have been always left the accepting and approving of the ministers of their several denominations. 'Thus introduced to the general body, 'the ministers have severally continued members during life; 'unless they violated the standing laws of the Union, were offi-'cially notified as no longer members of the bodies to which they 'respectively belonged, voluntarily withdrew from the Union, 'or were excluded by a vote of the general body.'

Here the Presbyterians are more than usually confident and dogmatical. 'The compilers have said, that they have perused 'these averments with feelings of surprise; and for this reason, 'that they consider them to be, from first to last, unsupported by 'any adequate authority, printed, manuscript, or traditional.' Before the compilers refer us to traditional authority, they will have to read a great deal more of the evidence, both in print and in manuscript.

Had this surprise referred to the inaccurate date, we should have called the attention of the 'case' makers to many such errors of their own; as, for instance, to two on the very same page as that in which their surprise is expressed. On page 21, line 2, 'a meeting of the three denominations, held in September 'of *the same* year,' should be of *the next* year; and again, line 12, 'the month of *September following* should be the month of *September in the following year.* They have in both instances assigned to September 1727, the transactions of September 17, 1728.

But 'the compilers feel themselves entitled to demand the 'evidence of the fact, that the ministers, *now, or about this time,* 'formed themselves into separate and distinct bodies, under any 'form, or any designation, which had not pertained to them 'before.'—p. 22. Again, 'they think that they are in a condi-'tion to affirm, that there exists not, among the records of either 'the Congregational or Baptist Boards, any account of such a 'transaction.'—p. 23. How these gentlemen came to think themselves in such 'a condition' we cannot divine; but that the Congregational ministers, after long debate respecting 'the rule 'they should follow,' on December 5, 1727, determined upon the constitution of a society, to be called by the new designation of 'the third body,'—a designation which their Secretary, in his minutes, thought it necessary to explain, and to which were admitted, with the concurrence of the general committee, thirty-five, 'previously allowed to be of the Congregational body,' and fifteen others, is all most plainly and explicitly recorded in the minutes of the Congregational body. No evidence can be more satisfactory and complete, in proof of the new organization of the Congregationalists, upon a new principle, under a new designation, with new regulations and new members, than that which is furnished by their own minutes.

At the meeting, already so often noticed, held on July 11, 1727, it was agreed that a committee should be chosen from the three denominations. With this meeting the minutes of the Congregational body commence.

The next entry is 'in conformity to a vote, passed at a general 'meeting of the pastors of the three denominations, in and about 'London and Westminster, on July 11, 1727, the ministers of 'the Congregational denomination met upon a summons, on 'Monday, September 25, 1727, at Mr. Asty's Meeting Place, in 'Little Moorfields, and placed Mr. Asty in the chair; present 'thirty-four, besides the chair.' This was not a meeting of a previously organized body, or the first resolution would not have been declaratory of the persons having a right to vote. '1. 'Agreed that every one present, *who chooses to be reckoned among* '*the Congregational Ministers,* and does not design to vote in 'and with the Presbyterian or Baptist Ministers, be allowed to 'vote at this meeting.' The privilege of voting was thus referred to the option of all present, there being, as we shall see, no list of Congregational Ministers. The persons present did no more than elect six members, as their quota of the general committee.

The General Committee held their first meeting at Founders' Hall, Tuesday, November 7, 'when it was desired that the par-'ticular committee of each denomination would give in a list of 'those who were allowed and approved as ministers of their deno-'minations within ten miles of London and Westminster.'

These, as we suppose, are 'the separate and distinct bodies,' into which 'the ministers formed themselves,' according to the resolutions under discussion. It is recorded that 'the list of the 'approved ministers of the Presbyterian denomination, was de- 'livered in by Mr. Evans, and received; that Mr. Burroughs 'gave in a list of the pastors and approved ministers of the Bap- 'tist denomination.' The compilers of the 'case' add as an extract, 'A list of the Congregational Ministers was brought in by their 'members of the Committee present, and was received.' This is stated so as to produce a wrong impression, as the Congregational list was not given in until a subsequent meeting of the General Committee. The true account is thus supplied from the Congregational minutes. 'The particular Committee for the Con- 'gregational Ministers, declared they had not yet determined 'their list, which they were desired to do as soon as possible, 'and bring it in, and make report of it to the General Com- 'mittee, at their next meeting.' What sort of an organised body was that, of which no list of names could be furnished?

The Committee, not knowing how to frame their list, summoned their constituents to determine the question, who met Dec. 5th, 1727. At this meeting, if words have any meaning, the Congregational Body was organized; and, according to the plan adopted, the list was subsequently formed. We give the minutes without comment.

'According to this summons the body* of the Congregational Ministers met at Mr. Watts's meeting-place, about three o'clock in the afternoon, to determine what rule they should act by in forming and adjusting the body of the Congregational Denomination, and to settle the list for time to come. Mr. Watts in the chair; present 30. All the minutes† of this book being first read over, and the design of this meeting being represented, there was a long debate about the rule or method by which the list of the Congregational ministers should be settled. The two most considerable opinions proposed and urged were these: viz. 1. That those only should be accounted Congregational Ministers who some way or other manifested their agreement to the Savoy Confession of Faith and Order of Congregational Churches. 2. That the rule by which the ministers were admitted to give their votes, Sept. 25, for the choice of the Committee, should be the rule by which the list of the Congregational Ministers should be determined and

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* This phrase seems to have been unusual, for there is a note in the original hand-writing to explain it. 'Note—by the whole body of Congrega- 'tional Ministers is meant all those who chose to be reckoned among the 'Congregational Ministers, and did not design to meet and vote with the 'other two bodies of Presbyterians and Baptists, according to the agreement 'of September 25th.'

† An account of the formation and directions of the General Body.

settled, viz. those who had been known and approved preachers, and chose to be ranked among the Congregational Ministers, and did not design to vote in the body of the Presbyterian or Baptist Ministers.

'After much time spent, and many arguments on both sides, it was agreed thus, *nemine contradicente*, viz. that the rule by which ministers were determined to have a vote for choosing the Committee of the Third Body of Protestant Dissenters, on Sept. 25th last, be followed in admitting any minister into the list of that Body to vote with it on political occasions for one year, i. e. till Michaelmas next.

'NOTE.—It was called a *Third Body*, because some present were very zealous to exclude the name Congregational out of the whole question and vote, unless the first rule were followed, and the Congregational Ministers were distinguished by agreeing to the Savoy Confession. The night coming on, and the ministers withdrawing themselves by degrees, those of the other opinion permitted the question to be put in this form rather than break up the assembly and do nothing.

'Upon this vote the assembly broke up, and did not stay to determine and settle the list according to this vote. But the vote itself being so plain, and so easy to be applied, it was thought by several of the Committee a needless thing to call the whole body together for this purpose. Accordingly there was a list drawn up, thirty-five of which were before allowed to be of the Congregational Body, viz. . . . .

'—— There are fifteen more that are sufficiently well known to be of the Congregational Body, or have explicitly declared they chose to be ranked among them, viz. . . . . .'

The names of both classes are given, but the list of Ministers then arranged was *submitted to the vote* and approval of the Committee of the Three Denominations. At the Meeting of the General Committee at Founders' Hall, January 8th, 1728, Mr. Ridgely, Mr. Lowman, and Mr. Watts 'offered to the General 'Committee the list which was drawn up according to this rule, 'which they themselves approved of, and desired to know of the 'General Committee whether they did approve and accept this 'list; which, *being put to the question*, the General Committee 'did approve and accept, *nemine contradicente*.'

At the next meeting of the Congregational Body, October 1, 1728, 'it was long debated,' respecting the proper time of the admission of 'some young ministers present, whose names were 'not on the list, either not having been resident in London, or 'not having begun to preach when the list was made.'

So, according to its own minutes, was organized the Congregational Body, though not originally under that designation. It was constituted in obedience to the direction of the General Body, upon a principle settled, after 'much time spent, and many 'arguments,' with a new name, and eventually with the sanction of the General Committee. We ask the compilers of 'the case' whether they still think 'that they are in a condition to affirm

'that there exists not among the records of either the Congre-'gational or Baptist boards any account of such a transaction.' The account of such a transaction is the only important record in fifty years' minutes.

But 'with the history and records of one of the denominations, 'the compilers of this case profess to be somewhat intimately 'acquainted, and they can affirm that there is not a tittle of written 'or oral evidence of such an organization of the Presbyterian 'Body having been effected about this time.' That among the records of the Presbyterians there is not a tittle of *oral* evidence, we can easily believe; for the rest we should like to investigate the matter for ourselves. As, however, with the vision of the Presbyterian records, our eyes never have been, and, in all probability, never will be refreshed; and withal having before us a wholesome fear of the 'condition' of these 'case' makers, we shall affirm nothing whatever. Their intimate acquaintance with the history of their own denomination, if the patience of our readers be not utterly exhausted, we propose to examine. In the meanwhile we ask them to consider the reasons we have assigned, and the evidence we have adduced in contravention of the main position of the Presbyterians, that the General Body was constituted by the Union of three previously distinct and independent Bodies. Our argument is that the General Body was constituted July 11, 1727, by the ministers of the three denominations, when two of the three bodies were not in existence, and the third, allowing for the present that it sustained at that period no important modification, has produced no record of any act, by which, *in its corporate capacity*, it formed a union with the two parties and odd pieces of the Baptists, and the Congregationalists, and Nondescripts subsequently combined into 'the Third Body.' We admit that this statement is not in exact accordance with the resolutions of either party. We are sorry for this circumstance, although our business is not to defend the resolutions, but to vindicate the integrity of the General Body.

The Presbyterians endeavour to establish the contrary positions, not by a reference to any usages or records of the body, but by a process of historical inquiry into the state of the several denominations previous to their permanent union in 1727. The application of their deductions, even on the admission of their correctness, is not very obvious. Admitting, as they contend, that, in the early history of Nonconformity, the ministers of the three denominations constituted several distinct and accredited organized bodies, what avails the admission unless it can be shown that not the several members of these bodies, individually, but the several bodies acting in their corporate capacity, constituted the General Body? For the evidence of such a union we have already called, and, as we cannot be expected to prove a nega-

tive, we may safely leave the question until the evidence demanded be produced. We think, however, we have shown that such a coalition of communities was at the time impracticable, and, for once, by the aid of Aristotle, we may even prove our negative, since that great authority assures us, that what is impossible has never taken place.

The resolutions of the orthodox party, we use that term for convenience, refer to the usages of Dissenters from the Act of Uniformity. This seems to us a beginning at the beginning. In controversy it is often prudent and politic to discuss matters remotely connected with the subject. The Unitarians, determining not to be counterchecked by such a manœuvre, have gone back to the restoration of Charles II. 'It will be necessary to look 'back through the two preceding years.' We do not exactly see the necessity of this retrograde motion, in order to ascertain whether or not the General Body of Dissenting Ministers was dissolved on the 4th of March, 1836. The Presbyterians, however, have the undoubted right to conduct their own 'case' in their own way; and, if they had said that it would 'be necessary' to retreat, not to the commonwealth, but to the creation, we must have followed them, though with the suspicion that arguments were somewhat scarce when gentlemen had wandered so far in search of them.

Let us hear their statement, respecting the period which elapsed between the Restoration and the passing of the Act of Uniformity.

'It is well known that the Presbyterian Ministers formed at this time a numerous body of men, eminent both as scholars and divines, holding the best church livings in the Metropolis, firmly united together as a social community by common principles and common interests, and meeting statedly at Sion College, for the transaction of such business as related to them in their corporate and collective capacity. In the public transactions of that eventful period they acted a conspicuous part as a known and recognized body, assuming the same functions, and admitted to the same privileges as the Episcopal Clergy. At the time the two Houses of Parliament were negociating for the return of Charles II., the Presbyterian Ministers of London sent a deputation to Breda to treat with the king on ecclesiastical matters. The deputation were admitted to a personal interview, delivered an address on behalf of their body, and received the King's personal reply. Subsequently to the King's return to England, and after he had pronounced the declaration of Oct. 25, 1660, the Presbyterian Ministers went up to court in their associated capacity with an address, which was delivered to the King, who gave them, as before, his personal answer. The manner and form of proceeding in the presentation of this address were, as far as appears, in every respect the same as have in later times been observed on occasion of the General Body of the Three Denominations going to court. Nor is it unimportant to add

that the Body of Presbyterian Ministers were fully recognized in the arrangements for the Savoy Conference, in which they were represented by Deputies, as one of the public Bodies whose cause was then to be solemnly argued and determined. From these facts it is apparent that the Presbyterian Ministers in London were at this period an united and organized body, recognized by the government and the court, and enjoying the privilege of presenting petitions and addresses to the sovereign in the royal presence.'

Of this paragraph we have to say, that the facts are incorrectly stated; that the reasoning founded upon them is inconclusive; and that both facts and reasoning, even if shown to be incontrovertible, are totally inapplicable to the question under discussion—all which we will endeavour to make out to the satisfaction of our Presbyterian friends.

As to the stated meetings at Zion College, there were two recognized Bodies which were accustomed to hold their regular meetings within that building. The one, the London Provincial Assembly, being an Ecclesiastical Body, constructed upon a Presbyterian model, though in many particulars sorely against the wishes of the Presbyterian Clergy, was undoubtedly an acknowledged and duly organized Presbyterian Body; but this Body was composed of laity as well as clergy, in the proportion of two ruling elders to one minister. The other, the London Clergy, held its meetings weekly before the restoration, and very frequently afterwards; but then this was recognized and accredited as the Body of the London Clergy, at the restoration for the most part Presbyterian, but not exclusively so, nor in that character organized. To illustrate this we ask, were not Mr. Caryl, of St. Magnus, 'a moderate independent,' and that 'principal man in managing the Meeting of the Congregational 'Churches at the Savoy,' as Calamy calls Mr. Philip Nye, of St. Bartholomew, behind the Exchange, as much members of the London Clergy Meeting at Zion College, as Mr. Calamy, Dr. Manton, or the best Presbyterian among them. It is true, that Presbyterian ministers held 'the best church-livings in the metropolis;' yet, notwithstanding their good care of themselves, the incumbents of the poorer benefices were a part of the London Ministers. Though Presbyterian counsels and influence ruled in Zion College for a time, and several leading Presbyterians were accustomed to meet together for conference and business, yet the Presbyterian Ministers were not organized as a body in contradistinction from their brethren. Calamy says, May 7, 1661, 'There was a Meeting at Zion College of the Ministers of 'London for the choice of a president and assistants for the next 'year. Some of the Presbyterians, upon a pettish scruple, absenting themselves, the Diocesan party carried it, and got the

'possession and rule of the College.'* Is it affirmed, in the face of such facts, that the ministers of London, who had the right to meet at Zion College before the act of uniformity, did not comprize the Diocesan party?†

As to the deputation to Breda, though the ministers were looked upon as the 'most able assertors of Presbyterian opinions,'‡ yet they acted for the London Ministers as such, and most of them, among whom was Mr. Bowles, not of London, but of York, received their commission from the Convention. § Baxter says, ‖ 'Certain divines were sent by the parliament and city into Holland, and some went voluntarily.' Whoever sent them, they declared themselves 'no enemies of moderate episcopacy.' The compilers of 'the case,' where Neal says 'the 'London Ministers' unfairly cite his authority for their own phrase, 'the *Presbyterian* Ministers of London.'

The next misrepresentation is still more inexcusable: 'The 'Presbyterian Ministers went up to Court *in their associated* '*capacity* with an address.' The address is preserved by Baxter¶, not as in Neal, without its title, but complete, as 'Printed by his 'Majesty's Approbation, for John Rothwell, at the sign of the 'Fountain, in Cheapside, in Goldsmith's Row, 1660.' It is entitled, 'To the King's most Excellent Majesty, The humble 'and grateful acknowledgment *of many ministers of the Gospel* 'in and about the city of London.' The names of the ministers were subscribed. The style and title of this address are in direct contradiction to the assertion of the compilers of 'the case.' Though some Presbyterian Ministers presented it, yet they presented it most certainly not in any '*associated capacity*,' but individually as '*many ministers of the Gospel.*' Of the proceedings of the London Ministers at the Restoration, Baxter says, 'I leave it here on record that to the best of my know-'ledge, the Presbyterian cause was never spoken for, nor were 'they ever heard to petition for it at all:' and again, 'I drew up 'an enumeration of abundance of particulars, which we never 'pleaded for, which the Presbyterians usually hold, and showed 'that we never meddled with their proper cause, partly be-'cause we were not all of a mind ourselves in every small 'matter.'**

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* Calamy's Baxter, i. 159.

† Some Presbyterian Committees, including the leading ministers of the Committee for ordaining ministers after the Presbyterian way, were accustomed, previous to the restoration, to meet in Zion College, as were, for some time, King Charles's Presbyterian Chaplains.

‡ King's Declaration, Oct. 25, 1660.

§ Oldmixon, i. p. 466.

‖ Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 218.

¶ Life, part ii. p. 284.

** Life, part ii. p. 278.

But the account of the Savoy conference is the most extraordinary part of this extraordinary paragraph. What connexion had it with the people puritanic or prelatical of London, other than with those of the country generally? We need not cite authorities, for all historians, civil and ecclesiastical, agree, and every body knows that among the puritanic divines of the Savoy conference, were the Bishop of Norwich, the Regius Professor and Savilian Professor of Oxford, the Master of St. John's, Cambridge, and the parson of Dedham, in Suffolk; that the ministers, instead of being *deputies* of their brethren, derived their authority from the king's commission; that Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Calamy alone had the nomination; and that so far from representing any body of ministers, they, according to Neal, expressly complained that they had no power to act for others, and desired, but were refused, to receive authority on behalf of their brethren.

Such are the facts, every one of which is misrepresented in the paragraph we have quoted. Let us attend to the reasoning: 'From these facts it is apparent;' that is, because the Presbyterian Ministers frequented Zion College; because some of them went to Breda to tell Charles they were no enemies to episcopacy; because '*many* ministers of the Gospel' made an address to the king; and because the Bishop of Norwich, some professors from Oxford and Cambridge, with certain others, were commissioned to consult upon ecclesiastical matters: 'It is apparent that *the Presbyterian Ministers of London* were, at this period, an united and organized body, recognized by the government and the court.' How much would the argumentations of the Savoy disputants have been facilitated, had they been blessed with the logic of modern Presbyterians!

But even if the facts and reasoning were both incontrovertible, they have no connexion whatever with the question under discussion. Is it pretended that the Presbyterian Body, from which 'the case' has emanated, is the identical Body assumed to have been organized in Zion College before the restoration, and so entitled by uninterrupted succession to its privileges? It is indeed stated, that the act of uniformity 'made no alteration 'in their internal constitution and arrangements as a social community;' that 'the social constitution and privileges of the Presbyterian Body remained unchanged in the reign of James II.; 'that in the reign of William it did not lose its separate existence 'and identity.' In this 'historical inquiry,' it is gravely contended that the city ministers of the Commonwealth, whose fulminations once made sectaries and heretics tremble, who frightened Cromwell, cajoled Monk, and in their Geneva cloaks and the simplicity of their loyal hearts presented Charles with the Bible, are still perpetuated in their proper and reverend body, reduced

indeed by time, and sadly diminished by the intellect or economy of this age, whose expedients and contrivances have comfortably accommodated, without much crowding, in two meeting-houses, all the English Presbyterian people of the city of London. But if the Presbyterian Body be what it professes to be, the ancient body of city ministers of the interregnum, then we earnestly entreat its members, for the sake of their own character, to rescind a testimony which in their corporate capacity is theirs, if their argument be good—the testimony of the city ministers, dated Zion College, Dec. 14, 1647, against 'Arianism, Socinianism, 'Ana-baptism,' &c., as 'damnable errors, 'horrid blasphemies,' 'the dregs and spawn of old cursed heresies, dead, buried, rotten 'in their graves, now raked up to poison thousands;' and *the toleration of them*, as denying 'the very principles of Christianity 'and civility.' The Presbyterian Body may be fairly called upon either gravely to rescind this testimony, or to desist from declaring themselves to be the identical body by which it was published, or to sustain the reputation of being the most intolerantly orthodox people in the three kingdoms.

The account of the Presbyterian Ministers from the act of Uniformity to the death of Charles II., is in every particular equally inaccurate.

'Within a few days after the act of Uniformity came into operation, the Body of Presbyterian Ministers, *meeting and acting in the same organized form as before,* went up to Court with a supplementary address to the King, praying for some mitigation of the statute which might enable them to continue their ministerial labours. Not long after, upon an intimation from Court that it was wished by the King to afford the non-conformists relief, they again appeared in the royal presence with an address, which was presented in the usual form. And still later, after the publication of the King's Declaration of indulgence, they once more appeared at Court, and presented, in the customary manner, another address, to which, as in the preceding instances, the king delivered his personal reply.'—p. 10.

This is a very incomplete account of the interviews which the non-conformist ministers had with Charles II. That they ever presented an address as from an organized Presbyterian Body in a formal and public manner, is in 'the case' no where proved, though every where implied. The first address here mentioned was presented on the third day after the passing of the act of Uniformity, which, we are told, 'made no alteration in the 'internal condition' of the Presbyterian Ministers. But Baxter says, 'the conformists were of three sects: 1. Some of the old 'ministers called Presbyterians formerly, who subscribed to the 'parliament words, and put their own sense upon them by word

'of mouth.'* Were these conforming Presbyterians, as Baxter calls them, parties to the address of 'some of the ministers likely to be cast out of all public service,' or if they were not, the Presbyterian Body must have been re-organized, so as to exclude conformists, and that in the space of three days to have been in a condition to address the king as a Body of silenced ministers. This circumstance alone is sufficient to show that this ancient Presbyterian Body is but a phantasm of modern Presbyterian brains. The address, moreover, is unfortunately preserved by Calamy.† It is entitled, 'To the King's most Excellent Ma-'jesty, The humble petition of *several ministers* in your City of 'London:' nor is there in it any mention of a Presbyterian Body at all. Is it not shamefully careless, or something worse, in order to get up a 'case,' to call a petition avowedly from several individuals, the address of an organized body?

The next address here specified is, as appears from the reference to Neal, that which, on Sir J. Baber's suggestion, Drs. Manton, Jacomb, and Bates, presented to the king at Lord Arlington's lodgings. We maintain this, like the preceding, was the address of the individuals whose names were subscribed to it, and not of any recognized Body. It is said 'to have been pre-'sented in the usual form.' It was presented *privately* at the house of a Popish nobleman, was never publicly announced, was answered by his Majesty in a long discussion about preaching in a play-house—'the riffle-raffle of the people,' and other matters, all which ended with Arlington's pulling the king's coat. The best account of this *private* meeting of the king may be seen in a letter of Dr. Manton to Mr. Baxter. If this address be good for any thing in the argument, we must acknowledge 'the 'case' compilers have not done justice to their cause; for there were often such meetings with royalty. Baxter says‡, 'The 'ministers *in several parties* were oft encouraged to make their 'addresses to the king. Sir J. Baber introduced Dr. Manton, 'and some with him; Mr. Ennis, a Scotch non-conformist, by 'Sir Robert Murray, introduced Mr. Whittaker, Dr. Annersley, 'Mr. Watson, and Mr. Vincent's.' The compilers of 'the case,' however, seem to know better than Mr. Baxter, as they tell us that ministers were accustomed to wait on the king as an organized Body, and not 'in several parties.'

But on the Declaration of Indulgence another address was '*presented in the customary manner.*' Posterity will hence discover how Presbyterians are accustomed to address their Sovereign. Baxter says§, 'When they could not come to an

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* Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 386.
† Continuation, vol. iii. p. 10.
‡ Life, part iii. p. 87.
§ Life, part iii. p. 99.

'agreement about their form, the Lord Arlington introduced 'them to a *verbal extemporate thanksgiving*, and so their difference 'was ended as to that.'

We must here be allowed to ask by what right the Presbyterians claim this 'cautelous and moderate thanksgiving,' as Baxter calls it. The reference is to Neal, but he, without mentioning Presbyterians, merely speaks of the address as conveying the thanks of the non-conformists for their liberty. Baxter says there was a meeting of the 'London Non-conformable Ministers.' At this time the Presbyterians, Independents, and those whom Baxter calls 'the Episcopal Non-conformists,' acted together under the general name of non-conformists, as is evident from their immediately 'setting up a weekly lecture to testify their 'union' at Pinners' Hall. As such the ministers of the two parties seem to have united in offering their acknowledgments to the king. According to his biographer, Dr. Owen presented this address to the Sovereign.* The concurrence of both parties in public measures, both before and soon after the Declaration of Indulgence; every circumstance connected with the address and allusion to it with which we are acquainted, except an incidental expression of Crosby, which we are prepared to explain; the probability that Owen presented the address, confirmed by an expression of his own in his preface to the answer to Stillingfleet, in which, speaking of 'our thankful acceptance of the in-'dulgence,' he says, 'I know myself herein peculiarly reflected 'on;' and the absence of any acknowledgment from the Independents themselves, though they were generally less scrupulous than their brethren about the acceptance of the royal permission, compel us to consider as worthless, an unsupported assertion of the compilers of 'the case,' or rather an assertion speciously and fraudulently supported by a reference, which determines nothing whatever on either side of the question.

The next address adduced is that presented to James II. on occasion of his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience. At a meeting of Dissenting Ministers, it was determined 'by a ma-

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* It will be observed that we do not venture to assert that this address was the production of Dr. Owen, though, if it be genuine, as printed in an early number of the Gentleman's Magazine, the phraseology, in Owen always distinguishable, strikingly corroborates the authority of the original voucher, and unhesitating opinion of the Biographer. Mr. Orme thinks that Baxter was mistaken in supposing the address to have been spoken extempore. It is not, however, likely that Baxter, living at the time no farther from London than Totteridge, could have been mistaken. It is possible that Owen afterwards committed to writing his address to the king. His acknowledged ease and self-command in extemporaneous speaking, would have recommended him for his delicate and 'cautelous' service. See Orme's Life of Owen, p. 272.

'jority,' say the compilers of 'the case;' as 'their common 'sense,' says Dr. Calamy, in his life of Howe, not to present any address. This circumstance shows that the Independents and Presbyterians acted together on public occasions previous to the revolution. Notwithstanding this decision, two several addresses were presented to the king: the one prepared, as is generally believed, by Vincent Alsop, who was under strong obligations to James, and signed by certain Presbyterians; the other presented by that Congregational Jacobite, Stephen Lobb, of Fetter Lane, for the Independents. These are represented as the addresses of the collective Bodies, though Calamy says of the dissenting ministers that 'the far greater number stood it out,' that is, would not concur in any address. There is not the shadow of evidence adduced that the ministers of either Body met and acted as a community on this occasion. The compilers say of Alsop's address, 'it was presented in the name and as the 'address of the Body of Presbyterian Ministers.' They should have examined the address itself before they ventured to describe it. It is, as preserved in the Biographia Britannica, article Alsop, entitled, 'The Humble Address of the Presbyterians;' there is not one word about the ministers of the Presbyterian Body of London, or indeed about any ministers at all. It is 'subscribed on behalf of ourselves and the rest of our persuasion.' Who may have been meant by 'the Presbyterians' may be a question, but what right has any one to say an address so entitled was presented 'in the name of the Body of Presbyterian 'Ministers' of London?

The result of an examination of *all the instances* adduced to prove that the Presbyterian Ministers of London acted on public occasions as an organized Body, and were recognized in their corporate capacity, is that on no public or political occasion whatever have the Presbyterian Ministers acted together in any corporate capacity, disunited from the other non-conformists. We have seen addresses from 'several ministers of London,' from Presbyterian Ministers in small parties, from non-conformist Ministers generally, and from 'the Presbyterians,' in opposition to the wishes of the majority of their ministers. As from the revolution the two denominations avowedly and notoriously acted together on public occasions, there is not a record, at least there is not produced a single instance of any address to the throne presented by the Body of London Presbyterian Ministers since the act of Uniformity. We know this is cutting up the Presbyterian 'case' by the root, but we cannot help ourselves. Such a pamphlet as theirs was not made for criticism. It seems to have been published on the presumption that nobody would take the trouble to examine it.

It is a part of 'the case,' that the Independent and Baptist

Ministers of London, constituted, in the reign of Charles II. and of his brother, organized Bodies, distinct from each other and from the Presbyterians, and severally endowed with peculiar privileges. We shall merely mention the facts on which this presumption is founded, and leave our readers to form their own conclusion. Because, on the restoration, 'Lord Clarendon pro-'duced a paper, being a sort of petition from the Independents 'and Baptists,'* represented, without any authority, as two state addresses of the *two organized Bodies of London Ministers*, a procedure which made poor Baxter and the Presbyterians stand aghast, as likely to lead to a toleration of Socinians; and because, on occasion of Venner's plot, there were published 'A 'Remembrance and Declaration of the Congregational *Churches* 'and Public Preachers of their judgment, living in and about 'the City of London;' and because 'Mr. Nye and *some others* 'of the Independents were encouraged to go to the king;' as Baxter says†, or 'some of the non-conformists' *waiting privately* on the king,' as Calamy declares,‡ an event, in contradiction both to Baxter and Calamy, here magnified into a grand public procession, 'the Body of Congregational Ministers went to Court with an ad-'dress,' though Nye certainly failed in his attempt to procure an address; and because a part of the London Baptists presented to James II. an address as a worthy companion to that of Vincent and of Lobb already noticed—because of all these reasons, taken together with the facts alleged respecting the Presbyterians, the conclusion is thus logically deduced: 'It appears, from *the most* '*satisfactory historical evidence* that, during the reign of Charles 'II. and James II, the London Ministers of the Presbyterian, 'Congregational, and Baptist Denominations constituted three 'distinct, organized communities, recognized by the public au-'thorities of the state, and enjoying and exercising severally the 'privilege of presenting petitions and addresses in the royal pre-'sence.' The logic we leave with our readers; of the logicians we venture to inquire, whether it would not be more satisfactory to produce from the addresses which have been preserved, any one professing to have come from the Presbyterian Ministers of London? We fear that the sound of those words has never yet reached the ear of royalty.

In the reign of William III. the Presbyterian and Congregational ministers were associated on all public occasions; the Baptists by themselves presented their addresses to the throne. From the accession of Queen Anne the ministers of the Three Denominations have uniformly acted in concert. There can be on

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* Oldmixon, vol. i. p. 488. See also Baxter and Calamy.
† Life, part ii. p. 430. ‡ Calamy's Baxter, p. 305.

these points no controversy. A difference, however, of some importance occurs, respecting the manner or character in which the several parties acted. On the one side it seems to be implied that the ministers of the several denominations held occasional or frequent meetings, *pro re nata*, without being regularly constituted into distinct organized Bodies. On the other, that they already had formed themselves into distinct, definite, and permanent communities. We think the former the correct assumption, though the latter is indispensable in sustaining the case of the Presbyterians.

In the address, presented on the arrival of the Prince of Orange, occur these expressions: 'That they should all most 'willingly have chosen that for the season of paying this duty to 'his Highness, when the Lord Bishop and the clergy of London 'attended his Highness for the same purpose, which some of 'them did, and which his Lordship was pleased condescendingly 'to make mention of to his Highness, had their notice of that in-'tended application been so early as to make their more general 'attendance possible to them at that time;—that, therefore, 'though they did now appear in a distinct company, they did not 'on a distinct account, but on that only which was common to 'them and to all Protestants.'

Some of the Dissenting ministers waited on the Prince, together with the bishop and clergy of London, a few days before, and were noticed by the bishop as a part of the Body for whom he presented the Address. They could have attended on such an occasion in no corporate capacity, but simply as individuals permitted to present an Address. Yet, when the Dissenting ministers attended in a Body, they expressly declare that, had there been a more general attendance on the previous occasion, they would not then have appeared as a distinct company. This is clearly not the language of an organized Body, in the exercise of a privilege which belonged to them in that character. Dissenting ministers, in various parties as well as unitedly, have been permitted personally to address their Sovereign.

In the pamphlet under review, some notice is taken of the Union of the Presbyterian and Congregational ministers, partially commenced, as we have seen, after the declaration of Indulgence by Charles II., but finally consolidated in the year 1691. The ministers who were parties to this Union, amounting to about eighty, certainly constituted themselves into an organized Body, of which 'the Heads of Agreement assented to by 'the United Ministers, in and about London, formerly called 'Presbyterian and Congregational,' formed the basis. Still this was a Union of individuals, and not of previously constituted Bodies, and to that extent resembled the subsequent Union of the Three Denominations. That the Congregationalists did not act

in any corporate capacity, is evident from the fact that some of their number never belonged to the Union.* The Congregationalists, who had united, withdrew gradually, and not in a Body; and though most of them were accustomed to meet at Pinner's Hall on the same day and hour as the United Brethren associated at Dr. Annesley's Meeting-house; yet a few never joined their seceding brethren.† We ask, therefore, where at this time was the organized Congregational Body? Was it with the United Ministers? Some acknowledged Congregationalists never joined them. Was it with the separatists in Pinner's Hall? Some never associated with them. We have before us a pamphlet printed in 1699, professing to be a 'Declaration of the 'Congregational Ministers in and about London;' but we have also the answer to this pamphlet, which denies that it was issued by the Congregational ministers. In the rejoinder, instead of appealing to the Resolutions or Minutes of any Body of Congregationalists, the authors of the pamphlet say that, 'excepting 'two or three ministers, to whom we thought not fit to communi-'cate the said declaration, all the pastors of Congregational 'churches in and about this city, did consider and approve it.' It is evident they referred to individuals and not to a corporate Body.

The compilers of 'the case' say, 'Each Body remained dis-'tinct, observing its own rules, admitting its own members, regu-'lating its own internal affairs, and retaining its discriminating 'name.' This, as we believe, is pure invention, unauthorized fiction. We know nothing about Bodies, but the ministers who united under 'the Heads of Agreement,' avowedly and expressly abandoned the Sectarian terms, Presbyterian and Congregational; though it is true, that on the dissolution of the Union they reverted to their ancient designations. As no authority is adduced for their assertions, we can only say, that had we the honour of a personal acquaintance with the compilers, we would most earnestly entreat them, with the promise that no use shall be made of the information in this controversy, to give us some account of the rules and mode of admitting members in this Congregational Body. To prevent mistake, we add, that we know that many Congregational ministers were accustomed to meet in Pinner's Hall, some at the Amsterdam Coffee House, and several in other Friendly Associations; but we ask for a Body to which, in 1691, all the Congregationalists belonged. The meeting

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* Answer to Mr. Humphrey's Letter, and Answer to Report of United Committee, in Dr. William's Works, Vol. IV., *passim*.

† Dr. Williams says, Answer to Report, Vol. IV., p. 334, 'All the Con-'gregational brethren, except the Reverend and upright Mr. Barker, and a 'very few more, joined at a separate party from us.'

at Pinner's Hall commenced with three or four high Calvinists, and afterwards was gradually enlarged by seceders from the United brethren. This assembly, therefore, cannot be adduced as the ancient Congregational Board, existing and publicly recognized at the Restoration. We have a right to demand either the evidence of some other and older Association of Congregationalists, or the retraction of whole pages of unauthorized assertion.

The Baptist members of London, on two occasions, were, in the reign of William, permitted to address their Sovereign, as is expressed in the titles of both their Addresses, 'in behalf of themselves and their several congregations.'* These words are unfairly suppressed in the pamphlet under review, and the mutilated title given is, 'The humble address of the 'Ministers of the Baptist Denomination in and about the City 'of London.'

From the accession of Queen Anne the members of the Three Denominations have always united on public and political occasions, and have intrusted the management of their interests to a Committee, chosen in definite proportions by the several parties who have acted in Union. The ministers, however, did not then constitute themselves into a permanent Body, but merely assembled for specific purposes in their common character of Dissenters. To have been a minister of some one of the several denominations seems to have been all that was necessary to give a right to attend and vote at their meetings. We admit that the Presbyterians, from the dissolution of the Society of the United Ministers, formed an Association among themselves, and were sometimes called the United Presbyterian Ministers; but we are prepared to show that ministers were admitted on public occasions as Presbyterians who were not members of the Association. This Association grew out of a separation *on the ground of doctrinal distinctions* from the Congregationalists, and was formed in avowed opposition to the notions of Dr. Crisp; but the compilers of 'the case' tell us, page 32, that their Body was 'formed upon 'the principle of avoiding all doctrinal distinctions, and virtually 'dissolved as soon as such distinctions were permitted to be 'made.' We wish they had told us when it was so formed. Besides, the United Presbyterian Ministers were not associated with a reference to political occasions, but for 'their meetings 'on their private church affairs'—the 'placing ministers in the 'country in proper and vacant places'—the securing and educating young men for their ministry—and, in connexion with some

* Crosby, Vol. IV., pp. 278, 357.

of the laity, the distribution of the Presbyterian fund, and generally promoting the Presbyterian interest.*

As the meetings at Salters' Hall were held but a few years before the permanent Union of the Three Denominations, they furnish the best illustrations of the state of the Dissenting Body immediately previous to that event. We learn, from the 'Authentic Account,' page 18, that 'the names of all present were 'set down, and then called over one by one, each denomination 'being *to approve or disapprove of such as were reported* to 'belong to them, and exceptions were allowed to be made against 'any whose presence with us might be objected to.' Reflections were made upon the vote of some of the majority, although their right had been acknowledged at two previous meetings.† And further, the local limitations of the Body was undetermined, and discussed in several of the pamphlets published on the occasion—some confining the indefinite expression, 'in and 'about London,' to the bills of mortality, and others asking if it extended as far as Chelmsford or Maidstone. It is thus evident that within eight years of the formation of the General Union, the Dissenting ministers did not form a permanent and accurately defined Body, although often constituted into a Body for specific purposes, according to the circumstances of the occasion. Judging from the persons who were present at the Salters' Hall Synod, considerable latitude was then given to the expression, 'the London Ministers.' We are not, however, very anxious to press this point, because the Presbyterians appear to be in a dilemma, and to us it is a matter of perfect indifference on which horn they choose to be mangled. Is the present Presbyterian Body, the identical Body of Presbyterians which formed with the Independents and Baptists of London the Salters' Hall Convention? If it be not the same, where was it in 1719? We read of but one Body of Presbyterians, and they were at Salters' Hall. If it be the self-same Body, it stands committed to a doctrinal test, for that Body in Salters' Hall, that is, the non-subscribing majority claiming the title of the Body, 'freely de-'clared that we utterly disown the Arian doctrine, and sincerely 'believe the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity.' Either the present Presbyterian Body was not in existence in 1719, or, if it were, it adopted a doctrinal test. On either alternative, their 'case' is worthless.

We fear we have not only exhausted the patience of our read-

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* See, among the other pamphlets of the period, the Memoirs of Dr. Williams, addressed to Mr. Pierce, 1718.

† Defence of Reasons, &c., p. 33.

ers, but also taken a great deal of superfluous trouble in refuting 'the case' of the Presbyterians. It is vexatious to find, on glancing the eye a second time over their pamphlet, that it very quietly and comfortably refutes itself. The conclusion at which it arrives is thus expressed, p. 24: 'It has been shown, from the 'most decisive evidence, that the ministers of the several deno- 'minations, in and about the cities of London and Westminster, 'have, from the passing of the Act of Uniformity, and even from 'an earlier date, formed three distinct and organized associations 'or bodies, which, however changed as to their individual mem- 'bers, *have preserved their* separate character and *identity* down 'to the present time.' Yet we are told, p. 14, in reference to the dissolution of the 'United Brethren,' about 1697, that 'The Con- 'gregational Ministers either organized themselves into the social 'form under which they had been bound to one another before their 'union with the Presbyterians, or had embodied themselves *into a* '*new association* of a similar kind;'—and that 'the Presbyterian 'Ministers, also, had either fallen back into their former state, or '*adopted a somewhat changed mode of social incorporation.*' So that, although the Congregationalists formed a new association, and the Presbyterians changed their incorporation, yet they won- derfully contrived to preserve the identity of both bodies. The old Presbyterians would have been puzzled with the logic, as well as frightened with the theology, of their successors. Of their body it is predicated that, although it has changed its members, renewed its incorporation, altered its mode, we may add, lost its minutes, shifted its locality, altered its limits, revised its rules, abandoned its principles, forsaken its doctrines, abjured its spirit, changed its name, disowned its engagements, repudiated its object, and renounced its connexions; yet it is still the exact, selfsame, identical, *ipsissimum* body which cursed heretics in Zion College, took fright before Charles II. at the very possibility of a toleration of Socinians, joined the Independents in Stepney Meeting in a solemn recognition of three confessions of faith, two catechisms, and nine doctrinal 'Heads of Agreement,' pro- claimed in Salters' Hall its belief in the doctrine of 'the Blessed Trinity;' and, moreover, strange as it may seem, has been 'formed upon the principle of avoiding all doctrinal distinctions, 'and virtually dissolved as soon as such distinctions were permitted 'to be made.' The Presbyterians best understand their own con- stitution, which to us seems a strange compound of contrarieties. Will they kindly explain how their body, to which doctrine is virtual death, having been thrice killed with the poison, at Zion College, at Stepney, and at Salters' Hall, still lives, though somewhat ema- ciated, in the Library of Red Cross Street? Or is it the ghost of murdered Presbyterianism which still haunts the property of Dr.

Williams, and seems to threaten a visit to the palace and throne of the British monarch?

Whether the Presbyterians will present themselves at court is not for us to determine. According to their own account the privilege, even if a precedent could be found in the archives of England, has become obsolete by the lapse of a hundred and fifty years. We are, however, heartily desirous that they should appear before 'the face of the world.' Let their body show itself in its proper dimensions. Let it proceed by itself, and attract the gaze of the public. There will then be exhibited before the Sovereign of this realm the few relics of a once numerous and influential party. Some six or seven pastors, and as many elderly gentlemen, assuming or retaining the title and attire of the clergy, will represent the body whose voice was once heard in the most secret and the most mighty councils of the land. The fragments of the Presbyterian interest, the ruins of the old conventicle, the rags of the Geneva cloak, furnish a fair specimen of the practical working of the Unitarian creed. The lesson is precious, and ought never to be forgotten. So far from desiring to prevent the Presbyterian Ministers of London from appearing before the throne, we would show them in parade as publicly and as often as we could; we would bring them out in annual procession on St. Bartholomew's Day, and give them the opportunity, refreshed with ancient recollections, and glorying in their present prosperity, to address their fellow-citizens in language becoming their condition. 'We are the men who once filled your streets with our doctrine, though now our disciples are scarcely to be found; who once instructed your listening fathers, though now we are denied a pedagogue's place on the lower form of your children; who, once the rulers of your municipality, and the masters of your crowd, vindicated your liberty, dethroned your monarch, frightened an usurper, overawed a parliament, restored a king, and emptied your churches when expelled from your pulpits. Mark our numbers and condition, and observe what great things Unitarianism has done for the old Presbyterian cause! say, whether our anticipations are over sanguine or fanatic, when we tell you that our creed is making wonderful progress, and likely soon to become the religion of the world.'

Art. II. *Memoirs of Simon Episcopius, Pupil of Arminius, and subsequently Doctor of Divinity, and Professor of Theology in the University of Leyden. To which is added, a Brief Account of the Synod of Dort.* By Frederick Calder. 8vo. Simpkin and Marshall, London.

WE have, most assuredly, no partiality for ecclesiastical assemblies, however designated, when armed with power, either polemical or political: and we have this plain reason for our dislike—that we shrink from the sight of human passions and prejudices, intruding themselves, under the thread-worn cloak of zeal, into the sanctuary of God. We know of but one council, if council it must be called, concerning which there can be no question as to the purity of its motives or the correctness of its decision; and, waiving the matter of inspiration, it would not be difficult to prove that every such convention, since the Council of Jerusalem, including not only the infallible Council of Trent, but the no less unerring Synod of Dort, has done deep injury to the cause of Christian truth and charity. Yet is the history of such associations, whether ecumenical or provincial, of the highest interest and importance. They were at once the creatures and the controllers of their times; they expressed, but they modified the character of their age: they answered, to a certain extent, the purposes for which they were called together, but their very existence involved a dangerous concession either to political exigence, or to popular opinion, and the rulers who were able to resist or to evade, were wiser or luckier in their generation than those who yielded either to expediency or force.

The history of these assemblages includes a large portion of the history of Christendom. They serve, adopting a military phrase, as so many successive bases of operation, where the inquirer may halt, review his progress, and collect his resources for either making good his actual position, or facilitating his further advance. Each of them was a central point, towards which facts and motives had long been tending, and the very exercise of tracing out its secret and public history, includes the acquisition and collation of a great body of circumstantial evidence, bearing upon the great questions of doctrine or of discipline, which at that period agitated the Christian world. In this view, then, the economy of councils deserves the steady research of the ecclesiastical student, as a profitable task. If he should too often have to explore 'long passages that lead to nothing,' or to struggle through rugged and rather muddy paths, he will, on the other hand, find himself contemplating human character in some of its most impressive exhibitions, both of greatness and infirmity: he may see error long ascendant, opinion long perverted, the prevalence of evil apparently secured; but he will also discern truth gradually winning its way; oppression, amid its victories, rudely

shaken from time to time by the stern grasp of some master-mind, outstriding the slow movements of his age; and he will rise from his investigation with a better knowledge of the heart and the history of man, and with a clearer view of the dispensations by which God is preparing a people for himself, and triumph for his people.

Ecclesiastical history has rarely been written in a right spirit; and of a truth it requires, in whoever may assume the task, a combination of qualities very rarely uniting in the same individual. Piety, knowledge, mental power, may have been happily blended in some who have addressed themselves to the work, but there is a more excellent gift even than these, and we fear that there is still to seek the man who shall combine with these high and indispensable faculties, the still higher historical quality of an impartial mind, firm in its own convictions, but clear in discernment, and uniting skill to detect its own prejudices with strength to control their workings.

There are two names, among those who have obtained popularity in this department of historical inquiry, which may be cited in illustration of these suggestions. No man, we are sure, ever wrote with purer intentions than those which actuated Milner in his meritorious labours on Church History; yet, whatever value may in some respects attach to his work, there can be no question but that it is, on the whole, a failure. Yet was Joseph Milner a pious and strong-minded man; and his tract in answer to Gibbon, indicates considerable familiarity with ecclesiastical antiquity. Where then are we to look for the causes which prevented him from obtaining a more decided success in a series of labours, for which he should seem to have been competently qualified by knowledge, ability, and sincerity of purpose? Without adverting to certain countervailing deficiencies which tended to impair the effect of his better qualities, we should say that some of the most important sections of his book exhibit most injuriously the operation of strong prejudice, not merely in favour of established hierarchies, but against every thing that might tend to interfere with their power and permanency. Unless we greatly deceive ourselves, this fatal taint affects, in an especially disadvantageous manner, his representation of the life and labours of Wickliffe; and it is not too much to affirm, of failure here, that it must invalidate the entire exhibition of the progress of that Reformation with which his mission had so inseparable a connexion. The second name, to which we had reference at the commencement of this paragraph, is that of Jortin, a writer whose qualities, whether good or bad, were as much at opposition with those of Milner as can well be imagined. In some respects, Jortin was admirably fitted for the task that he undertook; his quick and keen perception of error and incongruity, qualified him excellently for the

detection of abuses, while his sarcastic temper and epigrammatic style enabled him to expose them with overwhelming effect. But these qualities were unchastised by a serious and anxious spirit; a relaxed theology betrays itself too decidedly, not to shake our confidence in his representations and inferences. Neither does he seem to have made a distinct study of the original sources, or to have compared conflicting authorities, with fair and equitable purpose. If it had been possible for these two divines to have worked in partnership, to have so far combined their views and feelings as to melt down their prejudices and perversities, and to give the world a *conspectus* of ecclesiastical history, distinguished by the shrewdness of Jortin, and the honesty of Milner, the result would have been a work which might have supplied a deficiency that is still deeply felt.

But the volume in hand reminds us that our present business is not with the general history of the church, but with one of those important sections concerning which it is especially desirable to obtain accurate and ample information. The 'Synod of Dort' stands as the heading of a chapter, instructive in no small degree, but demanding in its management, a skill and intelligence very rarely to be found among ecclesiastical writers, and not these only, but that still rarer impartiality which, at all times desirable, is then most indispensably requisite, when the truth is to be elicited from the fierce contradictions of theological strife. In all such cases, the testimony of actors and bystanders is of the highest value, especially when it involves circumstances which may be taken as guarantees for the good faith of the witness. We shall presently show that there is valuable evidence of this kind to illustrate the theological character of the Synod of Dort; but as we have hitherto indulged in a somewhat excursive train of comment, we shall venture to continue it in a passing reference to another ecclesiastical convention, between which and the Dutch Assembly there might be traced more than one point of resemblance. The Dort Synod and the Council of Trent, however they might differ in other respects, agreed in these—in both, while religious matters were the ostensible, and with some the real, objects, political interests supplied the motives which urged on the more powerful promoters of the great tragi-comedy—both, too, were the last experiments of the kind that have been made on so large a scale, and so public a theatre. To the Tridentine convocation went legates, nuncios, prelates, doctors, ambassadors, and chargé d'affaires, of all sorts, characters, and capacities; and their public acts are on record to tell too plainly that their errand was to serve, not the cause of God, but the wretched rapacities of men. Among these ill-assorted groupes of divines and diplomatists, there was one individual presenting himself in an humble official character, but maintaining an unsleeping watchfulness over

every movement, public or private, of the different parties, and of the more influential personages. The great interests at stake were those of the pope and the emperor; and though the true policy of both was the same, the perverted views of Rome made that an issue which should have been a point of close and cordial agreement. It was the interest of Charles V. to obtain such concessions, and to effect such ecclesiastical reforms, as should tend either to conciliate the German Protestants, or to diminish the number of those who, though not altogether symbolizing with their creed, wished well to their cause from its obvious justice. On the other hand, the Vaticanists clung shamelessly to power and pelf in the shape of the most enormous abuses. The emperor's affairs at the council were committed ostensibly to the management of Don Francisco de Toledo, but among the canonists and civilians who attended him officially, there was one charged with a confidential mission by the famous Perrenot, then bishop of Arras, but better known historically as Cardinal Granvelle, and Chancellor of the Imperial Court. The fiscal Vargas was attached to the embassy for the purpose of keeping up a close correspondence with that eminent minister, and by a singular, though not clearly explained chance, a considerable collection of letters connected with this transaction, came into the hands of the Trumbull family. These papers, with others throwing farther light on the intrigues of that busy time, have never been published in the original, but two distinct translations have appeared, one into English, by Dr. Michael Geddes, at the suggestion of the Bishop of Worcester, Stillingfleet; the other, in French, by Le Vassor, under the patronage of Sir William Trumbull, Secretary of State in the reign of William III. Better authorization cannot be desired; and the various illustrations given by the translators, especially by the foreigner, who frequently introduces citations from the Spanish, clear the matter from the slightest vestige of a doubt. In these letters will be found fearful expositions of the craft and knavery of papal policy; the diplomatic folk seem to have monopolized all honesty and good intention, while the gentry of the shaven crown ran a fair race with each other in faithlessness and rapacity. There was strange scrambling among the Spanish prelates for the good things in the gift of the crown, and it is amusing to see the smiling courtesy with which Granvelle *bows out* the various applicants. Vargas shows up the legate; Cardinal Crescentio, with an unsparing exposure, and altogether, though the observer may not always be able to check a lighter feeling, at the sight of so much grasping and so much grovelling, he will oftener yield to indignant emotion in the view of shameless rejection of lofty principle, treacherous compromise between interest and plain duty, base trafficking for the favour of the great, and utter disregard of the professed object for which the entire machinery was

set in motion, the advancement of religion. The letters of Vargas, Malvenda, and the Spanish prelates, might be advantageously attached as an appendix, to the immortal work of Father Paul.

Something of the same kind are the letters of John Hales, the 'ever memorable,' addressed to Sir Dudley Carleton, English Ambassador to the Stadtholder and States of Holland, in the reign of James I. Hales was chaplain to the embassy, and in that capacity only, without official character, was present at the public sittings of the Synod of Dort; apparently, by the wish of Sir Dudley, to whom he rendered a regular account of the proceedings. John Hales was a very different man from Francisco Vargas; inferior, if it be inferiority, in the subtleties of diplomacy; he stood on an unspeakably loftier elevation with regard to all that is powerful and original in mind. The letters in question are admirable illustrations of his clear and capacious intellect: shrewd and somewhat sarcastic, his pithy comments on the bitter wranglings of the different parties, show plainly enough how little the glory of God was consulted, and how much the bad passions and self-will of men. He avoids all political allusion, either from considerations of prudence, or because such 'high matter' came not within his commission; but his tact in theological matters, and his discernment in estimating character, are most admirable. Neither the Synodists nor the Remonstrants escape his shrewd detection; it was in truth a strange business altogether, and if any one wish to know how little good is likely to be effected by such assemblies, he cannot do better than read these piquant and instructive compositions. The representations of John Hales are confirmed by the statements of Walter Balcanqual, deputy from the Scotch kirk. He seems to have been an able and right-minded man, and his letters, read in sequence with those of Hales, will be found to throw light upon the transactions of the synod.

In truth, the Synod of Dort seems to have been, from the first, in what it is just now the fashion to call a false position. Tainted, at the very outset, by the strong suspicion of political rather than religious motives in the ambitious statesman who prompted, while they affected only to concede, its convocation: assembling in opposition to the wish of three, at least, of the most influential among the provinces: assuming the prerogatives of a judicature without appeal, and arraigning, in that character, the Remonstrants as a body of men under a criminal charge; in these and other respects, they exposed themselves to severe animadversion, and to direct challenge as a pre-occupied and unfairly constituted tribunal. Nor did they redeem these primary errors by skill and discretion in their interior management, or in the conduct of their proceedings. In that most important measure, the choice of a president, who was to be the director of their de-

liberations, and their orator on all public occasions, they appear to have made a mischievous blunder. Bogerman was, we take it for granted, a person of ability and learning, but he failed in what was on such an occasion even more important,—command of temper and courtesy of demeanor. He suffered himself repeatedly to be betrayed into a petulance, which contrasted awkwardly with the gentlemanly bearing and self-possession of Episcopius. His abrupt and vituperative dismissal of the Remonstrants, at the last, was strangely ill-judged; and when charged, in a private session, with having been *paulo commotior*, and with using *verba quædam acerba*, he seems to have made but a lame defence. There was indeed, but too much foundation for the charge, since he had gone so far as to taunt his opponents with *fraudes, artes, et mendacia*, and to threaten them with the *arma spiritualia* of the Batavian churches. To all this intemperate language, Episcopius replied by a calm though stern appeal to the righteous judgment of God; but Sapma was less guarded. *Exeo*, exclaimed he, as he quitted the assembly, *ex ecclesia malignantium*. On the other hand, it should never be forgotten that there were present in the Synod of Dort, aiding in its general proceedings and approving its doctrinal decisions, theologians eminent for wisdom, knowledge, and godliness, the lights of the Christian world: men who abhorred persecution in every shape, and taking no share in the subsequent crusade against the Arminians. That warfare was political not religious; it was directed against the Remonstrants not as a sect, but as a party; and they fell victims to the ambition of Maurice, not to the intolerance of the dominant sect. Without retracting or relaxing our protest against all such pio-political convocations, we shall not hesitate to express our conviction that the Synod of Dort, so far as the interests of religion were involved, was an instrument of much good: at a season of some hazard to the purity of evangelical doctrine, it made a vigorous stand in its defence; and, without pledging ourselves to the reception of all its theological definitions, we feel satisfied with its ultimate decisions, as giving, on the whole, a clear view of evangelical truth, and as establishing an effectual barrier against the advocates of a relaxed discipline, and a low standard of religious belief.

We come at length to Mr. Calder, and the proof that we do not mean to spend much time in the analysis of his book, may be inferred from the length and desultoriness of our preface. In truth, we must decline altogether any thing like a regular conference with a gentleman who, setting out with high professions of impartiality, fulfils his pledge by making his work a *ramassis* of queer and gossiping statements and annotations, all tending to prove that the author is a thorough-going Arminian, and that he cherishes a very satisfactory antipathy to Calvinism 'in all its branches.' We regret this exceedingly, because there has thus

been thrown away a fair opportunity of exhibiting and elucidating a part of ecclesiastical history which has not yet been presented in a compact and convenient form. We no more wish an Arminian to write in the language of a Calvinist, than we should like to see the process reversed: let an author, by all means, avow and support his opinions, calmly and courteously: but there is a wide difference between this reasonable maintenance of deliberate views, and the partizan spirit which incapacitates for the contemplation of a question, excepting under one particular aspect; which mingles gross personalities with doctrinal discussion, and writes history in the temper of a party pamphlet. That we do not go too far in applying these characteristics to the very zealous and self-complacent dogmatist, whose volume lies before us, will be manifest to any one who may take the trouble of going through a single chapter of its contents.

The life of Episcopius is not only an interesting but a weighty subject, and it might have been put to effective use by a competent and Catholic-minded writer. In its date it touches on events of the greatest importance in the political history of modern Europe, and inseparably connected with the progress of civil society. It demands for its adequate treatment the vigorous discussion of questions most momentous, and of principles which lie at the foundation of civil and religious government. The facts of the biography itself are both directly and collaterally interesting, and there are to be drawn from them inferences fraught with impressive admonition. Yet we cannot go into this attractive subject, since Mr. Calder does not supply us with sufficient materials; and we shrink from the herculean labour of reviving and sustaining, by extensive reference, recollections somewhat dimmed by lapse of years. There is one point, especially, which we regret our present inability to examine with the requisite precision; we could have wished for means and opportunity to trace out the history of that declension in sound doctrine which seems to have found its way into the Remonstrant churches, soon after at least, if not during, the time of Episcopius. This is a matter of deep import, and we should be gratified by seeing it adequately explained.

The personal character of Episcopius cannot, we believe, be questioned in any particular. He appears to have been courteous in demeanour, and of unblemished conduct, both in civic and domestic life. His natural abilities were great, and he had sharpened and strengthened them by constant exercise. As an elegant scholar he attracted the admiration of his contemporaries, and as a ready debater of all theological questions, he was put forward as their spokesman by the Remonstrants when cited before the Synod. On that memorable occasion, he proved himself *par negotio*, though he does not seem to have felt much scruple

in using an occasional stratagem in his dealings with an enemy. 'Episcopius,' says John Hales, 'is reported to have put a trick 'upon the seculars;' and in either instance he appears to have resorted with effect to the 'diamond-cut-diamond' system, in his dealings with those whom he doubtless considered as unprincipled adversaries. It was a manœuvre of this sort to put forward the decree of reprobation as the leading point of discussion, instead of taking the controversy on a large and liberal scale: the Arminians knew their popular ground, and the Gomarists knew it too, for they evaded the challenge. It is the high praise of Episcopius that he was not only admired but beloved; his enemies allowed his intellectual eminence, and for the most part, exhibited less personal acrimony in his particular instance, than might have been expected from the conspicuous share which he took in the struggle between two parties, whose warfare was marked by so much bitterness. It is gratifying to know, that after the agitations of the earlier period of his life, this distinguished man was permitted to return from an exile, disgraceful only to his persecutors, though painful to himself, and to spend his later years in peace and honour among his countrymen and friends: he died in April, 1643.

Were we disposed to exercise severity towards Mr. Calder, we might find ample materials in the strange *pot-pourri* which he has concocted in the shape of notes. There is, indeed, one passage of this kind from which we find it difficult to withhold the measure of severity which it deserves; we shall, however, content ourselves with leaving it to Mr. Calder's better consideration, whether the paltry circumstances, true or false, detailed at page 534, deserved insertion in the life of Episcopius, or in any other record whatsoever; and whether the language in which they are expressed, becomes the character of a gentleman or a Christian? Another of these singular annotations we shall insert:—

'We shall never forget the case of a lady, the mother—and naturally a tender, affectionate mother—of a fine family, to whom it was intimated, when advocating the doctrine of absolute election and reprobation, that, if the opinion she entertained was true, it might bear with an awful aspect on her own children. Winding herself up to meet the statement, she answered, with a calm front, a glassy eye, an unblanched cheek, and an air of assumed indifference, 'I can't help that; neither indeed have I any right to allow my feelings as a mother to be excited in opposition to the divine purposes.'—Note, p. 206.

Mr. Calder seems quite unaware of the utter worthlessness of this appeal, taken as argument; and of the strange ignorance of the courtesy due to sex and circumstance, that could allow him to use such language to a female and a mother. He appears incapable of understanding the dignified rebuke conveyed in what

he is pleased to represent as a demeanour of 'assumed indifferance,' and 'feigned sternness.' It has happened to ourselves to be assailed by this cogent sort of reasoning, and we most certainly did not imitate the forbearance of this lady; we contrived to let our opponent understand, in brief and 'stern' phrase, that, by an *ad hominem*, so unfeeling and so imbecile, he perilled his own reputation both as a man and a reasoner, without in any degree endangering our position. One more specimen and we have done with Mr. Calder.

'The assumption of a more perfect knowledge of *the Gospel*, as identified with an adoption of the opinions of Calvin and Beza, will not of course be given up without some lingering feelings of attachment to such an assumed eminence of attainment, by those who have been accustomed to advance it; and hence the editors of *The Eclectic Review*, in their number for February, 1835, when commenting on the works of the late Alexander Knox, Esq., who seemed to have had very strong Arminian propensities, and put forth Arminian statements, say of him, 'His intellectual range was lofty rather than comprehensive, the current of his thoughts ran more deep than clear; he is any thing but superficial, yet there are shallows every now and then in his reasoning.' We suppose, if the paradox may be allowed, that these *shallows* appear when he gets into the *deeps* of Calvinism. Still, however, there are great concessions to Arminianism in the above statement. Formerly it would have run thus. His intellectual range was *limited* rather than comprehensive; the current of his thoughts ran more *muddy* than clear; he is very superficial, and shallows *constantly* appear in his reasoning.'—Note, p. 439.

What can possibly be said in reply to such whimsical imputations as this? We have no recollection of the passage, and it is not worth while to go in search of it; but, as it stands, can any thing be more innocent of all reference to religious doctrine of any kind? It is simply an attempt, in terms highly laudatory, to give a discriminating character of a writer's peculiar cast of mind; yet, Mr. Calder's penetration has enabled him to detect in it, a 'lingering attachment' to 'an assumed eminence of attainment,' and 'great concessions to Arminianism'!

It has always appeared to us something worse than absurdity, that there should be any other than the most friendly difference between truly Christian men, whether they adopt the views of Calvin or Arminius. They unite in all the great lines of evangelical truth; they serve a common Master in the same spirit, and on the same grounds of faith; they harmonize in essentials, and, for the most part, agree in 'things indifferent;' why, then, should they not, when they both reach in the same cause, a difficulty common to truth—the great problem of God's supremacy, and man's accountability—make it the subject of friendly con-

ference *(amica collatio)*, rather than of harsh controversy. Has either party solved the mystery, or is it still among the deep things of God? However this may be, it certainly appears to us that the Arminian cuts the knot, while the Calvinist endeavours, at least, to untie it. The Arminian escapes the pressure for the present, only, to meet it farther on; he removes the *nodus* from the counsels of God, to connect it with the Divine prescience and the final judgment.

Before we close, we are anxious to assist Mr. Calder in a little matter about which he puzzles himself without any apparent necessity. Having described the spirited conduct of a burgomaster of Leyden, he informs us that 'there is a confusion among his-'torians as to the name of this magistrate, some calling him 'Adrian, others Vanderwerf. We think it was the latter.' Why not both? If we recollect rightly, his name was Adrian Vanderwerf. There was a celebrated painter of the same name and surname.

Art. III. *The Great Metropolis.* By the Author of 'Random Recollections of the Lords and Commons.' Second Series. 2 vols. 12mo. London: Saunders and Otley. 1837.

WE are glad to meet the author of the *Great Metropolis* again. The varied contents, and interesting character of his former publications, render him a most acceptable companion to the majority of readers. His *Random Recollections*, in which he first sought the favour of the public, was one of the happiest efforts of an inventive and fertile mind. Every unprejudiced reader was pleased with it, and all were surprised that something of the kind had not been previously attempted. Ill-natured critics exulted in the detection of minor inaccuracies; and disappointed senators, who had looked in vain for the measure of praise which their vanity craved, vented their spleen against the author and his book; but the country at large applauded his performance, and hoped he would prosecute his labours. This he did with the most praiseworthy diligence, and the *Great Metropolis* was the result. Every one was surprised at the amount of information which this work contained, and endless inquiries were made respecting the mode in which it had been gathered. Our author would seem to have been present every where. There was no niche or corner, no class or occupation within the precincts of the great city with which he did not show himself familiar. He seemed to have penetrated into the most exclusive circles of the aristocracy, and to have witnessed the unbridled exhibition of brute passions amongst the lower orders. The

Clubs, the Theatres, and the Gaming-houses, the Periodical literature, and the daily press, all passed under his review—and each became more familiar to the public, than it had previously been. We are glad to find that his labours were not unappreciated. The diligence displayed in collecting materials, and the skill with which they were combined, entitled him to the patronage of the public, and it is satisfactory to learn that that patronage has not been withheld. Of this we are informed in the brief preface to the volumes before us. 'The very great success,' it is remarked, 'of the first two volumes, coupled with the circum-'stance of their being necessarily incomplete of themselves, has 'induced the author to lose no longer time in the preparation of 'the present, than was rendered unavoidable from the nature of 'the undertaking.' This is as it should be, and we hope our author will continue thus to earn and to repay the favour of his countrymen.

The contents of the present series are as varied as those of the former. It is divided into ten chapters, the titles of which we subjoin, as an indication of what the reader may expect. Almack's, Political Opinions, Literature, Authors and Publishers, Bank of England, Stock Exchange, Royal Exchange, Old Bailey, Newgate, and Penny-a-liners. We are somewhat at a loss what passages to quote, having marked so many as to make selection difficult. We shall, however, follow the bent of our own minds, and having been most interested in those chapters which relate to literature and authors, we shall presume on our readers' taste being equally correct as our own, and make our extracts principally from them. The following passage will probably surprise many who are in the habit of reading the advertisements of some of our London publishers. We rejoice in the conviction of its truth, and shall be glad to find the statement corroborated by additional facts.

'About twenty years ago, the literary tide set in in favour of fiction. The extraordinary success of the Waverly Novels stimulated a host of writers to apply themselves to works of a similar class. If those who, after Sir Walter Scott, were the earliest in this literary field, did not acquire the same fame, or derive the same pecuniary advantage as the Magician of the North, they were sufficiently successful to encourage them to make new efforts, and to induce others to follow their example. Hence, about ten or twelve years since, when the mania for works of fiction was at its height, it was calculated that from two to three hundred appeared in the course of the year. All of them of any note could boast a sale of from 750 to 1,000: decidedly good ones often reached a sale of from 1,500 to 2,000 copies. A striking change has since come over the spirit of this class of literature. The authors, whose works of fiction a dozen years since commanded a sale of from 1,500 to 2,000 copies, cannot now command a sale of 500. I could mention many instances in confirmation of this, but it would be equally

invidious to authors and publishers. I may state in general terms, that on one day, about six months ago, four novels, two of them by authors of great celebrity in the high and palmy days of works of fiction, were published by different houses, and that the sale of neither of the works exceeded 350 copies; that of three out of the four was under that number. Publishers have now come to the conclusion—a conclusion forced on them by painful experience—that the days of this class of works are past for ever. Authors may continue to write, but publishers will not publish, except in comparatively few cases, even though the copyright were offered them for nothing. If authors *will* write novels, they must publish them at their own risk. This, indeed, has been the case, though the public are not aware of the fact, in many instances of late years, as I shall have occasion afterwards to show at some length. The truth is, that, with the exception of the works of fifteen or twenty authors, no individual ever now dreams of purchasing a novel for his own reading. The only copies bought are for the circulating libraries.'—Vol. I., pp. 122—124.

Very few readers are aware of the pecuniary risk which is incurred in the supply of their intellectual wants. It is frequently supposed by the uninitiated that the publishing business is a mine of wealth, and that a successful author, in any department, must be a rich man. Facts, however, are stubborn things, and what will our readers say to the following:—

'The number of books published last year in London, in the various departments of science and literature, were, as nearly as can be ascertained, 1500.

'It is calculated that out of every fifteen books published, taking them on the average, not more than one pays its own expenses. 'The Edinburgh Review' proved to demonstration, some years ago, that only one out of every fifty pamphlets which make their appearance, pay the expenses of paper, print, stitching, and advertising. On this subject I shall have something more to say, when I come to the chapter on 'Authors and Publishers.'

'Only one book, on an average, out of about 200, reaches a second edition. Out of 500 books, not more than one gets to a third edition; and out of 1,000 only one has the good fortune to reach a fourth edition.'—pp. 133, 134.

Some speculations must of course be successful, or woe would betide the hapless proprietor of many works, on which large sums have been expended, but for which the public are so unwise and ungrateful as to make no demand. The re-publications recently issued, have, in several cases, enabled the fortunate bibliopole to meet the deficiency of other accounts.

'The late republications, in a cheap and elegant form, of the works of popular authors, have very materially contributed to diminish the demand for new productions, published at the usual price. Nearly

40,000 copies of the re-publication of the works of Sir Walter Scott have been sold. Mr. Murray, it is understood, has disposed of 30,000 copies of Moore's 'Life and Works of Byron.' The same enterprising publisher has got rid of nearly 8,000 of his edition of the 'Works of Crabbe;' and I believe the sale of his Boswell's 'Life of Johnson,' and his 'Johnsoniana,' in ten volumes, has exceeded 5,000. That number of Allan Cunningham's 'Life and Works of Burns,' was sold by the publishers within twelve months of the completion of the edition. Mr. Valpy's edition of 'Shakspeare,' commanded a sale of 4,000; and his edition of 'Hume and Smollett's England,' was not much less successful. Messrs. Saunders and Otley's 'Life and Works of Cowper' has had a sale of some thousands. Messrs. Baldwin and Cradock's edition of the works of the same poet, has also had a tolerable sale, though I have not heard any statement of the extent. Of Mr. Macrone's edition of the 'Life and Works of Milton,' the sale has been between 1,500 and 2,000. All of these works have been sold at five shillings per volume; and in addition to the cheapness of the price, there have been, in every case, the further attractions of the best quality of paper, the most tasteful and accurate typography, beautifully executed engravings, and elegant binding. The circulation of so many volumes throughout the country within the last ten years, must of necessity have lessened, to a very great extent, the sale of those more expensive works which have been published during that period. The public taste, however, is beginning to be diverted from this class of publications, and is likely soon to be turned again into its former channel. Within the last two or three years the demand for such works has so much declined, that no publisher is likely, for some time to come, to engage with any re-publication of the same kind. The expense of getting them up is so great, and the price of each volume is so cheap, that a sale of less than 3,500 copies will not render the speculation a safe one for the publisher.'—pp. 137—139.

Are any of our readers aspiring after a literary life? If so, let us give them a word of caution. It is no uncommon thing to meet with ingenious and talented youths who regard the occupation of a literary man as an Arcadian state, securing both dignity and comfort. Deluded by a few extraordinary instances of success, they relinquish professions in which an honourable competency might be gained, and commit themselves to a current the direction and fluctuations of which are proverbially fickle. Literary occupation is a pleasing, and may be a remunerative engagement for a leisure hour. It may do well for an amusement, but in the great majority of cases it is a starving business. Many a noble spirit has been broken, and life has often been prematurely closed by the privations and bitter disappointments to which its followers have been subjected. Our author gives a sufficiently dark coloring to his picture, and has not, we suspect, insisted as he might have done, on the moral causes which co-operate in the production of the misery he depicts. If we are not greatly mis-

taken, much of the poverty and wretchedness which characterize the sons of genius, are attributable to their own improvidence or vice. But there is no questioning the general accuracy of his remarks.

'The number of individuals,' he says, 'who live in London entirely by their literary labour, has been variously estimated. It is impossible to say with confidence what the exact number is. Among the various conjectures which have been made on the subject, that which computes the number to be about 4,000 appears to me to be the nearest approximation to the truth. Of this number, perhaps about 700 are, in one way or other, connected with periodicals. Many of them, I need hardly say, have no better than chameleon's fare three days out of the seven. The joke of being poor was formerly used only in reference to poets; they have always been so remarkable for their poverty that the words poet and poverty have almost become synonymous. Now the evil of poverty is unhappily felt by the writers of prose as well as poetry, to an extent unparalleled in by-gone times. Grub-street was formerly supposed, by a sort of poetical fiction, to be the only locality of poor authors: now a dozen Grub-streets would not contain the number, even supposing they were to adopt the principle so strictly acted on among the Irish inhabitants of St. Giles's, namely, of a dozen of them vegetating in the same apartment. Now-a-days there is hardly an attic in the humbler localities of the metropolis, but at present has, or has lately had, its poor author as an inmate. I have spoken of 4,000 as being the supposed number of persons who live by their literary labour: were I to include those who have *tried* to live by their literary exertions, but have been obliged to abandon 'the profession,' because they found they could not earn by it what was sufficient to keep soul and body together, I should have to double the number. There are scenes of destitution and misery ever and anon exhibited among literary men—aye, and literary women too,—which would make the heart sick. And it ought not to be forgotten that want comes armed to them with aggravated horrors. They are of necessity persons of more sensitive minds than the majority of other sufferers from the ills of poverty; and what adds to the pungency of their distress is the circumstance of their slighted intellectual efforts being almost invariably mixed up with their physical destitution. I myself could detail cases of wretchedness among literary men which have come under my own observation, at the bare mention of which every rightly constituted mind would stand appalled.' . . . . . .

'The literary profession is, of all others, the most precarious. To-day you may be tolerably successful and in passably easy circumstances. To-morrow, you may be most unfortunate and have to encounter all the horrors of want. This year you may make a hit: you may write a work which will sell: next year, your effort is a decided failure: the day your work is born, is the day of its death.

'It is all very well for young men to apply themselves to literary pursuits as an amusement; but he who advises any young friend to make it a profession by which he is to support himself, incurs a re-

sponsibility of no ordinary magnitude. The probabilities are in the proportion of a thousand to one that he is advising him to adopt a course which will render him miserable through life. It was the invariable practice of Sir Walter Scott to caution all young persons who submitted their maiden efforts to him, against trusting for their future support to their literary labours. I some time since saw a private letter from him to a young man of good talents and great literary enthusiasm, in which he most earnestly warned him against trusting for his bread to his literary labours, adding, that if he did so, he might consider it as all but certain that he was leaning on a broken reed.'

pp. 140—146.

There is, however, a bright side of the picture, and it is but fair that we should give it. Some men (alas, how few!) have gained handsome incomes, or amassed a princely fortune, as the following extract will show:—

'In the previous chapter I have spoken of the exceedingly precarious character of the literary profession. My observations, however, will not have been understood as applying in every case. They do apply in the vast majority of cases, but there are numerous exceptions. The case of Sir Walter Scott was an illustrious exception. His average income from his literary talents could not, for some years before his death, have been much short of £12,000: for he received £3,750 for permission to print an edition of 10,000 copies of several of his novels; and he ordinarily wrote three novels every year, besides his various contributions to periodicals. Byron, too, turned his genius to excellent pecuniary account. From first to last, it is understood that he received upwards of £20,000 from Mr. Murray for his works. Moore also used to derive a large income from his intellectual exertions. For his life and works of Lord Byron, he is said to have received from Mr. Murray £2,000. Mr. Murray is understood to have given £2,000 for the copyright of Washington Irving's 'Life of Columbus.' For the first volume of Colonel Napier's 'History of the Peninsular War,' the same publisher gave the gallant author the sum of 1,000 guineas. It is calculated that Southey derives an annual income of about £1,000 from his literary labours. There is no doubt, I believe, that Messrs. Baldwin and Cradock gave him last year £1,000 for his Life, &c. of Cowper. That literature has proved, and ever will prove a very lucrative profession to those who have most distinguished themselves in its higher walks, will appear from a statement of the prices which many authors have received for their works.

'Mr. Edward Lytton Bulwer got, if my information be correct, no less a sum than £1,600 for his 'Rienzi,' from Messrs. Saunders and Otley, who have also paid him similar amounts for several of his other works. The same publishers gave Captain Marryat £1,000, or 1,000 guineas, I am not sure which, for his 'Japhet in Search of a Father,' though the work had, in some measure, lost the freshness of novelty, through its previous appearance in the 'Metropolitan Magazine.' Mr.

Galt always got from £200 to £300 for his novels; and when any of them came to a second edition, he usually got something more.

'I could mention several other instances, in which other authors have received douceurs from publishers, when the works reached second or third editions; but as the circumstance is by no means uncommon, it is unnecessary to refer particularly to individual cases. It is but right, however, to state, that this is, in some cases, more from considerations of good policy than from the mere impulses of a generous feeling. Publishers sometimes make authors presents of the kind referred to, as an inducement to write other works, of which they expect, of course, to have the publication. Let me mention one striking instance of genuine liberality on the part of the publisher to a successful author. Allan Cunningham was engaged to furnish Mr. Murray with six volumes of his 'Lives of the British Painters,' &c., at £600, or £100 each volume, for the 'Family Library.' He executed his task to the satisfaction of his employer and the public. Mr. Murray, on its great success, showed that he could appreciate merit by doubling his terms; in other words, by giving Allan £1,200, instead of £600, exclusively of a handsomely bound set of the 'Quarterly Review,' from the commencement of the work.

'I have mentioned the sum which Allan Cunningham received for the volumes which he furnished to Mr. Murray's 'Family Library.' For his 'Life and Works of Burns,' in eight volumes, published by Messrs. Cochrane and Macrone, he got £800. Mr. Galt got from the same publishers, £250 for his 'Autobiography.' The price which Mr. Robert Montgomery Martin received, from Mr. Cochrane, for his 'History of the British Colonies,' in five volumes, was about £800. Mr. Cochrane gave very liberal remuneration to literary men in several other instances which have come under my own immediate observation; but it is not necessary to allude to them in detail. Mr. Willis got £250 from Mr. Macrone, for his 'Pencillings by the Way.' What Messrs. Saunders and Otley gave him for his 'Inklings of Adventure,' I have not heard. The usual price of works of fiction, in three volumes, written by popular authors, has of late been from £200 to £300: formerly it was higher; but, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, the falling off in the demand for works of that class has been so great as to render it hazardous for publishers to offer a higher sum than the above. As it is, comparatively few, even of those written by novelists of distinguished reputation, obtain a remunerating sale. In two or three late instances, novelists of the first class have got as high as £500, but the publishers have been losers by the transaction. Illustrated works, got up in the style of the Annuals, have, in some recent cases, 'fetched' a high price in the literary market. Captain Marryat, in 1835, received for his 'Pirate,' in one volume, no less than £750, from Mr. Heath, who has brought out so many illustrated works. And Mr. Bulwer, if I remember rightly, got £800 for his 'Pilgrims of the Rhine,' also in one volume.'—pp. 171—176.

The extravagant expectations of young authors are proverbial.

We are all apt to judge of others from ourselves, and what more natural than that we should expect from the public a prompt and decided approval of what we regard with so much complacency. But the revelation speedily comes, and woe be to the man who has not strong nerves, or a sound head. Our author supplies some amusing instances, but we can only make room for the following.

'The late Mr. Johnson, of St. Paul's Church-yard, a well-known publisher of religious works, used to tell a laughable anecdote illustrative of the extravagant notions which authors often entertain of the demand there will be for their works. A clergyman called on him, and said that he wished him to be the agent for a volume of sermons, price 10*s.* 6*d.*, which he (the clergyman) had resolved on publishing on his own account. The bibliopole asked him how many copies he meant to throw off. 'At least 10,000,' replied the divine. The worthy publisher remonstrated, saying that 250 would be nearer the mark. 'Two hundred and fifty!' exclaimed the theologian, in a tone of stifled indignation at the censure cast on his professional acquirements, as he thought, by the observation. 'Two hundred and fifty!' Why there are at least 10,000 clergymen in the communion of the Church of England, and every one of them will have a copy. Get me 10,000 copies printed,' said the divine, with an air of self-importance, 'and if they are not all sold, I myself will have to sustain the loss alone.' 'Very well,' said the publisher, and the parties bade each other good morning. The volume of divinity appeared, and continued to be advertised in all the magazines and papers for nearly six weeks. In about three months after the publication, the reverend author came to town (he was the rector of a parish in Yorkshire), with the sole view of balancing accounts with his bookseller, and receive the anticipated profits. A statement of accounts was demanded by the clergyman, and instantly furnished by the other. It was substantially as follows:

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
To printing and correcting . . .	246	0	0
To paper	482	0	0
To boarding	180	0	0
To advertising	66	15	0
	974	15	0
The number of copies sold was 45, after deducting commission and allowance to the trade, amounting to	15	15	0
Making the balance due by author to his agents, &c.	959	0	0

'The rev. gentleman was quite horror-struck at this 'statement of accounts.' He declared himself a ruined man by the result of his publishing speculation. The worthy bibliopole, seeing he had fairly

'The manuscript was forwarded to the latter, and carefully examined. His opinion of it was the very reverse of that of the other 'literary man.' He pronounced it the best work of fiction he had ever read, and assured the bibliopole he had been entranced by it, and that it would create a great sensation among the higher classes, with whose habits the author manifested a most intimate acquaintance.

'The patron of literature was now thrown into a state of utter perplexity. 'Who shall decide when doctors differ?' was a remark he had often heard before, but the full force of which he had never until now experienced in his own person. To lose his £200 was an evil of no ordinary magnitude; but it would be a less evil than the loss of £500 or £600 by printing and advertising a book which would not sell. If, therefore, both his 'literary men' had concurred in condemning the work, he would have consented to the loss of his £200, on the principle of choosing the least of two evils. Here, however, their opinions as to the merits of the book were the very antipodes of each other. If the judgment of the first literary man were correct, the loss incurred by the publication would be enormous; if that of the other were sound, the bibliopole must make a little fortune by the work. To what decision, then, was the perplexed publisher to come? He waddled through the room, knit his brow, and heaved two or three broken sighs, as he thought of the dilemma in which he was placed. He had often experienced the sorrows of a publisher before; but here were sorrows of a new class, or to use his own words, a 'new series.' He thought with himself that if the unknown poet who begins his touching lines, 'Pity the sorrows of a poor old man!' had been alive at the time, and been aware of his distressing perplexity, he would have made it—'Pity the sorrows of a bibliopole!' While in this pitiable state, an acquaintance of mine, who was in the confidence of the publisher, chanced to call on him. 'O, Mr. Thomas, I'm so glad you're come!' he exclaimed, as the other entered his room.

''What's the matter?' said the latter.

''O, these two rascals of readers! (another of his terms), what a couple of vagabonds they are!' he answered.

''What have they done?' inquired Mr. Thomas.

''Why, the one pronounces a fashionable novel I have given him to read to be the most arrant trash ever penned, and says the author knows nothing of fashionable life; while the other represents the work as the best he ever read, and says the writer displays a most intimate acquaintance with the habits of the higher classes.'

''Well, that is differing with a vengeance, certainly!' said Mr. Thomas.

''It is, indeed,' observed the literary merchant; 'and what am I to do between the two rogues?'

'Stop a moment,' said Mr. Thomas, putting his hand to his head, and looking thoughtfully. 'Stop a moment! I think I know how you may decide at once as to whose judgment is to be relied on.'

''By what means can I decide the point?' said the bibliopole eagerly, his little countenance brightening up as he spoke.

''Of course you know the author?' said Mr. Thomas.

'"O yes, certainly,' replied the perplexed publisher.

'"Then you must know whether he be a man accustomed to move in the higher circles of society; and as the one literary man affirms that he knows nothing of the manners of the upper classes, while the other says he evinces a most intimate acquaintance with fashionable life, the fair presumption is that the one who is right as to that point, is also right as to the literary merits of the work.'

'"Bless me! I never thought of that,' said the publisher, overjoyed at the discovery of Mr. Thomas, and amazed at his own stupidity in not having made it himself.

'The literary man who pronounced the work to be one of transcendent merit, having been the party who expressed his conviction that the writer was in the habit of mixing with the upper classes of society, the bibliopole, of course, at once determined on publication. The work appeared; it made a great noise, and the author is now one of the most popular writers of the day.' pp. 227—236.

We must limit ourselves to one more extract, which we shall take from our author's account of the Stock Exchange. Such of our readers as have ever ventured within the walls of that most noisy and uproarious place, where the frolics of boyhood are strangely blended with the deepest and most hazardous speculations, will never forget either the scene or their reception. The facility with which large fortunes have been made and lost on the Stock Exchange exceed the most marvellous tales of romance. Let the following suffice, as an example:

'As illustrative of the sudden and singular vicissitudes of fortune which men sometimes undergo in that place, I may mention a curious instance in the case of Mr. F——, the present proprietor of one of the most extensive estates in the county of Middlesex. He had been for some years a member of the Stock Exchange, when, on becoming unfortunate, he had to suffer the indignity of having his name chalked on the black board; an indignity to which poverty more frequently than dishonourable conduct is subjected. The loss of a handsome fortune, coupled with the treatment he had received from the committee, worked his feelings up to such a state of frenzy, that chancing to pass London Bridge a few days after the battle of Waterloo, he, in his despair, threw the last shilling he had in the world over the bridge into the water. For a few moments afterwards he stood motionless on the spot, leaning over the parapet, and gazing vacantly on the water. The emotions which then passed through his mind were of a nature which no second party could describe; and which, indeed, even he himself could not by possibility convey with anything like their vividness or power, to the minds of others. His predominating feelings—but no idea can be formed of their burning intensity—were those of envy of the insensate stones, and of a wish that he himself were, like his last shilling, at the bottom of the river. That moment, but for the crowds of persons who were passing and repassing, he would have thrown himself over the parapet of the bridge, and ended his woes

by ending his existence. From that instant, he did form the purpose of committing suicide; and he began to move slowly towards home with that view. Before he had reached the other end of the bridge, he was met by a Frenchman with whom he had been on terms of great intimacy. He would have passed by the Frenchman, so absorbed was he with the wretchedness of his condition, without recognizing him. The latter, however, advancing towards Mr. F——, seized him by the hand, and inquired how he was. He managed to lisp out an 'O, how are you?'

'"This is a most important affair to both countries,' said the Frenchman.

'"What affair?' inquired the other, partially recovering himself from the frightful reverie to which he had been giving way.

'"Why, the great battle,' observed Monsieur.

'"The great battle! What great battle?'

'"The battle of Waterloo.'

'"You are surely dreaming. I have not heard a word about it: the newspapers make no mention of any battle having been lately fought.'

'"I dare say they do not. How could they? Intelligence of it has only reached town within the last two hours. The foreign secretary and the French ambassador alone know anything of it. Government have received the tidings of it by telegraph: it is not an hour since I parted with the French ambassador from whom I had the information. Napoleon is signally defeated.'

'Mr. F—— felt as if he had started from a deep sleep. He felt as if he had become a new man. The advantage to which such important intelligence might be turned on the Stock Exchange, the scene of so many disasters and so much degradation to him, immediately shot across his mind.

'"And the battle was an important one?'

'"*Most* important,' said the Frenchman, with great emphasis. 'It will prove fatal for ever to the prospects of Buonaparte. His usurpation is at an end,' he added, with evident joy, being a great adherent of the Bourbon family.

'"Were the numbers on either side great?'

'"I have no idea of the exact numbers, but the battle was the greatest which has been fought in modern times, and it lasted a considerable part of three days.'

'Mr. F—— cordially shook the Frenchman by the hand, and said he would call on him in a day or two. Hastily returning to the city, he hurried to a certain firm on the Stock Exchange, informed them that he had just become exclusively possessed of most important information, and expressed his readiness to communicate it to them on condition that he should receive the half of whatever profits they might realize on any operation they might have in the Stock Exchange in consequence of that information. They agreed to his proposal: he told them the result of the battle of Waterloo: they rushed into the market and purchased consols to an enormous amount. In the meantime Mr. F—— proceeded to another large house, and told them also

that he possessed information of the most important character, of which he was sure they had heard nothing. They admitted they knew of nothing that was not in the public prints. He made the same proposal to them he had done to the other firm: they also, not supposing Mr. F—— had spoken to any other party on the subject, at once closed with the offer, and, on the intelligence being communicated to them, one of the partners called the other aside—there were only two in the counting-house at the time—and whispered to him, not on any account to let Mr. F—— out of his sight, lest he should allow the important intelligence to transpire to some one else,—adding that he would that instant hurry to the Stock Exchange, and employ various brokers to purchase consols to a large amount. 'You'll recollect what I have said,' he observed to his partner, as he hastened out of the counting-house. 'I'll take special care of that,' said the other. 'Leave such matters to me,' he added in his own mind. A thought struck him. 'Mr. F——, will you just step into the parlour,' pointing the way, 'and have a lunch?' Mr. F. assented. They both proceeded to an apartment in another part of the house. A lunch was brought. Mr. F——, whose state of mind had deprived him of all appetite for some days past, now ate rather heartily. While busy with the things set before him, the other, rising from his seat, said, 'You'll excuse me for a moment, Mr. F——, while I transact a small matter in the counting-house.' 'Certainly,' said Mr. F——, 'take your time.' The other quitted the room, and, on getting to the outside, locked the door, unknown to Mr. F——, and put the key in his pocket. In about half an hour the first partner returned from the Stock Exchange, and stated that the funds had already, from some cause or other, risen in an hour or two three per cent. The cause, it is unnecessary to say, was the immense amount of consols which had been purchased by the first house to whom Mr. F—— gave the information. Both partners proceeded to the apartment in which they had shut up their prisoner, and apprised him of the rise which had taken place, adding that they did not think it advisable to purchase at the advanced price. He urged them to do so, expressing his firm belief that when the news of so important a victory by the allied powers had been received, the funds would rise at least ten or twelve per cent. The parties acted on his advice, and made immense purchases. The event justified the soundness of Mr. F——'s counsel, and the accuracy of his opinion; for on the day on which intelligence of the battle was made general, the funds rose to the amazing extent of fifteen per cent., which is the greatest rise they were ever known to experience. Mr. F——'s share of the profits between the two houses in one day exceeded £100,000. He returned next day to the Stock Exchange, and very soon amassed a large fortune, when he had the wisdom to quit the place for ever, and went and purchased the estate I have alluded to, which he still possesses.' Vol. II. pp. 64—71.

We have been so much pleased in the perusal of these volumes as to be wholly indisposed to the task of minor criticism. We have detected a few inaccuracies in the statement of facts,

and have occasionally regretted the want of severe revision in matters of style. But these are mere trifles, not unworthy, indeed, of our author's notice, but wholly beside the general merits of his work. We should be doing injustice to our own feelings if we did not, in closing, express our warm commendation of the more than respectful feeling towards Divine revelation which his pages evince. He never loses an appropriate opportunity of doing homage to religion. Instead of shrinking from the avowal of his sentiments, he glories in their utterance, and there is a freshness and warm-heartedness in his remarks which bespeak his sincerity.

It is unnecessary formally to recommend his volumes. The extracts we have made will attract more purchasers than any panegyric we could pen.

Art. IV. *Rienzi; or the Last of the Tribunes.* By the Author of 'Pelham.' 3 vols. London: Saunders & Otley, 1836.

THE history of every mental process is interesting. To observe how opinions grow into principles, and how the latter are brought to bear upon the conduct of individuals or societies, is neither more nor less, than philosophy teaching by examples. It is in this view alone, that the annals of man possess greater value than those of the Cranes and Pigmies, or the Frogs and Mice of antiquity. The volume of past ages should always be opened to lay bare the curious springs of motive and action; whereby it will be seen, that although leading ideas are constantly re-producing themselves, yet on the whole, a perpetual struggle to get right acts as the universal momentum, bearing forward mankind in masses, from one degree of improvement to another. Kings may seem to crush, aristocracies to domineer, and priests to delude, for periods comparatively protracted: but alternations of light as well as darkness, relieve the dreariest scenes. What is wrong carries within itself the seeds of its own dissolution. Truth and freedom and love are the real immortals, which will survive both the shocks of violence, and the silent canker of decay.

Reformers in all times have risen up to declare these things, and protest against existing abuses: but because the consul Crescentius, or Arnold of Brescia, became bonfires for a mob at Rome, superficial observers imagine them to have been madmen, or at the best, useless enthusiasts. Madame de Staël speaks, in her Corinne, of those 'Qui ont pris les souvenirs pour les esperances:' and there is much point as well as some truth in the expression. Yet it should be remembered, that no effort made in a right direction can be lost. An impulse is given, of which the

ulterior consequences may be developed upon a surprising scale; and Chateaubriand is correct in declaring that the earliest revolution in the world will be found to have told, in some mysterious and invisible manner, upon the last. Occasionally, two or three stages of the operation may be discerned: as for example, in the influence of Wycliffe's writings upon John Huss and Jerome of Prague; and again, in the manner in which they opened the way for Luther and his fellow-labourers. Or looking back upon political affairs, it may strike most persons that the French Revolution was precipitated by that in America; which last, in the New England and Middle States at least, felt to no slight extent the puritanism of the previous century. And thus it happens that each event forms but one link of a vast and sublime concatenation, while, from age to age, some master-hand, or some wonderful change of circumstances, communicates a tone to the whole,

'Striking the electric chain wherewith we are darkly bound!'

Rome in the Middle Ages furnished a remarkable illustration of this in the instance of Nicola di Rienzi, the son of an innkeeper and a washerwoman. The causes of that temporary success, which has so dazzled the imagination of patriots and poets from Petrarch's time to our own day, may be sought for in four sources: the historical associations cherished by the Romans even during their deepest degeneracy; the Paulician doctrines still existing in Italy; the residence of the popes at Avignon; and the grinding oppression of a lawless aristocracy.

In fact, what the senses are to the soul, external objects are to the senses. The peasants in Switzerland are proud of their Alps and glaciers, just as the same class of persons in Sicily are of the volcanic phenomena of Etna, or the majestic ruins at Giogenti. We see something of the same sort even amongst ourselves, from Shakespeare's Cliff at Dover, to the few but interesting reminiscenses so fondly cherished by the good towns-people at Stratford-upon-Avon. But what are any or all such associations compared with those, which hover over the Seven Hills and the Tiber? Mean and base and degraded as the successive races of inhabitants at Rome became, an appeal to the mighty monuments around them would always awaken ten thousand emotions, the more powerful from their being blended with the marvels of superstition. Their confused ideas, moreover, as to the real state of things in by-gone days, added to the general exaggeration, with which all are too prone to reflect or descant upon the past. No one can have investigated a volume of Muratori's Antiquities, or his Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, or have read a page of Poggio's lugubrious lucubrations, without perceiving that this was the case. The correspondence of the Bard of Vaucluse remarkably

confirms it. Monks and cardinals agree in their dull yet faithful testimony to the point. Tradition, like the spectre of the Hartz Mountains, always overawed, and sometimes scared an uninformed, and therefore credulous population. It was the magician rarely visible, but ever present in his spell and influences, to which every orator appealed, whenever an unpopular prelate was to be deposed, or a barbarian emperor to be kept at a respectful distance. The fallen marbles of the forum had a tongue or an echo, which spoke to the heart of the departed, though not forgotten, freedom and grandeur, they had once witnessed; and hence no names were more dear to the successors of the S. P. Q. R. than such official titles as Senator, Prefect, Consul, and Tribune.

Added to these considerations, it must be remembered that the Paulician doctrines were by no means extinct in Italy during the fourteenth century. Persecution proved a severe but most useful friend to mankind. She it was who so helped to scatter the seeds of truth, like 'bread cast upon the waters to be found 'after many days.' From Tephrice, in Asia, to Bulgaria, and following the source of the Danube even to the confines of Lombardy, round the head of the Adriatic, fire and sword pursued those flying sectaries, who presumed to think for themselves, and defy an Established Church. Amidst much that was fanatical and erroneous, they retained an indomitable attachment to the rights of conscience, and appear to have been the progenitors of the Albigenses, as well as of those who followed Arnold of Brescia and his disciples. Under various names of reproach, they excited the bitterness of inquisitors to a very late period; and that too amidst such intensity of scorn and hatred, as to be a powerful witness, not merely to their numbers, but to the effects produced by their opinions. Those opinions spread like wildfire, and undermined or overcame the prejudices of orthodoxy in multitudes, who found it impossible to close their eyes against abuses no longer to be concealed. The pen of Petrarch, and the genius of Dante, bewailed and lashed a herd of vices, which needed sterner remedies for their removal. Had printing, however, been then discovered, there is no saying how far the religious heroes of Wittemburg and Zurich might have been anticipated in Italy, or even in the Babylon of Christendom. Men were beginning to prepare for a change; although generations had still to elapse, before the golden moment would arrive.

The residence of the popes at Avignon formed a third circumstance favourable to the revolution effected by Rienzi. Bitter were the complaints on this score of every Christian country, with perhaps the single exception of France. Contemporaneous writers are fond of comparing it with the seventy years captivity of the children of Israel. Yet the representatives of St. Peter could urge very strong grounds for having transported the Apos-

tolic See from the tumults of Rome to the comparative tranquillity of the Venaissin. During a previous century they had withdrawn to Anagni, Perugia, Viterbo, and the adjacent cities; and whenever from these quiet but obscure stations they were induced to re-visit the Vatican, a reception, graphically described by Matthew Paris, too surely awaited them: Romani autem non valentes nec volentes ultra suam celare cupiditatem gravissimam contra Papam movere cæperunt quæstionem, exigentes ab eo urgentissime omnia quæ subierant *per ejus absentiam* damna et jacturas, videlicet in hospitiis locandis, in mercimoniis, in usuris, in redditibus, in provisionibus, et in aliis modis innumerabilibus. Quod cum audisset Papa, præcordaliter ingemuit! Hist. p. 757. Bernard, the Abbot of Clairvaux, tells the same story; and, in speaking of the Romans, his oratorical qualifications might suit our Exeter Hall on certain *Catholic* occasions: 'Who is ignorant,' says he, 'of the vanity and arrogance of the Romans? a nation nursed in 'sedition, cruel, untractable, and scorning to obey, unless when 'too feeble to resist. When they promise to serve, they aspire to 'reign; if they swear allegiance, they watch the opportunity of 'revolt: yet they vent their discontent in loud clamours, if your 'doors or councils are shut against them. Dexterous in mischief, 'they have never learnt the science of doing good. Odious to 'earth and heaven, impious to God, seditious among themselves, 'jealous of their neighbours, inhuman to strangers, they love no 'one, by no one are they beloved; and while they wish to in-'spire fear, they live in base and continual apprehension. They 'will not submit; they know not how to govern; faithless to 'their superiors, intolerable to their equals, ungrateful to their 'benefactors, and alike imprudent in their demands and their re-'fusals. Lofty in promise, poor in execution: adulation and 'calumny, perfidy and treason, are the familiar arts of their 'policy.' Gibbon, chap. lxix. Petrarch cites the passage; which although dark in its colouring, marvellously illustrates the narrative of Rienzi. Matters naturally grew rather worse than better, when their sovereign bishop appeared to have abandoned them for ever; and the populace was ripe for revolt, so soon as the opportunity should offer.

Nor was the desirableness of some change diminished, through the oppressions of that lawless aristocracy, which scourged without mercy all Italy in general, and its fallen capital in particular. 'They laughed at the authority of the magistrate within and with-'out the walls. It was no longer a civil contention between the 'nobles and plebeians for the government of the state. The 'barons asserted in arms their personal independence. Their 'palaces and castles were fortified against a siege, and their pri-'vate quarrels were maintained by the number of their vassals.' Passing over the famous Frangipani, the Corsi, the Savelli, the

Conti, and the Annibaldi, history in the age of Rienzi, has most concern with the rival houses of Colonna and Orsini. Their hereditary feud distracted for above 250 years the ecclesiastical state. The latter were Guelphs, the former Ghibellines. 'The 'eagle and the keys,' says Gibbon, 'were displayed in their ad- 'verse banners; and the two factions of Italy most furiously 'raged, when the origin and nature of the dispute were long 'since forgotten. After the retreat of the popes to Avignon, 'they disputed in arms the vacant republic; and the mischiefs of 'discord were perpetuated by the wretched compromise of elect- 'ing each year two rival senators. By their private hostilities the 'city and country were desolated; and the fluctuating balance 'inclined with their alternate success.' It may well be imagined, that such a dispute could be productive of nothing beside suffering to the unfortunate people. Whichever party culminated, there was no relief for them. The honest burgher was crushed between the mail of contending barons, or fleeced with the ruthless shears which the church demurely carried under her mantle. Yet the oppressed had natural rights and natural feelings, as well as the oppressor. To have spoken out singly, or until protected by powerful combinations, would have insured any man the honour of being exalted upon the nearest gallows; and that with as little delay as possible. A mine, therefore, of public discontent accumulated in secret, until a very humble hand set fire to the train; and Rienzi availed himself of the explosion, to immortalize his name, in attempting deliverance for his country.

Nicola di Rienzi, as before mentioned, was a person in lowly life; though his father is said to have been an illegitimate son of the emperor, Henry VII., of the great house of Luxemburgh. Gabrini was the patronymic of his family. Having a taste for literature, he contrived to indulge it, and obtained access to manuscripts of many among the classics of antiquity; from whose pages he illuminated his own mind, and instructed his contemporaries. The associations around him all fanned the flames. When wandering amidst the monuments of the Via Sacra he would exclaim, 'Where are now these Romans? their virtue, their justice, their power? Why was I not born in happier times?' His friends listened, applauded, and multiplied; and a circumstance moreover had occurred, which exercised considerable influence on his mind. His younger brother having been murdered by some baronial ruffians in a fray, he loudly demanded justice from the Colonna, in whose palace he was allowed through his talents, to be an occasional guest. But a member of that family turned out to have been the guilty party; and what were a few drops of plebeian blood, when shed by a noble hand? His patron would have befriended him, had the villain been on any other side than his own; but as it was, Rienzi addressed his bitter sup-

plications to ears of adamant. This incident very appropriately forms the first chapter in these volumes; nor has their ingenious author failed to display his powers in describing the lonely walk along the banks of the Tiber; the attempts of two parties, one to protect and the other to detain a corn-vessel laden with supplies for a fortress up the river; the ferocious attack and subsequent flight of the Orsini, the slaughter of the fugitives, and the death of the unfortunate boy, whose fraternal protector (the future Tribune of Rome) witnesses his fate, and vainly sues for retribution.

'From that bloody clay, and that inward prayer, Cola di Rienzi rose a new being. With his young brother died his own youth. But for that event, the future deliverer of Rome might have been but a dreamer, a scholar, a poet,—the peaceful rival of Petrarch, a man of thoughts, not deeds. But from that time, all his faculties, energies, fancies, genius, became concentrated to a single point; and patriotism, before a vision, leapt into the life and vigour of a passion, lastingly kindled, stubbornly hardened, and awfully desecrated—by revenge!'
Vol. I., p. 24.

About this period, Italy, through the recklessness of her nobles, was overrun with robbers, equally flagitious with themselves, and only proscribed by the law, whenever it could catch and gibbet them with comparative impunity. They were in fact neither more nor less than baronial mercenaries, selling their swords to the best bidders, but governed by their own leaders, and forming *an order* by themselves. In other words, they were the Ishmaelites of the age—an ambulatory aristocracy,—too proud, for the most part, to veil their crimes under sounding titles, and too powerful to regard social institutions. Their employers had but one vice more than themselves,—and that was hypocrisy. Froissart frequently alludes to the privileged classes of the Grand Companies, blending as they did all denominations into one. 'Poor rogues,' says the amusing chronicler, 'took advantage of 'these times, and robbed both towns and castles; so that some of 'them, becoming rich, constituted themselves captains of bands 'of thieves. There were some among them worth 40,000 crowns. 'Their method was to mark out particular towns or castles, a day 'or two's journey from each other. They then collected twenty 'or thirty robbers, and travelling through bye-roads in the night 'time, entered the place they had fixed upon about day-break, 'and set one of the houses on fire.' chap. 146. Booty and beauty were of course their main objects; and heavy was the black-mail paid by friar and peasant for what was termed their protection. A personage, styling himself Duke Werner, had got together a larger pack of such wolves than any of his contemporaries in Italy, with whom he carried terror from one end

of the Peninsula to the other. His successor in fame and prowess was the celebrated Walter de Montreal, a gentleman of Provence, and Knight of St. John of Jerusalem; who contrived to engraft the poetry of his native vallies upon the barbarism of his wild vocation. His character and actions are finely interwoven by Mr. Bulwer with those of Rienzi. Both were ambitious; the patriot to save his country; the warrior to aggrandize himself. The former, brooding over the past, maintained that Rome was still *de jure* the mistress of the world, with that liberty for her rightful dower, of which he was resolved to attempt the restoration. The latter, under similar hallucinations as to the pretensions and destinies of the Eternal City, dreamt of nothing less than enthroning his own fortunes within her walls, upon the ruins both of the aristocracy and the people; in whose approaching collision he was therefore desirous of taking an active share. The one meditated an appeal to mind, and the other to force, for the attainment of his several purposes. Nor is the author less accurate in adhering to the realities of history, than he is skilful in softening their harder outlines, and throwing into contrast the fierce frankness of the soldier, with the mingled artfulness and fanaticism of the Cromwell of the fourteenth century.

'For nothing,' as he observes, 'ever so inspires human daring, as the fond belief that it is the agent of a Diviner wisdom. Revenge and patriotism, united in one man of genius, and ambition,—such are the Archimedian levers, that find in fanaticism, the spot out of the world, by which to move the world. The prudent man directs a state; but it is the enthusiast who regenerates it, or ruins.'—Vol. I., p. 124.

The task which Rienzi undertook was indeed gigantic. It was no less than to declare war against those who worshipped the blood-stained sword by which they lived and rioted. It was no less than to elevate the level of an entire generation by his almost unassisted efforts; to burst asunder those bonds which ignorance and oppression had riveted in Cyclopian forges; to present freedom and prosperity to a populace too corrupt to defend the first, even though they clamoured for it; and far too excitable, yet pusillanimous, to know how to preserve and profit by the last. The leading noble at Rome was old Stephen Colonna, whose portrait is well set before the reader, in the following description:—

'At a table, bearing the implements of writing, sat the old Colonna; a robe of rich furs and velvet hung loose upon his tall and stately frame; from a round skull-cap of comforting warmth and crimson hue, a few grey locks descended, and mixed with a long and reverend beard. The countenance of the aged noble, who had long passed his eightieth year, still retained the traces of a comeliness, for which in earlier manhood he was remarkable. His eyes, if deep-sunken, were

still dark and lively, and sparkled with all the fire of youth; his mouth curved upward in a pleasant, though half satiric smile; and his appearance, on the whole, was prepossessing and commanding, indicating rather the high-blood, the shrewd wit, and the gallant valour of the patrician, than his craft, hypocrisy, and habitual, but disdainful spirit of oppression.'—Vol. I., p. 182.

To oppose such a leader, in such an age, required just that combination of qualities, which perhaps at that time could alone have been discovered in Rienzi. There is no doubt, but that his motives were, upon the whole, as pure as the state of things, in so unenlightened a period, would allow; but the following remarks may well be weighed and remembered:

'However august be the object we propose to ourselves, every less worthy path we take to insure it, distorts the mental sight of our ambition; and the means by degrees abase the end to their own standard. This is the true misfortune of a man nobler than his age—that the instruments he must use soil himself: half he reforms his times; but half too the times will corrupt the reformer. His own craft undermines his safety;—the people, whom he himself accustoms to a false excitement, perpetually crave it; and when their ruler ceases to seduce their fancy, he falls their victim. The reform he makes by these means is hollow and momentary,—it is swept away with himself;—it was but the trick,—the show,—the wasted genius of a conjuror: the curtain falls—the magic is over—the cup and balls are kicked aside. Better one slow step in enlightenment,—which being made by the reason of a whole people, cannot recede,—than those sudden flashes in the depth of the general night, which the darkness, by contrast doubly dark, swallows up everlastingly again.'—Vol. I., pp. 250—1.

Walter de Montreal was now illustrating his chivalry by turning foresight and selfishness to the best possible account. Like a cormorant, he watched the surface of the waters, as Rienzi stirred their profoundest depths with his popular eloquence. The addresses of the orator were not merely made to the ear but to the eye. He threw a voice into every fragment—every moldering column—every moss-grown architrave and pedestal, from the Vatican to the Palatine. Borrowing also a hint from the religious mysteries of the church, he exhibited allegorical pictures in the streets and public places; which furnished him at once with a text and commentary for the most forcible appeals to his auditories. He had now emerged from the obscurity attendant upon his birth and circumstances. He had been selected as one of thirteen deputies to Avignon, who, in company with the other orders of the state, implored the holy father to return to the seat of the apostles. With readiness and ability he delivered an harangue before the papal court, which, partly from Clement VI.'s admiration, and partly through the friendship of Petrarch,

procured him the appointment of notary to the Sacred See. Up to that hour, he is said to have subsisted upon the charity of the hospital, and to have possessed but one garment in his wardrobe. The salary attached to his office therefore made him a rich man; and while in the receipt of five golden florins a day, he was also in that post of observation, which enabled him to survey the heart of Christendom, and discern both its strength and weakness. With clear perception he saw from the very first, that he must associate the church with himself in his designs. He, therefore, professed himself her zealous servant, and promoted with all his influence reformation in the collection of her revenues, and their application to the general weal.

Boniface VIII. had instituted, as is well known, the Roman Jubilee, in imitation of the Secular Games, at the close of the previous century. Flocks of pilgrims had on that occasion resorted to the tomb of the apostles; and so replenished their successor's treasury, that 'two priests stood night and day, with rakes 'in their hands, to collect without counting, the heaps of gold and 'silver, that were poured on the altar of St. Paul.' Clement VI. fell in with the wishes of his Italian subjects, and anticipated the inconvenient delay of a hundred years, by the substitution of the Mosaic term. His bulls, therefore, announced the festival for A.D. 1350; so that it became an important object in A.D. 1347, to convince the Christian world, that the roads were free from violence, and that devotees would be received in safety at the pontifical metropolis. To do this, it was as necessary, as it was politic and popular, to enforce order throughout the country, and peace in the city; in other words, to repress the license of the two robber classes—the nobles, and the Grand Companies. Rienzi seized the opportunity. He secured a connivance, however reluctant, at his plans, from the Bishop of Orvietto, vicar of St. Peter's patrimony, by representations of the incalculable advantages which would accrue to the papal exchequer, through curbing the barons and their retainers. Similar statements found an echo among the middle classes, whose trade and commercial existence must depend on peace at all seasons; but whose augmented profits from the jubilee would be seriously affected by its attendant circumstances. The populace fell in with the mingled motives of superstition and excitement. Their fondness for shows and processions remained unabated. They listened with greediness to Rienzi. His satires and lampoons, so unsparingly heaped upon their tyrants, fed a natural passion. His flattery towards themselves of course gratified their pride, and animated their hopes that deliverance might be at hand. The fragments of the ancient Lex Regia, whereby a fawning senate had conferred upon Vespasian his imperial prerogatives, furnished the patriot with an occasion to descant upon the legal source of power as irrevocably

resident in the people. The original copper-plate was displayed in the church of St. John, in the Lateran, and thither all ranks were invited to hear a political lecture. The democratic notary appeared in a magnificent and mysterious habit, and evoked by his explanations the preliminary murmurs of the storm. On that night Walter de Montreal was accidentally led to a lonely spot, where, as to what he witnessed, we are thus informed:

'The Provençal stood, though he knew it not, on the very spot once consecrated by the temple—the portico—and library of Liberty,—the first public library instituted at Rome. The wall of the ruin was covered with innumerable creepers and wild brushwood, and it required but little agility on the part of Montreal, by the help of these, to raise himself to the height of the aperture, and concealed by the luxuriant foilage, to gaze within. He saw a table lighted with tapers, in the centre of which was a crucifix; a dagger unsheathed; an open scroll, which the event proved to be of sacred character; and a brazen bowl. About a hundred men in cloaks, and with black vizards, stood motionless around; and one taller than the rest, without disguise or mask—whose pale brow and stern features seemed by that light yet paler,—and yet more stern—appeared to be concluding some address to his companions.

'Yes,' said he, 'in the church of the Lateran I will make the last appeal to the people. Supported by the vicar of the pope, myself an officer of the pontiff, it will be seen that Religion and Liberty—the heroes and the martyrs,—are united in one cause. After that time, words are idle; action must begin. By this crucifix I pledge my faith —on this blade I devote my life—to the regeneration of Rome! And you, (then no need for mask or mantle) when the solitary trump is heard—when the solitary horseman is seen—you swear to rally round the standard of the Republic, and resist with heart and hand, with life and soul, in defiance of death, and in hope of redemption—the arms of the oppressor!'

'We swear—we swear!' exclaimed every voice—and crowding towards cross and weapon, the tapers were obscured by the intervening throng, and Montreal could not perceive the ceremony, nor hear the muttered formula of the oath; but he could guess that the rite, then common to conspirators, and which required each conspirator to shed some drops of his own blood, in token that life itself was devoted to the enterprise, had not been omitted, when the group again receding, the same figure, as before had addressed the meeting, holding on high the bowl with both his hands,—while from the left arm, which was bared, the blood weltered slowly, and trickled drop by drop upon the ground,—said in a solemn voice, and with upturned eyes: 'Amidst the ruins of thy temple, O Liberty, we Romans dedicate to thee this libation. We, befriended and inspired by no unreal and fabled idols, but by the Lord of Hosts, and Him, who descending to earth, appealed not to emperors and princes, but to the fisherman and the peasant,—giving to the lowly and the poor the mission of revelation.' Then turning suddenly to his companions, as his features irregularly varying

in their character and expression, brightened from solemn awe into a martial and kindling enthusiasm, he cried aloud, 'Death to the Tyranny!' 'Life to the Republic!' The effect of the transition was startling. Each man, as by an involuntary and irresistible impulse, laid his hand upon his sword, as he echoed the sentiment; some indeed drew forth their blades, as if for instant action.'—Vol. I., pp. 170—3.

Nor were the conspirators faithless to their adjuration. On the evening of the next day, agreeably to a summons affixed on the church-door of St. George, the populace, led on by a blacksmith, named Cecco del Vecchio, awaited the apparition of the horseman, and the sound of the solitary trumpet. The moment came —the signal was given—and the result proved more than answerable to expectation. Through an intrigue with Walter de Montreal, who was overreached by the better knowledge of his rival, the principal barons were absent with their mercenaries from the city. Vast multitudes of the populace then assembled as they had been required, without arms; but with their minds ready to ignite, when the torch should be applied. It was for the re-establishment of the Buono Stato that they were gathered together; and while their enthusiasm was kept up to the boiling-point, thirty masses were performed before the altar to the honour of the Holy Ghost. In the morning, Rienzi and his accomplices, issued forth from the sanctuary amidst all that pomp and circumstance, which at once excites and overawes. He walked bare-headed; but with that exception, in complete and costly armour. The Bishop of Orvietto was on his right hand; borne along by the current of events, and the impulses of his own powerful colleague. Three banners waved in the air with appropriate emblems; one of Liberty, in which the seat of the Cæsars was personified by a female figure, holding a globe and triumphal palm over two lions; another of Justice, in which St. Paul extended a naked sword; and a third of Concord, in which St. Peter with his keys asserted his apostolical supremacy. Toward the capitol the procession slowly moved, amidst *vivas*, which rent the air; and from the balcony above the grand staircase, the Liberator of Rome promulgated a constitution to the people: 'It created, or rather revived with new privileges and powers—a representative assembly of councillors. It proclaimed as the first law, one that seems simple enough to our happier times, but hitherto never executed at Rome—every wilful homicide, of whatever rank, was to be punished by death. It enacted that no private noble or citizen should be suffered to maintain fortifications and garrisons in the city or country; that the gates and bridges of the state should be under the control of whomsoever should be chief-magistrate. It forbade all harbour of brigands, mercenaries, or robbers, on penalty of a thousand marks of silver; and it made the barons, who possessed the neighbouring territories,

'responsible for the safety of the roads, and the transport of mer-
'chandise. It took under the protection of the state the widow
'and orphan. It appointed in each of the quarters of the city an
'armed militia, whom the tolling of the bell of the capitol, at any
'hour, was to assemble, for the general protection. It ordained
'that in each harbour of the coast, a vessel should be stationed
'for the safeguard of commerce. It decreed the sum of 100
'florins to the heirs of every man who died in the defence of
'Rome; and it devoted the public revenues to the service and
'protection of the state.' vol. i., pp. 279—281. It is remarkable, as Mr. Bulwer observes, that neither Gibbon nor Sismondi appears to have consulted the original documents preserved by Hocsemius; since, to say the least, the *representative parliament*, which it was amongst Rienzi's first public acts to establish, is not *distinctly* mentioned by these able historians.

The prime mover in the revolution, who might have assumed any title he pleased, was contented with that of Tribune. Old Stephen Colonna hurried back to his palace with the presumption so common to his order. The madman, whom he had in former times condescended to patronize, might be destroyed he thought at any time; when the first alarm given from the great bell of the Capitol convinced him of his error. In flight lay his only safety; and, if he paused a moment in the suburb of St. Lorenzo, on his way to Palestrina, it was, as Gibbon observes, to lament his rashness and imprudence, 'which had not trampled out *the spark* of 'this mighty conflagration.' But as knowledge is power, so is ignorance weakness; and the barons were but eating the fruits of their own ways, and feeling the recoil of their own devices. The new Executive set itself to an immediate reform of the revenues. The impost called hearth-money, the salt duty, and the customs, had till that day averaged no more per annum than three hundred thousand florins. Within five months the salt-gabelle alone equalled that amount, being actually trebled in its net returns. The two following extracts, from the author of the Decline and Fall, are partially quoted by Mr. Bulwer; and it is, perhaps, hard to say whether the severe testimony of history is not quite as flattering to his hero's fame as the beau ideal of the novelist's imagination. 'After thus restoring the forces and finances of the 'republic, the Tribune recalled the nobles from their solitary in-
'dependence; required their personal appearance in the Capitol;
'and imposed an oath of allegiance to the new government, and of
'submission to the laws of the good estate. Apprehensive for
'their safety, but still more apprehensive of the danger of a re-
'fusal, the princes and barons returned to their houses at Rome,
'in the garb of simple and peaceful citizens: the Colonna and
'Orsini, the Savelli and Frangipani, were confounded before the
'tribunal of a plebeian, of the vile buffoon, whom they had so

'often derided; and their disgrace was aggravated by the indignation which they vainly struggled to disguise. The same oath was successively pronounced by the several orders of society, the clergy and gentlemen, the judges and notaries, the merchants and artizans; and the gradual descent was marked by the increase of sincerity and zeal. They swore to live and die with the republic and the church, whose interest was artfully united by the nominal association of the Bishop of Orvietto, the pope's vicar, to the office of tribune.'

'Never, perhaps, has the energy and effect of a single mind been more remarkably felt than in the sudden, though transient reformation of Rome by the tribune Rienzi. A den of robbers was converted to the discipline of a camp or convent; patient to hear, swift to redress, inexorable to punish, his tribunal was always accessible to the poor and stranger; nor could birth, or dignity, or the immunities of the church protect the offender or his accomplices. The privileged houses, the private sanctuaries in Rome, on which no officer of justice would presume to trespass, were abolished, and he applied the timber and iron of their barricades in the fortifications of the Capitol. The venerable father of the Colonna was exposed in his own palace to the double shame of being desirous, and of being unable to protect a criminal. A mule, with a jar of oil, had been stolen near Capranica; and the lord of the Orsini family was condemned to restore the damage, and to discharge a fine of four hundred florins for his negligence in guarding the highways. Nor were the persons of the barons more inviolate than their lands or houses; and, either from accident or design, the same impartial rigour was exercised against the heads of the adverse factions. Peter Agapet Colonna, who had himself been senator of Rome, was arrested in the street for injury or debt; and justice was appeased by the tardy execution of Martin Orsini, who, among his various acts of violence and rapine, had pillaged a shipwrecked vessel at the mouth of the Tiber. His name, the purple of two cardinals, his uncles, a recent marriage, and a mortal disease, were disregarded by the inflexible tribune, who had chosen his victim. The public officers dragged him from his palace and nuptial bed: his trial was short and satisfactory: the bell of the Capitol convened the people: stripped of his mantle, on his knees, with his hands bound behind his back, he heard the sentence of death; and, after a brief confession, Orsini was led away to the gallows. After such an example, none could hope for impunity, and the flight of the wicked, the licentious, and the idle, soon purified the city and territory of Rome. In this time (says Fortifiocca) the woods began to rejoice, that they were no longer infested with robbers; the oxen began to plough; the pilgrims visited the sanctuaries; the

'roads and inns were replenished with travellers; trade, plenty, 'and good faith were restored in the markets; and a purse of 'gold might be exposed without danger in the midst of the high-'way. As soon as the life and property of the subject are se-'cure, the labours and rewards of industry spontaneously revive. 'Rome was still the metropolis of the Christian world; and the 'fame and fortunes of the Tribune were diffused in every country 'by the strangers who had enjoyed the blessings of his govern-'ment.'—Gibbon, ch. LXX.

It has been objected to Rienzi by those who love him not, that the grandeur of his household equipages, and public processions, as much derogated from the real greatness of his character, as they were opposed to the simplicity in dress and attendance of the ancient Tribunes. Such persons, however, forget that the revival of liberty in the fourteenth century, through necessity, reflected the gaudy colours and manners of the day. As general habits and opinions then were, had the reformer perambulated the streets with a single beadle, and in an ordinary costume, he would presently have swung upon some convenient gibbet, amidst the contempt, if not the approbation, of all Rome. The seven hills and Campus Martius were no longer peopled by a race capable of appreciating, much less of admiring, a governor who could sleep upon straw or sup upon lentils. For bread and straws they had bartered their liberties thirteen hundred and fifty years before, and the resuscitation of literature was not enough advanced to warm and mould its age into an intellectual manhood. The liberator, therefore, worked with such wretched materials as he had; not with such as he could merely wish for. This is evident from his correspondence and other documents. He was compelled to show his new subjects that their idle splendour would not fall with the overthrow of their tyrants. He therefore covered his humble origin with sounding designations, such as 'Nicholas the Severe and Merciful; Deliverer of Rome; De-'fender of Italy; Friend of mankind, and of liberty, peace, and 'justice; Tribune august!' However preposterous such bombast may now appear, it was the inflation of the times, and manifests the authenticity of the narrative. His official insignia appealed both to the senses and superstition of the populace. His sceptre of polished steel enclosed a splinter of the true cross of Christ. His velvet or satin robes, lined with fur, and embroidered with gold, presented many mystical characteristics allusive to religion. Here was the jugglery of his statecraft—which, alas! has so long survived him. The horse on which he rode was white as milk; the trumpets and cymbals of his band were silver; the sun and stars, the dove and olive-branch, all shone in the great gonfalon of the Republic arching over his head; while the knighthood of the Holy Ghost, which he was to receive in the Lateran, would

have given no shock to his popularity and influence, had not a single false step demonstrated that the fabric he exulted in rearing was in reality unsubstantial as a vision, and ready to vanish into air.

Whoever has been at Rome will remember the Baptistry of Constantine, as well as the foolish legend attached to its porphyry vase. In this consecrated bath Rienzi resolved to undergo the usual knightly purification; but in so doing, if he hoped to reconcile his vanity with prudence, he altogether missed the mark. He had thus put forth his hand against the ark of the prejudices of his period; and its priests cursed him. He might have violated a virgin, or impaled a man, with far greater chance of impunity. The pope, princes, and people were alike scandalized. It was but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous to connect the anger of heaven against sacrilege with the bad management of his master of the ceremonies. When the Tribune threw himself for the night upon his bed, its framework broke down under him:

> Ex illo fluera ac retro sublapsa referri
> Spes Danaum, fractæ vives, aversa Deæ meus.

As a finale to the farce, when he showed himself in the morning, at the hour of worship, to the returning crowds, in a purple mantle and gilded spurs, the congregation found themselves eye and ear witnesses to a scene which could alone have been exhibited at Rome, and even there conceived by none but Rienzi. At the earliest pause in the service he rose from his throne, and, in the name of the Roman people, asserted their majesty and supremacy, by summoning the pope to abandon Avignon, and reside in his diocese; and by calling upon Charles and Louis, candidates for the imperial diadem, together with all the German electors, to submit themselves and their pretensions to the rightful masters of the world. In vain his episcopal coadjutor would fain have repressed his voice and gesture. Each and every admonitory remonstrance was drowned in martial music. The throngs of those who heard, and of those who saw, felt nothing disagreeable to themselves, in a ceremonial they were far from understanding. The Bishop of Orvietto could not help dining publicly with his fellow-tribune and their joyous admirers. Even the profanation of Constantine's bath must have been forgotten in the streams of wine which flowed from the nostrils of a brazen horse dedicated to that emperor's memory. Nor was the subsequent coronation of Rienzi less imposing; presenting, as it did, a similar admixture of absurdities, both spiritual and secular, as well as associations both human and divine.

Mr. Bulwer, with the tact of an experienced story-teller, has connected the vigil of his hero in the Lateran with a conspiracy

of the barons, and an attempt at assassination. The accident of the bed breaking down induces Rienzi to reverse his position in it; so that the blow of Rudolf the murderer struck at no vital part. The tribune darted upon his assailant, disarmed him in a moment; secured him for the rest of the night; and the next day, as the price of his life, extracted from him the names of his noble employers. Five members of the Orsini, and three of the Colonna family, being clearly implicated, were arrested at a banquet given by their intended victim, and sentenced to the scaffold. The nest of serpents might thus have been crushed at once; but here occurred the true source of misfortune to Rienzi and Rome. The moral courage of the former quailed at shedding so much patrician blood; although neither the forms nor spirit of justice had been violated at the trial. Would his patriotism have been found wanting had the criminals been plebeians? And if not—why not? 'Hath not God made of one flesh all men that dwell upon the face of the whole earth?' But the reformer flinched in an evil hour from his allegiance to this mighty though simple truth; and it was then that the spell of aristocratic fascinations withered his right arm! He was no longer the Samson of his era; but a mortal like other men. He terrified, insulted, and finally spared foes, whom no benefits could bind, nor any thing but revenge appease. All this is plain matter of history. Their lives were forfeited not to the lawgiver, but to the law; they were pardoned because, forsooth, they were magnates. They, however, swore fresh allegiance to their benefactor; received absolution from himself and the church, with bended necks and bursting hearts; accepted anew such honours as their enfranchised country could bestow, and remained traitors more deeply dyed than before. After a few weeks, withdrawing from the city, they assembled their vassals at Marino in open rebellion. And here neither Gibbon nor his copyists have rendered common justice to their subject. Rienzi proved himself as valiant in the field, as energetic in the cabinet. An untried multitude might retreat without laurels from an attack upon an immense baronial fortress, defended by the chivalry of Italy, and yet know how to deal with their enemies. Those enemies, to the number of four thousand infantry and sixteen hundred horse, attempted in their turn to besiege the metropolis. The walls seemed carelessly guarded, and the open gates almost invited their entrance:

'Did I not tell ye, lords,' said the Colonna, turning round triumphantly, 'that we should win Rome without a single blow? Grandson, where are now thy silly forebodings?' This was said to Pietro, one of his grandsons, the first-born of Gianni, a comely youth not two weeks wedded, who made no reply. 'My little Pietro here,' continued the baron, speaking to his comrades, 'is so new a bride-

groom, that last night he dreamt of his bride, and deems it, poor lad, a portent:—'

'She was in deep mourning, and glided from my arms, uttering 'Woe—woe to the Colonna!' said the young man solemnly.' Vol. II., pp. 231.

Pell-mell the proud barons entered—to bite the dust in death. Bands in ambush rushed upon them. Rienzi's battle-axe was felt as fearfully as his tongue had ever been. Crowds of the despised Romans drenched their soil in blood. Six of the Colonnas fell to rise no more, including the young bridegroom and his father. Their conqueror openly declared that 'he had cut 'off an ear, which neither pope nor emperor had been able to 'amputate.' But it is added that 'his implacable revenge denied 'the honours of burial; and the bodies of the Colonna, which he 'threatened to expose with those of the vilest malefactors, were 'secretly interred by the holy virgins of their name and family. 'The people sympathised in their grief, repented of their own 'fury, and detested the indecent joy of Rienzi, who visited the 'spot where these illustrious victims had fallen. It was on that 'fatal spot that he conferred on his son the honour of knight-'hood: and the ceremony was accomplished by a slight blow 'from each of the horsemen of the guard, and by a ridiculous 'and inhuman ablution from a pool of water, which was yet pol-'luted with patrician gore. A short delay would have saved the 'Colonna; the delay of a single month, which elapsed between 'the triumph and exile of Rienzi.' Gibbon, lxx.

The war had made a new tax necessary, and had moreover much augmented the number of widows and orphans at Rome. Private calamity, therefore, exasperated public discontent; so that a strong opposition was formed against the measures of the Tribune in his representative chamber. His government had already been compelled to appeal to force; and to maintain his ground at all it was necessary to carry matters through with a high hand. But, in the midst of all this, an excommunication had been obtained from Avignon; fulminated on the grounds of sacrilege, heresy, and rebellion. After fruitless interviews with the cardinal who brought it, the bull was solemnly issued, and turned the hearts of the bravest into stone. Rienzi soon discovered that he must lay down his power and withdraw, which he accordingly did, after the people had been once more summoned, as a last resource.

'On the face of the general multitude there was a common expression of irresolution and shame; many wept and groaned; none accused, none upbraided; but none seemed disposed to arm. It was one of those listless panics, those strange fits of indifference and lethargy which often seize upon a people, who make liberty a matter of

impulse or caprice, to whom it has become a catch-word, who have not long enjoyed all its rational, and sound, and practical, and blessed results; who have been affrayed by the storms that herald its dawn; a people such as is common to the south; such as even the north has known; such as, had Cromwell lived a year longer, even England might have seen; and indeed, in some measure, such a *reaction* from popular enthusiasm to popular indifference as England *did* see; when her children madly surrendered the fruits of a bloody civil war, without reserve, without foresight, to the lewd pensioner of Louis, and the royal murderer of Sydney. To such prostration of soul, such blindness of intellect, even the noblest people will be subjected, when Liberty, which should be the growth of ages, spreading its roots through the strata of a thousand customs, is raised, the exotic of an hour, and (like the Tree and Dryad of ancient fable) flourishes and withers with the single spirit that protects it.' Vol. II., pp. 273, 274.

In this way, and by such means, the city fell back into the arms of the church, and her ruthless servants, the barons. The latter, employing Count Pepin, of Minorbino, as their agent, quickly made all resistance hopeless, and seemed only resolved to recompense themselves for their lost time and recent humiliations. Rapine and violence again roamed abroad without fear or control: until aristocratic oppression becoming once more intolerable, fresh tumults ensued. The people, irritated to madness, even preferred the anarchy of two demagogues, Cerroni and Baroncelli, who passed across the dreadful scene, as the Danton and Robespierre of the Roman revolution. Rienzi, meanwhile, had escaped with his life, and realized all the incidents of romance, through the seven years which elapsed before his public return. During that interval he assumed the disguise of a hermit, a palmer, or an envoy, as circumstances required. He wandered over Italy, Germany, and Bohemia. He mingled with the pilgrims, who thronged to the shrine of the apostles at the jubilee; and there beheld with his own eyes, far more accurately than he could ever before have done, how hopeless must be the task of making bricks without straw, of reforming rottenness, of galvanising a lifeless corpse. Yet in the depths of his indignation, Hope seems never to have quitted him. But it was becoming less and less substantial; until, like an iris over a waterfall, it remained the vision of his passion and fanaticism. Strange and various grew the workings of his mind. When the emperor Charles the Fourth had surrendered him to the pope, the liberator of Italy without reproach or complaint, removed from Prague to Avignon, in honourable custody. Notwithstanding the bold remonstrance of Petrarch, nothing less than the horrors of a prison awaited him. The years he passed there were beguiled by the perusal of his favourite Livy, and the study of the Scriptures. Yet the iron entered into his soul, and he contracted a painful disease from his

incarceration. The following is a picture, as affecting and faithful both to truth and nature, as Sterne's captive:

'The night slowly advanced, and in the highest chamber of that dark and rugged tower, which fronted the window of the Cæsarini's palace, sate a solitary prisoner. A single lamp burnt before him on a table of stone, and threw its rays over an open Bible, and those stern but fantastic legends of ancient Rome which the genius of Livy has dignified into history. A chain hung pendant from the vault of the tower, and confined the captive; but so as to leave his limbs at sufficient liberty to measure at will the greater part of the cell. Green and damp were the mighty stones of the walls, and through a narrow aperture, high out of reach, came the moonlight, and swept in long shadow over the rude floor. A bed at one corner completed the furniture of the room. Such for months had been the abode of the conqueror of the haughtiest barons, and the luxurious dictator of the stateliest city of the world.

'Care, and travel, and time, and adversity, had wrought their change in the person of Rienzi. The proportions of his frame had enlarged from the compact strength of earlier manhood; the clear paleness of his cheek was bespread with a hectic of deceitful glow. Even in his present studies, intent as they seemed, and genial though the lecture to a mind enthusiastic even to fanaticism, his eyes could not rivet themselves, as of yore, steadily to the page. The charm was gone from the letters. Every now and then he moved restlessly, startled, resettled himself, and muttered broken exclamations, like a man in an anxious dream. Anon, his gaze impatiently turned upward, about, and around, and there was a strange and wandering fire in those large deep eyes, which might have thrilled the beholder with a vague and unaccountable awe.

'Aye,' muttered the prisoner, 'these texts are comforting—comforting. The righteous shall not be always oppressed.' With a long sigh he deliberately put aside the Bible, kissed it with great reverence, remained silent and musing for some minutes, and then, as a slight noise was heard at one corner of the cell, said, softly, 'Ah! my friends, my comrades, the rats! it is their hours—I am glad I put aside the bread for them!' His eye brightened, as it now detected those strange and unsocial animals venturing forth through a hole in the wall, and darkening the moonshine on the floor, steal fearlessly towards him. He flung some fragments of bread to them, and for some moments watched their gambols with a smile. Manchino, the white-faced rascal! he beats all the rest—ha! ha! he is a superior wretch—he commands the tribe, and will venture first into the trap. How will he bite against the steel, the fine fellow! while all the ignobler herd will gaze at him afar off, and quake and fear, and never help. Yet, if united, they might gnaw the trap, and release their leader. Ah! ye are base vermin, and, while ye eat my bread, if death come upon me, and I were clay, ye would riot on my carcase. Away!' and clapping his hands, the chain round him clanked harshly, and the noisome comates of his dungeon vanished in an instant.

'That singular and eccentric humour which marked Rienzi, and which had seemed a buffoonery to the stolid sullenness of the Roman nobles, still retained its old expression in his countenance, and he laughed loud as he saw the vermin hurry back to their hiding-place—

'A little noise, and the clank of a chain—fie, how ye imitate mankind!' Again he sank into silence, and then heavily and listlessly drawing towards him the animated tales of Livy, said, 'An hour to midnight!—waking dreams are better than sleep—well, history tells us how men have risen—aye, and nations too, after wider falls than that of Rienzi or Rome.' Vol. III., pp. 51—56.

Pope Clement was succeeded by Innocent the Sixth, whose minister, the famous Giles Albornoz, had the task committed to him of pacifying the patrimony of St. Peter. Baroncelli was tribune of the Roman populace at this juncture; and contending nobles had shared among themselves all the territories and revenues without the walls. Albornoz conceived that Rienzi, if released, might accompany him with good effect; to be played off against Baroncelli, who, destitute of talents, had nevertheless a tiger's taste for human blood. Rienzi, therefore, was brought to a mock trial, and acquitted by a commission of four cardinals. Innocent absolved him from every charge of heresy and sedition, nominated him senator of the eternal city, and despatched him, under the auspices of his minister, to reconquer and reform it. The cardinal legate, however, was what history calls 'a consummate statesman;' that is, he was an incarnation of selfishness and pride; at once in his own person Archbishop of Toledo, the prime minister of an amiable but weak-minded pontiff, the descendant of the kings of Arragon, and the leader of an army. Before he could commence operations at Rome, the people had risen against Baroncelli, and destroyed him. Albornoz then regretted that he had allowed any one to share with him in an enterprise to which he now felt equal without any assistance from the popular senator. He allowed the latter neither money, nor troops, nor countenance. But Rienzi outwitted him, and made a public entrance amidst rejoicings, which must have revived the memory of former times. Once more his persuasive and kindling eloquence restored the Buono Stato to the mortification of both the barons and hierarchy. His second administration, much shorter than the first, is said to have avoided its errors. But every thing was against him—prejudice, bigotry, pride, disappointed avarice, universal malversation, suspicion, and popular indifference. There was no substratum of principle on which to re-lay the foundations of freedom; and the necessity, which he must always have foreseen, of imposing a fresh impost was the signal for his final downfall. In vain had order been partially restored, with something like a prospect of that restoration being

perfected. In vain had he secured, tried, and decapitated the captain of the Grand Company, Walter de Montreal, over whom the grave would have closed in shame, as over any other robber, had it not been for his riches, and the age of chivalry. The Romans betrayed their own interests, as well as their truest friend. The barons scattered everywhere fuel for sedition to feed upon; whilst Albornoz at least kept back the means of its extinction. Brief was the delay in those times between resolution and action. Early in the morning of the 8th Sept. A. D. 1354, before light, a furious mob invested the Capitol:

'The soldiers of the barons had already mixed themselves with the throng—more deadly weapons than stones aided the wrath of the multitude—darts and arrows darkened the air; and now a voice was heard, shrieking, 'Way for the torches!' Red in the sunlight, they tossed and waved, and danced to and fro above the heads of the crowd, as if the fiends were let loose among the mob. Straw, and wood, and litter were piled hastily round the great doors of the Capitol, and the smoke suddenly curled up, beating back the rush of the assailants.' Vol. III., pp. 336, 337.

The senator was basely deserted by his guards, and even the officers of his household. He let himself down by a sheet into the balcony, from whence he had so often harangued his fellow-citizens, and who, even then, as an anonymous, though contemporary, author asserts, would have recoiled from their murderous purposes, could he but have once obtained a hearing. Such was, and is, and ever must be, the superiority of mind and virtue over brute force and turbulence. Catching up a banner of the republic, he waved it, gesticulated, commanded, entreated, and was answered by a dreadful volley of imprecations and missiles. One of the last wounded his hand; upon which he withdrew into his inner apartment. But onward went the work of destruction, and he made an effort to save his life by escaping in disguise. He was discovered in the act, dragged to the platform before the palace, and, after another tremendous interval, in which some cried one thing and some another, a dagger was plunged into his bosom. Wounds and insults were meanly multiplied upon his dead body: and the only monument his friends could hope for must have been the admiration of mankind.

That admiration, it is believed, can never be in fairness withheld. An occasional transgression of the rules of temperance is the solitary vice attributed by his enemies to one who had sufficiently earned their hatred. We have purposely abstained from bringing forward that portion of our author's pages devoted to the romance rather than the real history of Rienzi. This portion is not large; and, while altogether distinct from the rest, is so skilfully handled, as to shed lustre upon the entire narrative. The

female characters, such as Nina the wife, and Irene the sister of the Tribune, move and make music, like the Syrens of the scene; and afford suitable opportunities for the introduction of many striking incidents, several most beautiful descriptions of scenery, and various portraitures of Italian manners. Perhaps Adeline, the fair mistress of Walter de Montreal, may become the reader's favourite. Her character, fortunes, and peculiar loveliness are just those creations of the fancy which interweave themselves with the affections of the heart. The men of her day were wild warriors, iron-minded oppressors, stern enthusiasts, or fettered slaves. But there were evidently a few such women as herself; injured but not corrupted; in life adored, and in death bewailed. The glory of our own age is, that virtue and happiness are becoming the features of immense social masses, instead of shining here and there, as insulated, though brilliant individualities. One reason, amongst others, for this is, that the regimen of the many is superseding that of the few: as the middle classes are growing up around the palaces of sovereigns and aristocracies, throughout the fairest realms of Europe. Governments, however modified, must have the public welfare for their basis; they can only last by identifying themselves with the laws of eternal justice, and they must offer equal protection to all, without partiality and without hypocrisy.

Art. V. *A Collection of English Sonnets.* By R. F. Housman. London: 1836.

THE want of encouragement to attempt any great achievement in poetry, recently experienced, has been attended by such results as were to be expected. Those who have sought to cultivate an acquaintance with the muses, have almost entirely confined themselves to the production of short pieces on Miscellaneous subjects. And among the various forms which have been employed for the expression of the writer's sentiments, that of the Sonnet has become the greatest favourite. The Sonnet, indeed, has of late years had so prominent a place assigned it in our English poetical literature, that we propose to make some detailed observations regarding it.

The origin of the Sonnet is uncertain. Some suppose it was invented by the Sicilians: others ascribe it to the Provenceaux. With which of these people, or whether with either of them, the Sonnet originated, is now a matter which must for ever remain in obscurity. With regard to the soil in which it was first most successfully cultivated, no uncertainty exists. That soil was Italy; and there it still flourishes in its greatest freshness and beauty. In Spain and Portugal it has been cultivated with considerable success. In France, as in England, it has never been

a favourite among poets of the highest order. It is true that some of the greatest poetic geniuses of France have written a variety of Sonnets, but they have in almost every instance ceased to attract attention. Whether this has been from the author's failing in this species of composition, or from the strong prejudice which exists in that country against the Sonnet, is a point which it is not in our power to determine. The probability is, that the effect may be traced to the conjoint operation of both causes.

The Sonnet has not only hitherto been more popular in Italy than in any other part of Europe, but there can be no question it will continue to be cultivated with greater success in that country than any where else. There is something particularly adapted to its peculiar structure in the language of Italy. That language possesses a smoothness and harmony to which no other European language approaches. The Spanish and the Portuguese are, in this respect, nearest the Italian,—which, by the way, is probably one of the principal reasons why the Sonnet has been more successfully cultivated in those countries, next to Italy, than in any other part of the world. In Italy the production of a good Sonnet will of itself insure immortality to the writer; while longer poems fall still-born from the press. To procure immortality by inditing fourteen lines, is surely procuring it on easy enough terms. In this country, on the other hand, there is perhaps no instance on record in which a writer has obtained any thing deserving the name of even a temporary celebrity by penning Sonnets, however great may have been their number. Shakspeare, Milton, Gray, Wordsworth, and many others of our most popular poets, have all written Sonnets; but if they had never written any thing else, their names would never have been heard of. To be a Sonnetteer, if a man be nothing else, is, in the estimation of many, to be something to which there attaches a sort of literary disrepute. Dr. Johnson defines a Sonnetteer to be 'a small contemptible poet.' In the lexicographer's days Sonnets certainly covered their authors with a species of obloquy in the notions of literary men. Since then they have acquired a more respectable standing in our literature; and have become much more numerous.

We will afterwards express our views as to the place which the Sonnet ought to occupy in English literature. In the meantime, let us glance at the peculiar characteristics of this species of poetic composition. As before mentioned, it is limited to fourteen lines, and is divided into four parts. These parts are subdivided into two quatrains and two tercets. Where the rules which govern the structure of the Sonnet are strictly observed, the subject will be set forth in the first quatrain, illustrated in the second; confirmed by the first tercet, and concluded in the second. The great excellence of the Sonnet depends on the way in which it is

finished. If it closes with a feeble or abrupt expression, it will be a failure, however terse and felicitous the diction in the previous parts. Hence it is, that some writer on the subject whose name we do not at this moment recollect, lays it down as essential to the success of the Sonnet, that it should close with a golden key. These rules, however, are not usually observed by our modern writers of Sonnets,—which is doubtless, one reason why this species of poetical composition has been generally regarded with so little respect. Even most of our distinguished poets, who have occasionally betaken themselves to the penning of Sonnets, have deviated more or less from those necessary rules. Gray, indeed, is the only English poet of note who has scrupulously observed them. In Italy they are most rigidly adhered to. Any Sonnet writer of celebrity in that country, would as soon think of finishing his Sonnet in twelve lines, or extending it to sixteen, as he would think of violating any of the rules to which we have referred. In this country, where one dashes off a Sonnet at a heat, no conception can be formed of the labour which is expended in Italy on the production of a good Sonnet. Petrarch, the most ancient, as well as most celebrated of the Sonnet writers of Italy, used to bestow months on the production of a single Sonnet. Bembo, a more recent Italian poet, is said to have had a desk, with forty divisions, through which his Sonnets passed in succession before they were published; and in their transition through each, they received some new touch from his pen. One would wonder at this immense expenditure of labour on fourteen lines of poetical composition, did we not recollect the fact already mentioned, that the production of a single good Sonnet insures the immortality of the author.

It was from Italy that the Sonnet was transplanted to England. The first Sonnet of any note was written upwards of three centuries ago, by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. As it is one of the earliest of our English Sonnets, we here transcribe it. It is headed, 'Night.'

Alas!—so all things now do hold their peace!
Heaven and earth disturbed in no thing:
The beasts, the air, the birds their song do cease,
The nightès chair the stars about doth bring.
Calm is the sea; the waves work less and less;
So am not I, whom Love, alas, doth wring,
Bringing before my face the great increase
Of my desires, whereat I weep and sing.
In joy and woe, as in a doubtful ease;
For my sweet thoughts sometime do pleasure bring;
But, by and by, the cause of my disease
Gives me a pang that inwardly doth sting,
When that I think what grief it is again.
To live and lack the thing should rid my pain.

Philip indited a variety of Sonnets. Some of them possess considerable merit. The one on 'Sleep,' appears to us to be among the best:—

'Come, Sleep! O Sleep! the certain knot of peace,
The bating-place of wit, the balm of woe,
The poor man's wealth, the prisoner's release,
Th' indifferent judge between the high and low;
With shield of proof shield me from out the prease*
Of those fierce darts despair at me doth throw;
O, make in me those civil wars to cease;
I will good tribute pay, if thou do so.
Take thou of me sweet pillows, sweetest bed;
A chamber deaf to noise, and blind to light;
A rosy garland, and a weary head.
And if these things, as being thine by right,
Move not thy heavy grace, thou shalt in me,
Livelier than elsewhere, Stella's image see.'

Mr. Housman only presents us with one of Sir Walter Raleigh's Sonnets. It is 'On Spenser's Fairy Queen.'

'Methought I saw the grave where Laura lay,
Within that temple where the vestal flame
Was wont to burn; and, passing by that way,
To see that buried dust of living fame,
Whose tomb fair Love and fairer Virtue kept,
All suddenly I saw the Fairy Queen;
At whose approach the soul of Petrarch wept,
And from thenceforth those Graces were not seen:
For they this Queen attended—in whose stead
Oblivion laid him down on Laura's hearse;
Hereat, the hardest stones were seen to bleed,
And groans of buried ghosts the heavens did pierce,
When Homer's sprite did tremble all for grief,
And curs'd th' access of that celestial thief.'

Passing over some Sonnets by Daniel and Michael Drayton, we come to the Bard of Avon. Mr. Housman gives twenty-six of Shakspeare's Sonnets. We can only make room for the following, on 'Beauty.'

'O! how much more doth Beauty beauteous seem,
By that sweet ornament which Truth doth give!
The Rose looks fair, but fairer we it deem
For that sweet odour which doth in it live.

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* Press.

The cankerblooms have full as deep a dye
As the perfumëd tincture of the roses,
Hang on such thorns, and play as wantonly,
When Summer's breath their maskëd buds discloses.
But, (for their virtue only is their show)
They live unwoo'd, and unrespected fade;
Die to themselves. Sweet roses do not so:
Of their sweet deaths are sweetest odours made;
And so of you, beauteous and lovely youth,
When that shall fade, my verse distils your truth.'

We pass over several unknown names and come to William Drummond, of Hawthornden, who, in our opinion, was one of the best writers of Sonnets which either England, or Scotland, or Ireland has produced. Mr. Housman gives seventeen Sonnets from Drummond. We have only space for one. It is headed, 'No Trust in Time,' and is as worthy of praise for its sound divinity as for its poetic merits:

'Look how the flower which lingeringly doth fade,
The morning's darling late, the summer's queen,
Spoiled of that juice which kept it fresh and green,
As high as it did raise, bows low the head;
Just so, the pleasures of my life being dead,
Or in their contraries but only seen,
With swifter speed declines than erst it spread,
And, blasted, scarce now shows what it hath been.
Therefore, as doth the pilgrim, whom the night
Hastes darkly to imprison on his way,
Think on thy home, my soul, and think aright
Of what's yet left thee of life's wasting day;
Thy sun posts westward—passëd is thy morn—
And twice it is not given thee to be born.'

This brings us to Milton, of whose Sonnets Mr. Housman presents us with sixteen. We give the one on his own blindness:

'When I consider how my light is spent
Ere half my days, in this dark world and wide,
And that one talent which is death to hide,
Lodg'd with me useless, though my soul more bent
To serve therewith my Maker, and present
My true account, lest he, returning, chide;
Doth God exact day-labour, light denied?
I fondly ask—but Patience, to prevent
That murmur, soon replies—God doth not need
Either man's work or his own gifts; who best
Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best; his state
Is kingly; thousands at his bidding speed,
And post o'er land and ocean without rest;
They also serve who only stand and wait.'

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Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best; his state
Is kingly; thousands at his bidding speed,
And post o'er land and ocean without rest;
They also serve who only stand and wait.'

Thomas Warton and William Mason come next, but we must pass them by to give the following from the Bard of Olney. It is headed, 'To Mrs. Unwin.'

'Mary!—I want a lyre with other strings;
Such aid from heaven as some have feigned they drew;
An eloquence scarce given to mortals, new
And undebased by praise of meaner things;
That 'ere, through age or woe, I shed my wings,
I may record thy worth with honour due,
In verse as musical as thou art true,
And that immortalizes whom it sings.
But thou hast little need. There is a book
By seraphs writ with beams of heavenly light,
On which the eyes of God not rarely look;
A chronicle of actions just and bright.
There all thy deeds, my faithful Mary, shine—
And since thou own'st that praise, I spare thee mine.'

The following is the only Sonnet given from Sir Egerton Brydges. It is headed, 'Echo and Silence.'

'In eddying course when leaves began to fly,
And Autumn in her lap the store to strew,
As mid wild scenes I chanced the Muse to woo,
Through glens untrod, and woods that frown'd on high,
Two sleeping Nymphs with wonder mute I spy!
And lo, she's gone! In robe of dark-green hue,
'Twas Echo from her sister Silence flew;
For quick the hunter's horn resounded to the sky!
In shade affrighted Silence melts away;
Not so her sister:—hark! for onward still
With far-heard step she takes her listening way,
Bounding from rock to rock, and hill to hill!
Ah, mark the merry maid in mockful play
With thousand mimic tones the laughing forest fill!'

Of William Wordsworth's Sonnets Mr. Housman gives no fewer than fifty-six. We extract the one which the author wrote 'After Visiting the Field of Waterloo.'

'A wingëd goddess, clothed in vesture wrought
Of rainbow colours—one whose port was bold,
Whose overburdened hand could scarcely hold
The glittering crowns and garlands which it brought,
Hovered in air above the far-famed spot.
She vanished—leaving prospect blank and cold
Of wind-swept corn that wide around us rolled
In dreary billows—wood, and meagre cot,
And monuments that soon must disappear.
Yet a dread local recompence we found;

While glory seemed betrayed, while patriot zeal
Sank in our hearts, we felt as men *should* feel
With such vast hoards of hidden carnage near,
And horror breathing from the silent ground.'

A single specimen is given of Coleridge's powers as a Sonnetteer, and three specimens of Mr. Charles Lamb's. We cannot find room for either of these; but must come at once to Lord Byron's. Mr. Housman presents us with three of his lordship's Sonnets. The following is 'To Genevra.'

'Thy cheek is pale with thought, but not from woe;
And yet so lovely, that if mirth could flush
Its rose of whiteness with the brightest blush,
My heart would wish away that ruder glow.
And dazzle not thy deep blue eyes—but oh!
While gazing on them sterner eyes will gush,
And into mine my mother's weakness rush,
Soft as the last drops round heaven's airy bow.
For through thy long dark lashes low depending,
The soul of melancholy gentleness
Gleams like a seraph from the sky descending,
Above all pain, yet pitying all distress;
At once such majesty with sweetness blending,
I worship more, but cannot love thee less.'

Then follow Sonnets from Professor Wilson, Archdeacon Wrangham, John Keats, Thomas Pringle, Barry Cornwall, Ismael Fitzadam, Richard Howitt, and several other writers, whose names are not generally known. Among the Sonnets thus given, there are several which possess considerable merit; but we have no space for specimens. A variety of notes follow, in which some interesting information is given respecting several of the Sonnetteers from whom Mr. Housman has made extracts.

We have thus glanced at some of the Sonnets which have been written by our most distinguished English poets for the last 300 years. The admirers of poems, if so they must be called, necessarily consisting of fourteen lines, will thank Mr. Housman for the selections he has made. We think, however, that his task might have been much more efficiently performed. How happens it, that while he has given from fifteen to twenty specimens of the Sonnets of certain deceased writers, he has not given a single specimen of the Sonnets of others? Above all, how happens it, that while he is so liberal in his specimens of the Sonnets of some of our living poets, he not only does not present us with any specimens of the Sonnets of others, but does not even name the authors at all. Mr. David Lester Richardson, the gentleman who started the 'London Weekly Review,' from

the ashes of which the 'Court Journal' arose, has acquired considerable celebrity as a writer of Sonnets. Some years since he published a volume of Miscellaneous Poems, the greater portion of which consisted of Sonnets, and yet Mr. Housman neither gives a single specimen from him, nor even alludes to him at all. We have not Mr. Richardson's volume at hand, otherwise we would have proved, by quotations from it, that some of that gentleman's Sonnets were equal, with two or three exceptions, to any thing Mr. Housman has given from living writers. Had Mr. H. been better acquainted with the works of modern poets, he would have found scattered among them a variety of beautiful Sonnets, which he might, with great propriety, have given. In the works, for example, of Mrs. G. G. Richardson, a lady who has written a great deal of delightful poetry, on almost every variety of subject, he would have found several Sonnets well worthy of a place in his pages. Take the following, from one of her volumes published a few years since, as a specimen of her powers in this way:—

'My darling boy! light of my sinking heart!
Through shades of hov'ring death, still sweet to me!
Tho' from thy dearer father warn'd to part,
Death seems more cruel when I gaze on thee!
Yet thou, (the only one of all I love!)
Wilt sigh not, pause not, drop for me no tear—
A broken toy, a scatter'd flow'r, will move
In thee more sorrow than thy mother's bier!
Fantastic thought! and yet how strangely sad—
That when in Death's cold clasp, all faded lies,
Thy youthful mother—once in thee how glad!
Thou may'st as now, gaze on with laughing eyes—
Peering on arduous tip-toe o'er her bed—
Unconscious that she never more shall rise!'

But what surprises us most of all in the omissions of Mr. Housman, is the way in which he has treated Sir Egerton Brydges. To the venerable Baronet he has only assigned as much of his space as would contain a single Sonnet. Shall we ascribe this to a want of knowledge of Sir Egerton's writings, or to a want of judgment? We can hardly ascribe the neglect with which the Baronet is treated to the first cause. We cannot persuade ourselves that any literary man of the present day, could be ignorant of the fact that Sir Egerton is incomparably the most voluminous of the existing race of Sonnetteers. We had lately the manuscript of what is intended to be a third volume of Sir Egerton's Autobiography in our possession, and he there states that he has, from first to last, written nearly 7,000 Sonnets. A very great proportion of these have been published. They are scattered, not

only throughout all Sir Egerton's own works, but throughout the various periodicals of the day. It is difficult, therefore, to convince ourselves that Mr. Housman could be ignorant of the fact of Sir Egerton's extreme voluminousness as a writer of Sonnets. Can it be then that he is aware of the fact, but does not rank Sir Egerton so high in the scale of Sonnetteers as to deem him worthy of more than the quotation of one Sonnet, out of the thousands he has published? If so, Mr. Housman's judgment is grievously at fault. We hold Sir Egerton to be equal, if not superior, to any contemporary writer of Sonnets. Wordsworth himself says, that some of his Sonnets are equal to any thing of the kind which has appeared in the English language. Southey has expressed a similar opinion. If we had space, we should prove the soundness of their judgment by various extracts. As it is, we can only refer our readers back to the specimen, 'Echo and Silence,' which, following Mr. Housman, we have already given. We know not of a more beautiful fourteen-lined production in the whole range of our poetical literature.

Hitherto we have expressed no opinion as to the station which the Sonnet is entitled to occupy in English literature. On this point a great diversity of sentiment exists. Some persons are inclined to assign to it, if not the highest, a very high place in English poetry: others contend that it is discreditable to our literature. Both opinions are, in our apprehension, erroneous. The truth in this, as in most other cases where extreme views are adopted, will be found to lie in the centre. That the Sonnet has no pretensions to be placed in a very high, far less the highest class of English poetry, may be inferred from the fact, that no man has ever yet attained to any great reputation merely by writing Sonnets. It affords no scope for first-rate talent. Its narrow limits, to say nothing of its peculiar structure, will admit of no great display of genius. The introduction of incident is out of the question. All that the Sonnet writer can aspire to, is the working out of a single idea. And even that idea must be one not much beyond the level of common place. Any very great or striking idea can never be done justice to in the limited space of fourteen lines, more especially as the writer must feel himself hampered with the necessary quatrains and tercets, not to mention the difficulty of finding words to rhyme. Is our position doubted? Then let us refer those who may be sceptical on the point, to the exhibitions which our greatest poets have made in their character as Sonnetteers. We have given a specimen of the Sonnets of Shakspeare, Milton, and Byron. And perhaps the Sonnets we have given from these distinguished men are the best they ever wrote. Do they sustain their character as poets in their fourteen line productions? Assuredly not. Their Sonnets are as much more inferior to their other works as were

the writings of their contemporaries to those productions of theirs which will transmit their names to the latest posterity. What do we find in the Sonnets of Shakspeare? Nothing that might not be reasonably looked for in any of those which are penned by the fourth and fifth rate poets of the present day. There is an utter absence of that brilliancy of thought, and singular freedom and felicity of expression, which pervade all his tragedies and comedies. Then, as to Milton, again,—in vain do we look in his Sonnets for the remotest approach to that sublimity of conception, and energy of language, which so strikingly characterize his 'Paradise Lost,' from the first page to the last. With regard to Byron, the contrast which he exhibits to himself, considered as a Sonnetteer and as the author of 'Childe Harold,' or of any other of his great poems, is no less striking. No sooner does he set himself down to the inditing of the fourteen lines, than the fire of his genius is utterly extinguished. His bold and impetuous spirit is at once tamed down; he is no longer the same man. We might extend the illustration further; but it is unnecessary. It must, we think, be sufficiently manifest that no poetic genius of the first class ought to have any thing to do with Sonnet writing. It is beyond the limits of possibility, that he can make such an achievement in that way as can add to his fame; he is sure to injure his reputation by the attempt, if he do not make himself absolutely ridiculous. A man possessing the true poetic spirit cannot sit down to indite a Sonnet without feeling himself, as it were, moving in fetters. All is stiff and artificial; the only surprise is, that such men as Shakspeare, and Milton, and Byron, could ever have stooped to such writing. They could only have done it in those moments—moments which, we believe, all great geniuses occasionally have—when the mind, from exhaustion, or some other cause, was suffering under a temporary debility.

There are persons who run to the other extreme, and represent Sonnet writing as altogether contemptible, and the Sonnet itself as unworthy a place in English literature. This is as great an error as the other. For certain purposes we regard the Sonnet as exceedingly well adapted. Nothing could be more so for the working out of a single happy, though not strikingly original idea. There are many pleasing instances of this in the Sonnets both of past times and in those of the present period. The Sonnet has this advantage in such cases, that the necessary restriction to fourteen lines prevents an undue amplification of one good idea,—which amplification of ideas is the besetting sin of most of our contemporary writers of poetry. For any thing plaintive or tender, the Sonnet is singularly adapted. Hence it will be found that all our best Sonnets are of this character. We are aware that some indiscriminate admirers of the Sonnet main-

tain that it is equally adapted for humour or satire. The supposition is altogether groundless. If it were correct, how happens it that none of our English poets have ever employed it for such purposes? There is no instance on record, so far as we are aware, in which it has been so employed. Certain we are, that if an attempt were made to apply it to humour or satire, the writer would only make himself ridiculous. Its very structure forbids the making any such attempt.

But to draw to a conclusion. We should be sorry to see the Sonnet banished entirely from our literature. We have read many Sonnets with unmingled pleasure. We have many a time and oft, felt the tenderest chords in our heart reverberating to their touching tones. Still we do not like to see this species of poetical literature cultivated to the extent it is at the present time; much less do we like to see such a man as Wordsworth—one who is capable of immeasurably greater achievements—boasting in the authorship of 400 of these productions. Poetry of a higher class suffers of necessity from this. However, as we before said, we think we see every where around us indications of a recurrence to a former state of things, when Sonnet writing, which is but a species of literary trifling, was only practised to a limited extent, and when works of a higher class were written, read, and appreciated.

Art. VI. *A New and Copious Lexicon of the Latin Language; compiled chiefly from the Magnum Totius Latinitatis Lexicon of Facciolati and Forcellini, and the German Works of Scheller and Lucnemann.* Edited by F. P. Leverett. London: Richard James Kennett. Boston: John H. Wilkens. 1837.

IT is certainly not one of the minor advantages of a literary nature which abound in the present day, that we are furnished with efficient lexicographical aid in prosecuting the study of the ancient languages. In addition to the contributions which have been made, from time to time, in this country towards improving our Latin dictionaries, we have, in no small measure, been beholden to continental scholars of eminence, who have consecrated their energies to this department of literature, and, in various ways, enriched its stores. To Facciolatus and Forcellinus, in particular, we are under the deepest obligations for the indefatigable diligence which their great work every where evinces, and to Mr. Bailey for his labour in translating the Italian significations, and collecting together the copious stores with which he has enriched his English edition. As a library book, it forms a splendid ornament; and as a book of reference, it will ever retain its value; but the fact, that the two quarto volumes, con-

taining upwards of 2,700 pages, are now selling at the reduced price of £2. 10s., proves, that something in a more convenient size and form was required for daily use in the tuition of youth.

The Lexicon announced at the head of this article admirably supplies this desideratum. The lamented editor, who died soon after its appearance, assisted in his labours by Messrs. Bradford, Pirscher, and Torrey, all of them accurate and diligent scholars, has furnished a work which will be found entitled to a distinguished place in the province of lexicography. He has not only drawn largely on the Totius Latinitatis, and availed himself of the best Latin-German Lexicons, especially those of Scheller and Luenemann, but has applied to the selection of his matter, and the arrangement of the different meanings of words, those principles of taste, and sound critical judgment, which the advanced state of learning imperiously demands. Besides giving exact definitions of words, their derivations, and relations, he is singularly happy in presenting the various phrases and idioms, in their natural places, to the view; and appears to have succeeded admirably in distinguishing the nicer shades and modifications to which the meanings of the words are subject. Considerable attention has been paid to etymology—especially that of such Latin words as have been derived from Greek roots, making all due allowance for the circumstance, that many are in both languages derived from a common stock.

One peculiarly valuable feature in this Lexicon, is the appropriate supply of encyclopædial matter, which we find introduced in connexion with proper names, and such words as relate to the history, antiquities, and especially the mythologies of Greece and Rome, which, entering as they so essentially do, into the whole frame-work of Latin poetry, possess indisputable claims on a place in works of such a nature.

The following specimens, selected at random, will convey to our readers a pretty accurate idea of a production, which does equal credit to American scholarship and the American press.

'Ægrē (æger), adverb, *unwillingly, discontentedly, with chagrin, with inconvenience,* graviter, moleste, ægro, invitove animo, δυσχερῶς. *Cic.* Si quis ægre ferat, se pauperem esse. *Id.* Nihil vidi melius: itaque careo ægre. *Plaut.* Ægre pati. *Liv.* Quod ægrius patimur. *Sallust.* Ægerrime ferre aliquid.—¶ Ægre esse alicui, *to be unpleasant, troublesome, to any one Terent.* Ægre est. *This grieves me; this is hard. Id.* Non te pro his curasse rebus, ne quid ægre esset mihi? *That nothing should happen to displease me, put me out, grieve me. Plaut.* Quid tibi ex filio nam, obsecro, ægre est? *What is it connected with your son that grieves you? Id.* Nescio quid meo animo ægre est. *Something troubles me, I am not at ease.*—¶ Ægre facere alicui, *to trouble, vex, displease. Plaut.*—Ægre habere, *to bear it ill, to be displeased. Plaut.*—¶ Ægre often signifies, *with much ado, hardly, not easily,* χαλεπῶς. *Cic.* Ægre me tenui. *Id.* Nihil

ægrius factum est. *Sallust.* Omne bellum sumi facile; ceterum ægerrime desinere.

'Ătrāx, ăcis, m. Ἄτραξ, *a river of Ætolia; Plin.*—¶ Also, *a town of Thessaly. Liv.*—¶ Also, *one of the Lapithæ, father of Cæneus and Hippodamia;* whence Atracius, a, um, *Thessalian. Stat.* Atracia ars, *magic.*

'Iō (Ἰώ) us and ōnis, f. *a daughter of Inachus, king of Argus, beloved by Jupiter. As Juno became jealous of his intrigues, he changed Io into a cow; but the goddess, who knew the fraud, obtained from her husband the animal, and set over her as a guard, the hundred-eyed Argus, whom, however, Mercury, at the command of Jupiter, lulled to sleep and destroyed. After many misfortunes, upon Juno's being somewhat pacified, Io was changed again from a cow into a woman, and brought forth Epaphus, married Osiris, and became an Egyptian goddess, under the name of Isis. Ovid.*—The *nominat.* Ion is also found. *Ovid.*

'Thermæ (θερμος, η, ον, warm), ārum, f. *warm baths, warm springs,* θερμὰ ὑδατα.—Hence several towns are called *Thermæ,* on account of their warm springs; for instance, one in *Sicily. Plin.* Hence Thermĭtānus, *an inhabitant of Thermæ* (in Sicily), and Thermitani, *the inhabitants* of, &c. *Cic.*—¶ There were also artificial structures, called *Thermæ,* in which the water was heated by furnaces. These were not merely buildings furnished with bathing-rooms, but were also splendid edifices, highly adorned and arranged for various diversions and recreations. *Plin.* and *Martial.*

Tŏpĭcŭs (τοπικὸς), a, um, adj. *relating to the sources of arguments. Cic.* Institui topica Aristotelia conscribere, *h. e. a writing in which the sources of argument, topics, common places are collected, or pointed out* (the work of Cicero, called *Topica,* is extant). Hence, Topice, es, f. (*for* topica, *sc.* ars) *the science of common places, the art of finding arguments. Cic.*

'Ūncĭă (unc.) æ, f. *the twelfth part of an as;* also, *the twelfth part* of any whole, as of a pound. *Plaut.* Auri pondo uncia. *Plin.* Uncia aloes, *the twelfth part of a pound, an ounce.* Also of an inheritance; as *Cic.* Cæsar ex uncia (heres). Also, *the twelfth part of a* jugerum. *Colum.* Also, *the twelfth part of a foot, an inch. Frontin.* Hence, *Pandect.* Uncias usuras, *h. e. one per cent.,* for one twelfth per cent. a month, amounts to one per cent. per annum, (here *Uncias* is either an *adj.,* or *usuras* is in *apposition*).—¶ Also, *any trifle, a little bit, a small piece. Plaut.* Neque piscium unciam cœpi. *Juvenal.* Nulla uncia nobis est eboris. *Martial.* 'Nulla de nostro nobis uncia venit apro.

To the work is appended a Catalogue of Latin Authors, who wrote before and after the time of Christ; a Table of Abbreviations; and an Account of the Reckoning of Time among the Romans. We warmly recommend it to the attention of Tutors, and Masters of Schools, as one of the most valuable helps they can put into the hands of their pupils; and to all who are desirous of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the Latin tongue.

Art. VII. *The Communion of Saints; or, the Scriptural Principles of Church Fellowship and Government, delivered to a newly-formed Church.* By James Bennett, D.D. London: Hamilton and Co. 12mo. 1837.

THE author of this work was invited to give an address to a newly-formed Congregational Church at Reading. The address appears to have produced a very deep impression on the minds of those who heard it; and the result is, that the principles laid down on that occasion having received a fuller exposition from the writer, he has published it. We heartily commend him for so doing. The publication is small; but it requires, and will have, we doubt not, an attentive perusal, and we hope also a very wide circulation. We do not know how far our readers sympathise with us, but we have an almost unconquerable repugnance to big books. A folio is alarming—a quarto barely tolerable—an octavo readable—but a duodecimo, which we can carry in our hand, or put into our pocket, is an especial favourite. We have generally found, too, when a clever writer has to discuss an important subject, in a small space, that there is so much compression of thought, so much perspicuity in expression, such an absence of redundant ornament and mere verbiage, as give peculiar life and spirit to the treatise, which in larger works are often wanting.

The Essay now under review is a most satisfactory instance of the truth of the preceding remarks. It is well written, and well argued,—manly, honest, and powerful. Principles are laid down with precision and firmness. They are supported with courage and skill. Difficulties are fairly met. Objections are treated with the utmost candour. When they cannot be removed, —and that is seldom indeed,—the fact is admitted without scrûple. The argument is fully carried out, and the spirit displayed from beginning to end, is eminently upright and christian. We have rarely met with a work which contains matter of so much real value in so small a compass, nor with one which we can speak of with such undisguised and almost unqualified approbation.

It is stated, with much truth, that 'the great principles of 'Christian fellowship are two; that the Scriptures are the only 'authoritative rule; and that Christ is the only spiritual ruler to 'whom the saints must bow.' Our author maintains, that *tradition* is of no authority. He holds in light estimation what is called the testimony of the church; and shows the fallacy of the statement put forth in various quarters, 'that we can know the 'Scriptures only from the church.' To maintain that we must first know the church before we can know the Scriptures, and that we must first know the Scriptures before we can know the

church, clearly involves a contradiction. 'One of these two 'must be an independent witness; for to make their authority 'mutually dependent on each other is pure nonsense.' This is stating the question at the outset as it ought to be stated, and our readers shall see how it is handled by our author.

'But how can we examine what is called the church? Where can we find it? . . . . For what is the church? We shall shortly see that a single congregation of Christians is called by that name? Yet the testimony of one congregation cannot decide the agitated question; for there are others who have an equal right to be heard. Can we consult them all? Who knows where they all *are*, or *were*, during the first four centuries? For the earliest ecclesiastical history is exceedingly scanty and defective. . . . . The records we have are not invariably derived from the purest sources, but are so tainted as to excite strong suspicions of error and corruption. Yet the men who have written are the only witnesses we can consult; though we know well, from the example of our own days, that authors are not always the holiest and best of men; for they often publish error and folly, while thoughts more worthy of our adoption lie concealed in the bosoms of those who write nothing. . . . . Some of the earliest Christians became authors, because they had previously been Pagan philosophers, accustomed to dictate to mankind; and their writings prove that they had brought, from the schools of heathen philosophy, much of what they wrote, which soon corrupted the church from the simplicity which is in Christ. . . . . Origen and Tertullian are two of the earliest writers—the former in Greek, the latter in Latin; and they both labour under the charge of heresy. Clement Romanus, who is thought to have been that Clement mentioned by Paul, Phil. iv. 3, wrote an Epistle to the Corinthians, which is the most precious morsel of ecclesiastical antiquity; and yet it attempts to prove the resurrection by the foolish story of the Phœnix, which is assumed to be a fact. If I were to read to you some of the heathenish things which the other Clement of Alexandria has written, though he was one of the earliest theological tutors, you would exclaim, 'Away with such trash!' . . . . If Chrysostom and Augustine have furnished us with wiser and better things, it is because they have more largely expounded the Scriptures, their guide and ours.'—pp. 4—6.

Our readers will see from this extract in what a decided and fearless manner the author maintains his position. He does not allow his mind to be warped by an undue veneration for *old things*. He does not consider antiquity an infallible argument, and he gives a most striking illustration of the truth of his representation, which we cannot refrain from noticing.

'If any wonder at what has been said, supposing that the earliest ages must have been the wisest, because the nearer the fountain the clearer the streams, let them remember, that the first converts among the south-sea Islanders, the Hottentots, and the Chinese, will, in future centuries, be venerated as the fathers of their respective

churches: but who can suppose that they who come feeling their way out of the darkness of a Pagan education must prove wiser than their descendants, who 'from childhood had known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make wise to salvation?'—pp. 6, 7.

This settles the value of antiquity merely as such. The *wisdom of our ancestors* is a nearly exploded maxim; and if any of our readers are met with what is thought a convincing argument,—the testimony of the fathers, let them ply the weapon Dr. Bennett has put into their hands, and they never need be afraid of an antagonist who trusts to armour drawn from such a quarter. We recommend the excellent and talented Mr. Blunt to peruse this little volume.

Having adverted to the testimony of Scripture as an independent witness, which can be relied on, because it carries in itself the evidence of its divine original; and shown that a vast majority of those who believe it, do so, not on account of the testimony of the church, to which only the learned few have the privilege of access, but because their own hearts and consciences testify that it is divine; our author proceeds to establish another great principle, that no priest, or bishop, or pope is the authorized interpreter of Scripture, but that *every* man has a right to judge for himself, responsible to God alone. He handles, without any ceremony, the pretensions of the church to this office, whether it be the Church of Rome or of England. He denies that the Christian clergy are priests; for in the church there is only *one priest*, the Lord Jesus Christ—'and all we are 'brethren.' Ministers are not the church, for it is a holy brotherhood; and whenever they have arrogated this exclusive right of interpretation, they have themselves grown careless how they interpret, and the consequence has been to 'deluge the church 'with the most shameless contempt for the word of God.' 'But,' says our author, 'some well-meaning but timid men exclaim, 'What! would you give to every ploughman or mechanic a 'right to interpret a book so difficult as the Scriptures, and to 'oppose their judgment to that of learned doctors, educated at 'colleges?' He boldly answers, YES; and in this we cordially join; and if any of our readers have a doubt of the propriety of what is thus so broadly stated, we refer them, for full satisfaction, to the argument on pp. 20—23.

The sole supremacy of Christ to legislate in his church is then fully discussed. Kings, and councils, and parliaments have no authority with Dr. Bennett in matters of religion: but he puts the argument so forcibly that we must let him speak for himself.

'We contend that it is our birthright to choose the religion we deem most scriptural, without being punished for it, in life, or limb, or

honour, or estate. . . . Yet how few reflect that the KING is the only person in the realm to whom the privilege is denied! He is bound down to the religion established by law, on penalty of the forfeiture of his crown. But who that knows the value of his soul . . . can reflect on the position of kings, without exclaiming, Is this the price paid for a crown? What a snare is laid for the soul of a king! For who will deny that a throne is a tempting seat, and that such martyrs as will sacrifice royalty to conscience are not often to be found? But mark the tortuous ways of the serpent. In the outset, contending that kings should choose the best religion for their subjects; and, in the end, forbidding the king to be of any other religion than that which his subjects have chosen for him. . . . By violating their subjects' liberty of religion, kings have lost their own. . . . Nor will they ever recover it, but by restoring that of their subjects.' p. 31.

The author proceeds to consider 'the right application of the 'Scriptural principles of Christian fellowship,' which leads him to notice the various forms of church government, which he separates, for good reasons that are stated, into Erastianism, Romanism, Prelacy, Presbyterianism, and Congregationalism. We are glad that Dr. Bennett is just as decided on these points as on all others; and, while he shows that there is a specific form of church government in the New Testament, and maintains that it *is* of importance to adhere to it, there is no disregard of the opposite views; on the contrary, they are examined with candour and temper. We have lately heard some eminent Nonconformists speak very vaguely on this point, who seem to have a notion that it is of very little consequence *what* form of church government prevails; and we have been afraid whether, under this indifference, there has not lurked a tendency to priestly domination and supremacy unknown or unsuspected by themselves. Dr. Bennett will help them to firmer and more scriptural opinions if they will read his book.

Of course the doctrine of apostolic succession meets with very little favour in these pages. Its absurdity was never exposed more effectually, or in a more masterly manner; and we regret that we have not space to lay the argument before our readers. The chapter on the officers of the church is admirable, and the discussion of the voluntary principle is equally so. The old objection, about leaving ministers to the mercy of the people, when they have grown grey in their service, is manfully met; and Dr. Bennett, as a minister, puts in a plea for the *people* too; and very properly asks whether 'the evils that arise in the working of a 'divine system, by fallible men, are to be instantly laid to the charge of 'the people alone? are ministers infallible or impeccable?' and he closes the argument by a contrast between the previous case and the compulsory forcing a minister on a people who have no power to obtain another; and shows that his condition is not im-

proved by remaining among those who dislike him personally, or disapprove his ministry.

'To all that has been said of the ill-treatment of ministers, in consequence of their dependence on the church's choice, more than a counterpoise can be adduced. For are not those who are placed over the flock, in defiance of its choice, exposed to *some* vexations? If such a man cannot be dismissed, he may stay only to be hated. . . . . He that has been dismissed by a dissatisfied people has obtained his '*coup de grace,*' the finishing stroke; but he that remains among them is not the less broken on the wheel.' p. 104.

It is said very commonly, and those who say it think the argument incontrovertible, that a minister appointed by the people is almost sure to be unfaithful, in order to please his patrons. This argument cuts both ways. But it is less severe on the Congregationalists than the Endowed Church; since in the latter case the patron is often a *single person.* To please him the interests of the flock are likely to suffer. Among a number of persons a preacher must be an odd one indeed, or a very bad one indeed, if he have not *some* friends. We maintain, therefore, that the chances of fidelity, if we may place the argument in that position, are in our favour. A man who is dependent on the will of one person will most likely be a sycophant; he who is dependent on many, may, after all, find fidelity the best passport to the esteem and affection of his charge. Dr. Bennett has well remarked, 'he who, 'chosen by a congregation of faithful men, expects to please 'them by being unfaithful, must be a fool.' We well remember in our youthful days, a person expressing his preference for a plain, zealous, faithful preacher, because, to use his own words, '*he will not let me go to hell quietly.*' But, says our author,

'We may cut short this argument by an appeal to facts. Let us take ten thousand ministers appointed by law, and an equal number chosen by the people; let us listen to their oral instructions, and read their published discourses, and then let a jury of impartial men decide where the greatest amount of fidelity is to be found. As we readily admit that there are ministers who are not less faithful and laborious, because they can hold their livings in defiance of the people; there are also others who think too much of the glory of Christ, the value of souls, and the great day of account, to be able to bestow a thought on the power of the people to dismiss them from their charge.'

To this we heartily subscribe, and, should the experiment ever be tried, we are persuaded that we should receive a confirmation of our views for which our opponents are wholly unprepared.

The voluntary principle next comes under review. We would recommend the STANDARD to read this section before it next

thinks of reviling '*a*' Rev. Mr. Burnett, (whom the Standard must know well enough), for maintaining that there were no compulsory payments in the Jewish church for religious purposes. The Standard may, in its polite language, tell us we are *liars*, when it ought to be whipped for its own ignorance and presumption. If the editor of that mendacious journal, so enlightened a champion of 'THE CHURCH,' *falsely so called*, would try and read a book, of which he seems deplorably ignorant, viz. the Bible, he would find that '*a*' Mr. Burnett, who spoke at the meeting of the Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty, was neither a fool nor a liar, for saying what Dr. Bennett so amply *proves;* that compulsory payments for religious purposes were unknown to the Jewish religion. But such a recommendation, we fear, is vain, since hypocrites and calumniators shun the Scriptures, which fearfully denounces woe on those who *bear false witness against their neighbour*—unhappily, the Standard's daily vocation.

But our space is more than gone. We have found it very difficult to comprise within the necessary limits a notice of this timely and excellent publication. It is so closely interwoven, that it is no easy matter to make extracts without injuring their force, as they stand in the book itself. What we have transferred to our own pages will give an idea of the style and manner of the writer, and prove, we hope, a temptation to our readers to procure and read the work. It will richly repay a repeated perusal; and deserves much more consideration than its unpretending size and appearance might seem to require. We only regret that we cannot present a few extracts from the concluding section, on 'the Spirit in which the Scriptural principles of Christian 'fellowship should be studied and practised:' but we are obliged to dismiss the volume with our hearty thanks to the author, and our cordial recommendation of his volume to the public.

Art. VIII. *A Manual of Instruction on the Use and Governance of Time and Temper: Containing Selections from Holy Scripture, with Remarks; and Extracts from various English Authors. With an Introductory Address to the Young.* By the Rev. WILLIAM JOWETT, M. A., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: Seeley and Burnside. 12mo. pp. xvii. 176.

THE extracts, of which this small volume chiefly consists, are taken from the writings of Izaak Walton, Lord Bacon, Sir Henry Wotton, Bishop Hall, George Herbert, Milton, Sir Matthew Hale, Jeremy Taylor, Leighton, Baxter, Ken, Watts, Law, Doddridge, Wesley, Scott, and Dr. Farre. It is not a severe

judgment that has been exercised by the compiler in respect either to their intrinsic merit, or their pertinence to his principal topics: they comprise, however, many valuable suggestions, and the work is, on the whole, adapted to its purpose. One subject is introduced which we commend to the consideration of those who are engaged in the Christian ministry, as having, in our opinion, more claim to their practical regard than it sometimes receives: we mean the necessity of securing to themselves a weekly Sabbath. Dr. Farre, in his evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, makes the following important observations:

'I have been in the habit, during a great many years, of considering the USES of the Sabbath, and observing its ABUSES. The abuses are chiefly manifested in labour and dissipation. The use, medically speaking, is that of a Day of Rest. In a theological sense, it is a Holy Rest; providing for the introduction of new and sublime ideas into the mind of man, preparing him for his future state.

'As a day of rest, I view it as a day of compensation for the inadequate restorative power of the body under continued labour and excitement. A physician always has respect to the preservation of the restorative power; because, if once this be lost, his healing office is at an end. If I show you from the physiological view of the question, that there are provisions in the laws of nature which correspond with the Divine commandment, you will see, from the analogy, *that the Sabbath was made for man* as a necessary appointment. A physician is anxious to preserve the balance of circulation, as necessary to the restorative power of the body. The ordinary exertions of man *run down* the circulation every day of his life; and the first general law of nature, by which God (who is not only the giver, but also the preserver and sustainer of life,) prevents man from destroying himself, is the alternating of day with night, that repose may succeed action. But, although the night apparently equalizes the circulation well, yet it does not sufficiently restore its balance, for the attainment of a long life. Hence, one day in seven, by the bounty of Providence, is thrown in, as a day of compensation; to perfect, by its repose, the animal system.

* * * * * *

'*Question.* In your own practice have you thought it necessary to carry on the whole of your occupation on a Sunday, as on the other six days in the week?

'*Answer.* Certainly not.

'*Q.* Do you think your patients have suffered thereby?

'*A.* Certainly not.

'*Q.* Of course, in extreme cases you do?

'*A.* I consider that the two officers of healing, so to speak, are the clergyman and the medical man: they are the only two classes of persons called on to labour on that day, for the benefit of the community. I have found it essential to my own well-being, to abridge my labour on the Sabbath to what is actually necessary. I have frequently observed the premature death of medical men from continued exertion. In warm climates, and in active service, this is painfully apparent.

'*Q.* As a seventh day is absolutely necessary for the rest of man, what do you say to the habits of clergymen, who must, of necessity, labour on the seventh day?

'*A.* I have advised the clergyman, in lieu of his Sabbath, to rest one day in the week: it forms a continual prescription of mine. I have seen many destroyed by their duties on that day; and, to preserve others, I have frequently suspended them, for a season, from the discharge of those duties.

'*Q.* So that the clergyman furnishes an illustration of your own principle, as to the ill effects of working on the seventh day continually?

'*A.* Yes; certainly. I would say further, that (quitting the grosser evils of mere animal living, from over stimulation and undue exercise of body,) the working of the mind in one continued train of thought is destructive of life in the most distinguished class of society; and that senators themselves stand in need of reform in that particular. I have observed many of them destroyed by neglecting this economy for life.

'*Q.* Therefore, to all men, of whatever class, who must necessarily be occupied six days in the week, you recommend them to abstain on the seventh; and in the course of life they would gain by it?

'*A.* Assuredly they would, by giving to their bodies the repose, and to their minds the change of ideas, suited to the day, for which it was appointed by unerring Wisdom.

'*Q.* And, in fact, more mental work would be accomplished in their lives?

'*A.* Certainly, by the increased vigour imparted.

'*Q.* A human being is so constituted, that he needs a day of rest, both from mental and bodily labour?

'*A.* Certainly. You have drawn the inference, from the tenor of my evidence and argument, which I wish to leave on the mind of the legislative body.'—p. 176.

Respecting this interesting statement, Mr. Jowett remarks:

'My attention was first attracted to this document, by hearing how skilfully this physician had been wont to counsel persons of my own profession, on the prolongation of their life and usefulness. My mite of evidence I gladly contribute to his scientific and experienced decision; for, so far back as two and twenty years since, when I was suffering from over exertion in my clerical duties in a large provincial town, the very same advice here given, was then suggested to me by a medical friend; and I adopted it. By steadily pursuing this plan, devoting one of my week-days to comparative leisure, through God's blessing I recovered tone; and to this it may be attributed, that I did not, as I have seen other young clergymen do, sink under my early labours. Since that time, often have I impressed this Sabbatic principle upon my brethren in the ministry; and more especially on that class, with which I have been principally connected—missionaries. The uncongeniality of a foreign clime is, in fact, far less destructive

than incessant fatigue ; when, therefore, both are combined—wasting heat, and wearing labour—how can it be otherwise, than that the devoted evangelist should sink into an untimely grave? I can add nothing to the doctrine so perspicuously, humanely, and authoritatively laid down in the document alluded to ; which, I am glad to see, by its chronological order, placed at the end of this Manual, closing my volume with an emphasis.'—p. xiii.

Art. IX. *Menzel on German Literature. Die deutsche Literatur. Von Wolfgang Menzel.* 1836. *Stuttgart.*

No. III.—German Book Trade.

MENZEL'S Fifth Chapter is on the 'Commerce of Literature,' or, as we should say, the 'Book Trade.' It contains a deeply interesting account of the present state of literature, regarded as a branch of commerce. In many points a striking similarity will be observed between the present state of German Literature and that of the literature of our own country: as, for example, in the rage for cheap publications, penny magazines, and encyclopædias ; for compilations, abridgments, and *condensations* of universal science in pocket volumes ; in a word for *popularising* every branch of science and knowledge. This is a state of things, which, though in many respects full of hope and promise, is not without its disadvantages.—Another point of resemblance in the present state of the literature of the two countries —and this is matter of unmingled congratulation—is the demand for cheap and popular editions of all the most distinguished authors. Literature, therefore, as far, at least, as regards its form, seems to be taking the same course of development in both countries, and to have been wrought upon by the same general influences. There are happily *two* subjects, however, on which the English reader will be unable to sympathize with Menzel; we refer to his remarks on the Piracy and the Censorship.—The following is the introduction, in which our author gives a description of what a bookseller may be and ought to be, and what he sometimes though rarely is,—the true patron and benefactor of literature.

'When we look back to the time when each book existed only 'in a few manuscripts, we may form some conception of the immea- 'surable superiority which the literature of the present day has 'attained by the machinery of the press and by the book trade. 'But though the former has been productive of blessings for all 'generations, and though we Germans shall eternally glory in the 'invention, yet all this should not blind us to some few disadvan- 'tages which the extended traffic in literature brings with it.

'Scarcely, for example, were the *natural* wants of literary intercourse, and the demand for the multiplication of good works satisfied by the beneficent mechanism of the press, than there was established thereupon, the *artificial* demand of the book trade. The manufacture of books has become a profitable branch of traffic; authors and booksellers, especially in the present day, have *speculated* in this trade; and in order to wheedle the public into the purchase of their manufactures, have addressed themselves to all the weaknesses of human nature, and to all the transient fashions of the age. Few, indeed, have been the booksellers who have acquired a name in history, or entitled themselves to the thanks of their country, by disinterestedly promoting the true, the fair, and the good, when these have required their support.—Should he possess capital, the bookseller has a fair field of action; he can aid the good author, he can counteract the bad; by a judicious selection of his commodities, he can in some measure regulate style and taste, and exercise an influence on the public like that which, in a small way, the managers of a theatre can exert by their judicious or injudicious selection of pieces for representation. He has a noble calling,—a calling highly honourable for his station —that of being a Mæcenas. By his patronage he can give many a genius free play; obscure or unacknowledged worth he can bring to light; and to him, not unfrequently, are we in the first instance indebted for the wisdom which has elevated, and the poetry which has ravished us. Lastly, by means of his position he can survey the whole field of literature, observe what is wanting, give salutary hints to authors, prepare the way for them, and secretly manage the manifold resources of scholarship and genius. But in order to do full justice to this honourable and important calling, the bookseller must have not only a clear head and a noble disposition, but also well economized capital: qualifications which are very seldom found united. When we consider further, that even the best bookseller is always dependent, in some measure, on the public and its fashionable caprices, and in some measure on authors, it is evident that we cannot expect the prosperity of literature from booksellers alone.'

The account which follows of the general character of booksellers, has, alas! but too much truth in it, whether we look at Germany or England, or indeed any other country. Nor, we fear, is the description of a certain large class of *authors* at all overdrawn, although we should hope that the description is less frequently realized in England than it was seventy or eighty years ago. The accounts which our dramatists and novelists of the last century have left us of our Grub-street worthies remarkably tally with the account which Menzel here gives of many of his countrymen; nor are *his* descriptions a whit less vivid than theirs.

'The majority of booksellers are mere shopkeepers, to whom 'it is, for the most part, just the same whether they deal in corn 'or truth, sugar or romances, pepper or satires;—provided always 'they make money by them. The bookseller is either a manu-'facturer of books, or an agent, or both together. Books are 'his *commodities*. His aim is gain; it is not the *absolute*, but 'the *relative* goodness of the commodities which is the means to 'that end; and *this* is determined by the demand of the pur-'chasers. That which attracts the most customers is, in the '*bookseller's* estimation, a *good* commodity, even though it were 'the scandal of literature: what does not sell is a *bad* com-'modity, even though it were a revelation from the seventh 'heavens. In order that a book may sell, it must be adapted to 'the known taste of the public, or it may flatter its weaknesses 'or inclinations, and thus originate a new fashion. It is for this 'reason that publishers countenance what is trivial and adven-'turous.—In order that the public may be informed that the 'book corresponds to its taste, the title must allure it. On this 'account, a good title is often of more value to the publisher than 'a good book, or at least the latter often depends upon the former; 'and hence there often arises a rivalry amongst the booksellers as 'to who can concoct the most *taking* title. But whence does the 'bookseller attain such commodities as he pronounces good? 'They do not spring up wild in such abundance as that he could 'grow rich by them. They must be produced by *art*. Hence 'has been generally introduced the system of *fattening* authors, 'instead of leaving them to their scanty Alpine pasture. The 'publisher *keeps* them; and they, in exchange, give him back 'milk, butter, cheese, and, at last, skin and bone. And is the 'bookseller ever at a loss for such cattle? On the contrary, 'they throng to his free commons in greater numbers than he 'wants. The larger the quantities manufactured the worse they 'will be; the worse, the lighter; the lighter, the better will the 'people be fitted for them. Besides since the crowd of students 'has become so great, Germany swarms with persons who, in 'want of employment, embark their knowledge in the book trade, 'and thus deluge the world with a prodigious number of unripe 'school-boy performances.

'One of the most industrious book-makers is Bäuerle, of 'Vienna, who is perpetually bringing out some new collection of 'panegyrics on the Imperial Family; he thus compels the ser-'vants of the State, if they would not be taken for disloyal sub-'jects, to exchange their precious gold for his farragos.

'But even old-established, distinguished, celebrated authors, 'not unfrequently vie with the speculative bookseller in abusing 'the credit of their name; and in treating the public, who it may 'be, has been pleased with one of their books because really

'good, with ten or twenty bad ones. In these cases every 'scrap of old paper is rummaged out and offered to sale 'as some precious rarity; while memoranda, occasional pieces, 'correspondence, fill long rows of costly volumes with the 'veriest common-place; common-place which the public is 'good enough to buy out of mere respect for the name of the 'author.'

The description he gives of the extent to which piracy is carried on in Germany is truly astounding: one is shocked at the effrontery and impudence of it. The only freedom of the press which the Germans enjoy seems to be that of robbing the poor author of his copyright.

'The foulest blot upon the German book-trade is the still sub-'sisting piracy, which, especially in Austria, drives a wholesale 'trade. In Wirtemburg, where I live, we swarm with these 'privileged thieves, who, with astounding impudence, puff off 'their articles in the public papers, glory in their robbery, and 'insult the regular publisher. It is not to be denied that some 'few publishers, both of note and of no note at all, fix their ar-'ticles at an extortionately high price; and that this excessive 'dearness is obviated by the piratical press in a manner most ad-'vantageous to the reading public. This accidental advantage, how-'ever, does not justify the theft. The Crispin who stole leather 'in order to make out of it shoes for the poor was not the less a 'scoundrel on that account. Piracy, if not so injurious, is yet 'quite as worthy of reprobation as false coining.

'But piracy will soon disappear out of Germany, while the 'manufacture of bad books will still continue. Against this then 'will we also contend. We will be as inexorable to the literary '*canaille* as to the literary aristocrats.'

The following is his account of the mob of authors—this literary *canaille.*

'He who once writes for gold has already abandoned all shame; 'one man because he *must*, out of pure desperation; another of 'design, like a buffoon, in order to attract a greater number of 'spectators. The customary vices of these book-makers are:—a 'shamelessness which shrinks from no means of exciting atten-'tion, or at least of obtaining a sale;—brutal insult of the 'honest author whose trade they spoil;—the pandering to wicked 'and shameful inclinations, and the palliation of vice, partly in 'order to prepare a productive field, which better authors aban-'don to them, partly in order to make their readers their accom-'plices;—hypocrisy, (when gainful) of piety or honesty for the 'purpose of extorting a dear-bought penny;—shameless theft, or pla-'giarism from the best works, provided they have been successful; 'and, lastly, the all-embracing, all-penetrating *triviality*, the in-'sipid broth in which the whole mess is cooked.' . . . .

'The scholar writes because he thinks he is wiser than others, 'and because he accounts authorship his right and his duty; those 'who are not initiated in the mystery,* write because they think 'themselves more sound and judicious than the learned, and be- 'cause, in wishing to lead us back to *nature*, they consider their own 'opinions true. Lastly, there is an ever-recurring delusion on the 'part of the silly, the vain, and the young, that what is new to *them* 'must necessarily be so to all the rest of the world. Thus there 'are daily published new books on science which contain not a 'single idea new to the world, however new all may have been 'to the author. As for poetry, there is no remedy; when a 'youth falls in love, he thinks that the whole world, for the first 'time, has fallen in love too. He scribbles verses, and fancies that 'nobody has ever heard the like.'

The following is his account of the present attempts to present every branch of science and learning in a *popular* form. His remarks on the good and evil effects, which follow from this attempt, apply most exactly to our own country; and his observations on the *true* mode of writing for the people, and on the difficulties which attend the task, are in the highest degree philosophical and just.

'We busy ourselves more and more in the attempt to write *po-* '*pularly*—to communicate to the great mass of the people every 'thing, either useful or instructive, that has been gained either from 'foreigners or from scholarship. The very severest sciences are so 'managed that even the uneducated get a smack of them. We 'have systems of 'Mythology for the *Ladies*,' '*Popular* Lectures 'on Astronomy,' 'Systems of Domestic Medicine,' 'Every Man 'his own Doctor,' 'Universal Histories for the *Young*,' 'All Se- 'cular Science in a Nut-shell,' and 'Theology in eight volumes' 'or 'Hours of Devotion,' and the like. We hold (as at Christmas) 'a sort of universal children's fair, and the booksellers' shops are 'crammed with writings for the '*elegant*' world, for the '*people*,' 'for the '*educated*' classes, for the '*ladies*,' for the '*German*' 'women, for those of '*riper*' age, for the '*dear*' '*tender*' 'youth, for the '*sons and daughters* of the nobility,' for the '*citizen and countryman*,' for '*every body*,' for '*readers of all* '*kinds*,' in short for just as many as the booksellers' drum can 'muster together.

'Considered *in* and *for* itself, the attempt to write intelligibly, 'and to instruct the uneducated middle classes, is as worthy 'of praise as that lettered pride which boasts of its hieroglyphical 'vocabulary, and is proud that the mass of the common people 'does not understand it, is worthy of reprobation. Even the

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* In the original 'Die Profanen.'

'little severity with which, in popular exposition, scientific subjects are customarily treated, and the insipid tone which thus creeps into them, is partly excused for the sake of the public, to whose powers of comprehension the author must adapt himself, if he wishes to be listened to and understood. Meanwhile it must not be denied that here again we have many self-constituted authors, who are most mischievous. Even the most superficial fellow takes upon him to write for the *people*, though he would be ashamed to write for the learned. Every one thinks the people good enough to furnish him with an auditory, and bad enough to justify him in offering them the veriest nonsense. Nothing appears so easy as to write for the people; for the less art an author employs, so much the sooner is he understood; the more he talks at random and the more vulgar and common-place his style, the better will it harmonize with the mass of his readers; the more deeply he stoops to the contractedness, the brutality, the prejudices, and unworthy inclinations of the many, so much the more does he flatter them, and is, in return, flattered by them. Hence, to write for the people *badly* is, to a *bad author*, easy and profitable; and for this reason it is practised to a most offensive extent. But to write for the people *well*, is surely a most difficult task, and hence we find it so rarely accomplished. If a man wishes to improve and ennoble the *mass*, he runs the hazard of displeasing them; if he would instruct them upon lofty subjects, it is in the highest degree difficult to hit the right *tone*. He either keeps the *subject* too exclusively before his eyes, and then discusses it too learnedly and unintelligibly, or he as exclusively regards the *multitude*, and then profanes the subject by a style of exposition all too trivial, and which often has the appearance of *burlesque*. In this respect the author fails as frequently as the preacher.'

He next sketches the progress of literature as a *trade*, and thus forcibly traces the effects of this great revolution:

'Meanwhile, out of that chaos of books to which the mere spirit of speculation has given rise, many good consequences are beginning to develope themselves. In the attempt to stimulate or *artificially* excite the demand, for the purpose of meeting it by new publications, men at last naturally discovered the *real* demand, the supply of which must, under all circumstances, be profitable to the book-manufacturers. To this is to be attributed the unprecedentedly cheap editions of the most distinguished productions of literature; editions which at once secure to the public the advantage of obtaining the most excellent works at very little cost, and allow the publisher to enrich himself, in spite of his low prices, by the immense number of purchasers.

'To the same causes are to be attributed, further, the Ency-

'clopædias, Conversation-Lexicons, Pocket Libraries, Resumés. 'If these works are still, in a great measure, chargeable with superficiality, they, at least, prepare the way for better works of 'the same kind; and who can deny that by such cheap encyclo-'pædic literature, knowledge of various kinds is widely diffused 'among all classes? The Conversation Lexicon of Brockhaus, 'for example, has, it is admitted, many defects. It is in some 'places too short, and in others too long; but still, as it is in 'every body's hands, it scatters amongst the middle classes an 'endless variety of information.

'But it is principally Periodical Literature which meets the demand for a rapid survey of the field of literature. Without it 'the book-mart would resemble a monstrous city, that was full of 'houses, but had no streets or squares. . . .

'The private libraries diminish, while the literary circle generally, and the museum and coffee-house readers increase. In 'the mean time our German papers are far from possessing the 'prodigious circulation of the English and French. Our political 'dismemberment, our being divided into so many states and cities, 'each possessing its local interests and local newspapers, would 'effectually keep down this great branch of traffic, even if that only 'bond of union which we possess, I mean the restraints on the 'press, did not every where clip its pinions, wherever they should 'begin to grow strong. Our political papers, if they are servile, 'live a perpetual death; if they are liberal, perish—but perish to be 'immortal. The remaining journals, scattered throughout the 'circles of Germany, are divided into the academical literary ga-'zettes, which are the organs of the several universities, and the 'papers devoted to Belles Lettres, which are in great measure 'calculated only for women readers. We shall speak of them in 'their respective departments.'

We must close this chapter by giving our author's eloquent and indignant exposure of the evils of the censorship. It is imbued with a deeply philosophical spirit; is full of noble and manly sentiments, and reflects equal lustre on his genius, honesty, and patriotism. It is refreshing to see a German thus lifting up his voice against that intellectual tyranny which degrades his country: and, while we wonder that a nation so enlightened should need such an appeal, we may wonder, also, that so many can resist it. It must, however, have no inconsiderable effect in opening the eyes of the German public to the enormity of the evil.

'As, generally, the political press of Germany has favoured in-'dolence—night-cap philosophy—and, in the absence of other 'kinds of activity, the mechanical manufacture of books; so, by 'the very same cause, has the spirit of literature been destroyed by 'the censorship of the press, what is good has been repressed, and, 'what is bad has been encouraged. Many a blooming flower is shut

'up in shade, while the weeds are permitted to spring up luxu-
'riantly. It must be admitted, at the same time, that the re-
'strictions on the press only extend to certain branches of litera-
'ture; and that others, on which no censorship exercises its
'pruning-knife, are as deeply corrupted. One can only say that
'the restraint on the press damps the spirit of a nation generally,
'even while it may only repress it in some single direction;—just as
'the whole body becomes diseased, if a single member be im-
'paired.

'The influence which books exercise upon opinion, and the
'influence which opinion exercises upon conduct, render literature
'an important object of *politics*. As far as each state claims a
'right of existence, and consequently not only the *right*, but also
'the *duty*, of self-preservation, it must necessarily take care that
'literature does not diffuse any opinions that would endanger that
'existence. This object it endeavours to secure by means of the
'*censorship*. But whether that end, which is sanctioned by a po-
'litical right, does not contradict the universal rights of human
'nature; whether on that account it can be attained, or whether
'the means employed, namely, the censorship, be the *right* means,
'—these are altogether different questions. Man has an original
'right of communicating his sentiments; in the liberty of doing
'so originates all improvement, and improvement is the highest
'aim of the species. Let but a state interdict such communica-
'tion, and improvement is stopped. If the first state had origi-
'nally possessed both the right and the power to prevent the in-
'tercourse of its citizens, civilization would have been impossible:
'we should not have made, as yet, a single step towards it. But
'we have already advanced *many* steps. And why? Either
'because the State has not prevented this liberty of communica-
'tion, or because the rights of man have triumphed over the
'rights of State, and, by means of revolutions, have destroyed
'despotic forms of government, and re-established free.

'Men should not derive *right* from *might*, but *might* from *right*.
'Mere power has just as much right to authorize infanticide as
'the censorship. Is it, indeed, possible that a censorship com-
'pletely preventing the freedom of the press, or generally, that
'any *police* system, the object of which is to *prevent* possible evils,
'should harmonize so well with the liberty and welfare of the
'people as a *judicial* system, the object of which is to punish *overt*
'acts of crime? If society is jealous even of judicial power, how
'much more jealous must she be of a power which, still more
'formidable than the Fehmgericht,* not only decides in secret,
'but even before the facts. It is acknowledged that the only

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* Anciently, the Secret Court of Criminal Justice in Westphalia.—Trans.

'guarantee for the upright performance of duty is—publicity. 'The censorship requires at least as sure a guarantee, yet pub-'licity is incompatible with its very nature! Its duty is just to 'prevent the publication of certain sentiments. But now how 'can the censorship be exercised without caprice and injustice 'creeping in? Amidst the prodigious variety of all possible 'thoughts and modes of expression, it can never find a sure rule 'which shall determine its approbation or disapprobation. We 'can put no fixed measure into the hands of the censor; we must 'leave the sentence entirely to him, just as we would to the deci-'sion of a jury. A jury, however, is controlled by the people; 'but who is to control the secret tribunal of the censor?

'While power is generally subordinate to *law*, a severe press-'law, which should punish every offence *when fully proved*, seems 'quite sufficient for securing the public interests; but let excessive 'power once enslave law to itself, and from that moment will it 'establish the censorship. It is in the very nature of the thing to 'do so. Thus in France, the monarchical censorship was merely 'supplanted by a democratical censorship. The censorship al-'ways shifts with power, no matter what that power may be.

'The prime advantage which accrues from the entire freedom 'of the press, is the disarming of the *impudence* of the press. 'This impudence is powerful and dangerous only in proportion as 'it seems to imply unusual courage and daring. It loses all its 'weight the moment it becomes common. England has demon-'strated the truth of this long ago. There they look upon the 'most venemous effusions of the press as no more than what they 'really are,—the impotent attempts of a discomfited minority. 'MEN NO LONGER WONDER AT IT—that is the secret of the 'liberty of the press. *The boldness* that is seen *every day*, is no 'longer considered as *boldness*, but merely as *what is seen every* '*day*. The license of the press must be forbidden if it should 'have the *charm* of what *is* forbidden. A licensed offence is no 'offence at all. Many hundred libels and caricatures were pub-'lished against Pitt, without in the slightest degree injuring his 'great fame. But with us, Kotzebue's 'Barth,' with the iron 'front, will probably be the subject of wonder for a hundred 'years to come; while, in Paris or London, such lampoons are 'forgotten the day after to-morrow. With us, one individual 'who was the object of Kotzebue's ridicule in that publication, 'was driven mad by it; in Paris or London he would merely 'have laughed at it. The difference consists simply in *custom*. 'Certainly, however, there is no better method of vanquishing 'calumny, hatred, or envy, than by suffering it publicly to prosti-'tute itself,—to bawl itself hoarse.

'The freedom of the press is the sun which gradually extracts 'from the poison which is exposed to its beams all its virulence;

'while it was shut up in darkness, it retained that virulence, 'ready to exert itself as occasion offered. The freedom of the 'press is the open air, in which those vapours are dispersed 'which, while they remained pent up in a narrow place, retained 'their destructive power. The French ministry have certainly 'acted unwisely in conferring upon the press, which had already 'begun to render itself despicable by its insolence, the honours of 'martyrdom.*

'But the advantages which the censorship deprives us of are 'less tolerable than the evils it inflicts. That it sometimes sup-'presses truth is bad, but it is still worse that it gives encourage-'ment to falsehood and insipidity. Without doubt it has contri-'buted to that barren and fantastical style of thought which flies 'from practical life, and still more to those distorted judgments 'which, especially in political literature, are universally expressed. 'We may play the enthusiast as much as we please, especially if 'we convey our thoughts in an unintelligible philosophical lan-'guage; but as to the practical application of our theories we 'dare not think of it, even when we would. Many a man who '*will* speak the truth, designedly veils it in a mist, through 'which an ordinary censor, and even an ordinary public, cannot 'penetrate. On the other side, our practical men busy them-'selves about the most jejune empirical courses, and take good 'care not to notice the better theory, while they palliate their in-'dolence on political considerations. Lastly, there is a multitude 'of authors, who, buried in the arctic circle of politics, never ar-'rive at more than a crippled growth; who, without being per-'fidious, still are not honourable; who, without telling lies, still 'do not venture to tell the truth; and, in pitiable indecision, are 'willing to please at the same time both the censor and the spirit 'of the age. Their element is emphatically, *insipidity*, and, in a 'time like the present, they feel quite at home. So much do 'they exhaust themselves in invectives against the censorship, that 'it is almost of as much use to *them* as to the *ultras*. They seat 'themselves with cunning airs on their chairs, and give out their 'oracle; enjoining, with finger on nose, mysterious silence when 'any important truth is concerned; rejecting every thing of the 'least importance as too much, and embellishing every nonentity 'into a matter of some importance. People, who, in a time of 'excitement, would not open their mouth, now chatter them-'selves sick. They recover themselves from their long silence. 'They do not disguise that they write somewhat superficially;

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* This was written just before the Revolution of 1830! Menzel's opinion, therefore, was but too faithfully verified; and, alas! it is but too likely that it will be verified again.—Translator.

'but then they slily whisper in your ear that they do it—*on pur-*
'*pose;* that one must tread softly; that we must let but a little be
'understood at a time;—in the background,—there it is that much
'is still concealed!

'. . . . . For the rest, it is not all minds that will
'suffer themselves to be emasculated. The censorship, even when
'it is conjoined with the grossest tyranny, cannot stop the deep
'breath of life—our spiritual respiration. We may tie a bird
'fast by its beak and break its wing, but it will still live and
'breathe through the open bones.

'Truth is not utterly lost, even though we may not be able to
'stumble upon it in every street. It roots itself the faster in the
'mind the less it can be imparted and the less one can exert
'oneself on its behalf. A nation upon which a censorship is
'imposed, is already sufficiently advanced in cultivation to be
'capable of *thinking* what it dare not *utter*. Certain it is, that
'any more rigorous restraints on the press, any new intellectual
'interdicts, if indeed they shall ever be introduced, will have just
'as little effect as those which have hitherto been employed.
'There is but *one* spell which can bind the spirit. It is called
'*freedom and right*. He who forgets this spell may bind men's
'minds with cords and fetters; but he will not *effectually* bind
'them. He may bury them alive and heap lime upon them the
'whole year long, but suddenly they will rise again in triumph
'over the grave, and mock at it. It often happens, however,
'that in place of the good spirits which men have expelled, the
'evil enter uninvited. He who will not make peace with the
'former, must often, against his will, wage war with the latter;
'and they in terrible wrath destroy the exorcists. The pure and
'temperate air of freedom is universally healthy, and the true
'element of peace and order. It is only the oppressive sultriness
'of the censorship which produces those popular tempests which
'are ushered in with blasting thunders. We often haggle with
'moderate *Doctrinaires* about a single grain, where anarchists
'some time after measure it out by bushels.—Since men must be
'addressed, let good care be taken who is the speaker: lest, while
'the one party is silent, another should begin whose talk is like
'the roaring of lions or the raging of the ocean. Why did
'Tarquinius permit the six books of the Sybil to be burnt? In
'*them* good fortune was announced. There remained to him
'only the three last, which prophesied nothing but misfortune.

'That the German people can think in spite of the censorship,
'it has proved; and it has long since been apparent that what it
'*thinks* it will also *say*. In the year 1831, it is well known that
'the press took a vigorous flight.

'Even in the absence of the freedom of the press, even while
'chafing in the strait fetters of the censorship, public spirit in

'the present crisis of Europe has operated most beneficially on our 'literature. Let any man read with impartial eyes the numerous 'and continually increasing political Journals, and he must confess 'that, both in the subjects which are discussed in them, and the spirit 'in which they are discussed, these journals are most advantageously 'distinguished from those of an earlier period. Let any man com-'pare the spirit of our present political journalism with that which 'prevailed from 1813 to 1819, and he must acknowledge that we 'have come back from the reveries and extravagancies of that 'period; and that we are now no longer busied about empty 'theories and romantic fantasies, but about the results of experience; 'about positive rights, and well-defined local necessities. Let him 'survey the vast number of thoroughly practical and well-written ar-'ticles which daily appear in the different German papers, and he 'cannot disguise from himself that political culture has already 'deeply penetrated the mass of the people; that it no longer 'dwells with certain Coryphæuses of literature, many of whom 'must draw back in shame before the public spirit of the people.'

Art. X. *Die Lehre von der Sünde, und vom Versöhner, oder die wahre Weihe des Zweiflers von A. Tholuck vierte Auflage.* Hamburg: 1832. [*The Doctrine concerning Sin and the Propitiator, &c.* By A. Tholuck. Fourth Edition. Hamburg: 1832.]

LECTORI benevolo Salutem. It may be in the memory of some of our courteous readers, that in the notice which we gave of Mr. Ryland's excellent translation of the above work in our March number, some regret was expressed that an author of such distinguished reputation and influence as Dr. Tholuck should permit certain representations, with which he had expressed himself dissatisfied, and which we could not read with unconcern, to remain unaltered in three successive editions. Circumstances have since brought to our knowledge, what, perhaps, justice requires that we should mention here—some explanations of Dr. Tholuck himself upon the subject. In our notice of Mr. Ryland's translation, we were indebted to a learned friend for the use of the third edition of the original work: our own, which is the fourth edition, not being, at that time, in this country. We now extract from it the preface then just published, and which contains the explanations to which we have referred.

'To not a few persons has the present work, under the divine 'blessing, been rendered serviceable, in first conducting them into 'that inward sanctuary of experimental truth, which is laid open 'unto all whose life is hid with Christ in God. As the produc-'tion of a period when its author strove to satisfy his new-born 'youthful thirst at that fountain of holiness which, after a boy-

'hood too early abandoned, through parental influence and example, to a cheerless scepticism, was revealed to him by faith in the Redeemer, it is of the excellence and fulness of the believer's hidden life that his gushing heart here pours forth its feelings. The palace of truth, however, is accessible through more than one portal; and that vigorous, sanguine, exuberant life, which unfolds itself in a youthful soul entering into the sanctuary of the Christian faith after the hard conflicts of early doubt, is not alike intelligible to all. This book has, therefore, found friends and favour chiefly amongst the young, and of them, those have most valued it whose breasts have been expanded, without being satisfied, by the aspirations of a poetic temperament. For their sakes let the work remain what it is.

'For a long time, however, I have wished to serve again the office of a guide upon the self-same road, only commencing the journey from a more advanced stage, and developing more prominently, and in a manner more suitable to the necessities of the present times, the historical evidences of the Christian faith. Was the truth of Christianity formerly confirmed, chiefly on the evidence of miracle and prophecy, or from such historical sources, in opposition to which Lessing called for the evidence of 'THE SPIRIT AND OF POWER,' the question turns at present principally on internal evidence; and if, in one respect, the Christian should rejoice at this, as an evident approximation to the acknowledgment of the inwardness of real religion, he must not, on the other hand, forget that such endeavours, when exclusive, often evaporate in metaphysical subtleties, and must desire that the historical evidences also should receive their due attention.

'Should leisure, therefore, be granted me, and should the service be undertaken by no one better qualified to do it justice, I feel considerable inclination to publish, on some future day, a companion to the present work, in which the truth of Christianity shall be demonstrated on its historical side. By this means much which is here but partially exhibited will receive more adequate treatment, and be set forth in its appropriate relations.'

* * * * * * *

Though this explanation does not exactly satisfy our objections, which applied principally to the mistakes into which our author appeared to have fallen, in reference to the use of reason in matters of faith, it will be seen that it does, in some degree, account for the unaltered publication of the work, and let us into the reasons of that exclusive manner in which the subject is treated. Dr. Tholuck is not the first distinguished theological writer who has reason to acknowledge that his first survey of the field of Christian evidence was too limited and partial. Two

eminent instances have been furnished in our own nation by Dr. Chalmers and Mr. Thomas Erskine, the former of whom has handsomely admitted and supplied the deficiency of his earlier views. That Dr. Tholuck also has fulfilled the pledge which he had given in the preceding preface is a fact alike honourable to himself, and interesting to the friends of evangelical religion. A vehement attack upon the credibility of the gospels, published in 1835, 1836, by Dr. Strauss, of Tübingen, has called him again into the field, and in his answer to that work he has entered deeply into the historical evidences of Christianity. This publication is entitled, '*Die Glaubwürdigkeit der evangelischen Ges-*' *chichte*,' &c.—'The credibility of the Gospel history, with a 'review of the life of Jesus, by Strauss, represented to theological 'and non-theological readers, by Dr. A. Tholuck. Hamburg: '1837. pp. 464.' We hope to present our readers with an analysis of both works in the course of our next volume.

Art. XI. *Pastoral Appeals on Conversion.* By the Rev C. Stovel. 12mo. London: Jackson & Walford.

WE know not which to admire most, the excellent object of the writer of this little volume, or the deep piety with which it is imbued. They are both highly creditable to the Author as a Christian minister, and are worthy of imitation by all who sustain the same important character in the church of Christ. It is of the first importance that those who are '*hearers* of the word and not doers of it,' should be faithfully admonished of their danger, and of the wide difference that there is between the mere appendages to the Ark and those who occupy its sacred enclosure. This has been done by Mr. Stovel with fidelity and force. His volume displays an intimate acquaintance with the workings of the human mind and the operation of religious principle, and cannot be attentively perused without benefit. We cordially recommend it to the immediate attention of our readers.

Art. XII. *The Antiquities of Greece.* By John Potter, D. D. With Notes, &c. By James Boyd, LL.D. London: Tegg. 1837.

THIS work is too well known to require any comment, and we shall therefore confine ourselves to a simple statement of the distinguishing features of the present edition. Much additional matter has been introduced, numerous plans and illustrations have been borrowed from works of distinguished merit, the authorities have been verified by a reference to the best editions of the classics, the indices have been enlarged, 'and the two volumes of the original have been reduced, by 'the use of a smaller type, and by the omission or curtailment of the 'quotations with which they were overloaded, to *one* cheap and port-'able volume.' In its present form the work can scarcely fail to be adopted as a school-book throughout the kingdom.

Art. XIII. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The British Museum.—The public are admitted to the British Museum on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, between the hours of ten and four, from the 7th of Sept. to the 1st of May; and between the hours of ten and seven, from the 7th of May to the 1st of Sept. Persons applying for the purpose of study or research are admitted to the reading rooms every day, from nine o'clock in the morning until four in the afternoon, between the 7th of Sept. and the 1st of May; and until seven in the evening, between the 7th of May and the 1st of Sept. Artists are admitted to study in the galleries of sculpture every day, between the hours of nine and four, except Saturday. The Museum is closed between the 1st and 7th of Sept., and on Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, and Christmas-day, and also on any special fast or thanksgiving days ordered by authority. The number of persons admitted to view the British Museum was, in 1831, 99,912; in 1836, 383,157. The number of visits made to the reading rooms, for the purpose of study or research, was about 1,950 in 1810; 62,360 in 1836. By artists and students to the galleries of sculpture, for the purpose of study, 4938 in 1831; 7,051 in 1836. To the print room, about 4,400 in 1832; 2,916 in 1836.

Printing.—In the course of the year 1836 there have been printed 66,32 works in Paris, written in French, English, German, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Polish, &c., besides 1154 works of engravings and lithographs.

A Bust of the Rev. R. Hall has been executed by Mr. Charles Branwhite, younger son of Mr. R. C. Branwhite. In the opinion of Mr. Hall's most intimate friends in Bristol, the artist has succeeded admirably, and produced by far the most correct and characteristic likeness of Mr. Hall which has yet appeared. It may be seen at Mr. Ball's, the publisher of this Review, through whom also casts may be obtained.

Preparing for Publication.

A Volume is about to appear by R. Wilmot Horton, Bart., Governor of Ceylon, under the title of Letters of the Dead; to which Notes and an Appendix will be added by the Editor. Among the correspondents are the names of Lord Grenville, Mr. Huskisson, Bishop Heber, Mr. Malthus, Mr. Simond of Geneva, and other eminently distinguished persons.

A Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language, with Explanations in English and Latin, and copious English and Latin Indexes, serving as a Dictionary English and Anglo-Saxon, as well as of Latin and Anglo-Saxon. The Preface contains essays on the origin and connexion of the Anglo-Saxon, and the other Germanic tongues, a Map of Languages, and the essentials of Anglo-Saxon Grammar. By the Rev. Dr. Bosworth.

A small and cheap edition will be published at the same time, containing only the Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, and the Indexes.

A New Edition of the Summary of the Principles and History of Popery. To which will be prefixed remarks on so much of the late Dr. Milner's end of Religious Controversy as relates to the Rule of Faith, and on Dr. Wiseman's Lectures on the Real Presence. By John Birt.

Notes Abroad, and Rhapsodies at Home. By a Veteran Traveller. With Engravings.

Just Published.

England under Seven Administrations. By Albany Fonblanque, Esq. 3 vols. 12mo.

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ERRATA.

Page 270, lines 1 and 20, for *electric* attractions, read *elective* attractions.

Page 376, line 25, for 300,000, read 1500,000.

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